

Joy of Knowledge

History:
Modern Age
Man & Society
1537 – 1920

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8 History:

The Modern Age



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Settlement of North America

The growth of the English economy in the late Middle Ages was achieved through increasing mastery of the seas. Between 1400 and 1600 English seamen ranged ever farther into the Atlantic, to Iceland, Greenland, Labrador and the northern seaboard of what is now the United States of America. Their search was primarily for fish. Discovery was a long and often discontinuous process; at times the English led the way, at others they trailed behind the Spaniards, Portuguese and French. Eventually the greater part of North America was to fall to the English, while Spain held the stronger empire in Central and South America, but the process of resolution was understandably slow.

The first emigrants from Europe

The settlement of the southern United States began in the sixteenth century: the first permanent city in North America – St Augustine, Florida – was founded by the Spaniards in 1565. They had explored and conquered the densely populated empires of Mexico and Peru (the population of Aztec Mexico when they arrived is said to have been as great as

that of Western Europe). The English and French in the following century went to the West Indies and North America where they found vast, sparsely populated lands inhabited by semi-nomadic peoples living at subsistence levels. After 1700 free migration, as distinct from the importation of black slaves, was nearly all into the English colonies of the eastern seaboard, although most of these many new migrants were Scots, Irish, Germans or Swiss.

The first serious attempt to found a permanent English settlement on North American soil was made by Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618) at Roanoke Island off the coast of Virginia in 1584. Not all of the experience gained in voyages to and from this colony during the next six years was happy; some of it was indeed tragic, for the first settlers mysteriously vanished without trace. Raleigh's venture was partly a strategic move in the long sea war between England and Spain and, when his colony perished, the shoreline north of Spanish Florida was left open to other European powers.

The next attempt to establish an English

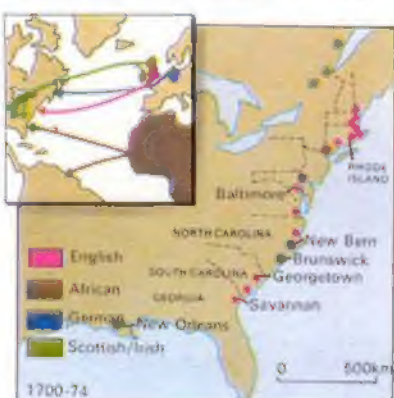
colony in the area, the Jamestown settlement – established by the Virginia Company in 1607 [3] – was basically a commercial venture, although the aims of the company included helping to build a strong merchant fleet, training mariners for England's protection, spreading the gospel and planting a Protestant colony in a land still threatened by Catholic Spain.

Principal reasons for settlement

Trade and religion were the two principal motives for the founding of North American settlements [7]. Religious enthusiasts, hampered at home by the Inquisition in Spain and the Court of High Commission in England, were sometimes willing to venture into the unknown, but without the prospect of trade with Europe they could survive only in subsistence conditions. During the 50 years following the foundation of Jamestown, further colonies were established, mostly by the English. Plymouth was established in 1620 by the Pilgrim Fathers, who sought religious and civil autonomy from the English government, and Maryland by Lord Balti-

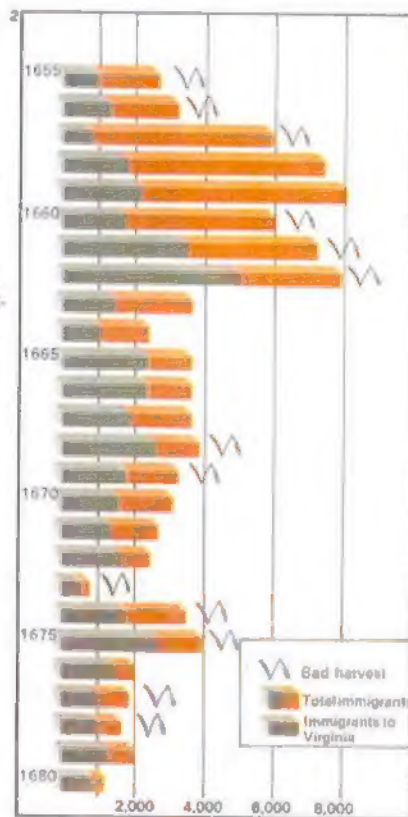
CONNECTIONS

See also
The American
Revolution under the
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policy in the 18th
century



1 The pattern of migration changed over the years. From 1580 to 1619 England settled the eastern seaboard while France established settlements in Canada and down the Mississippi. The next 30 years saw the increase of African slave migration as well as the establishment of New England and the Scandinavian and Dutch colonies. Then England consolidated her hold and the Irish, Scots and Germans led the march westwards.

2 The numbers of migrants to the colonies depended upon high prices and food scarcity at home set against labour shortages in the colonies and the large profits to be made there. Emigration increased noticeably after three successive years of bad harvests in the west of England in the late 1650s. As the century wore on tobacco prices dropped, the amount of land available dwindled and fewer made the journey.



3 James I (1566–1625) granted charters to some merchants to colonize the eastern seaboard of North America. The London Virginia Company was allocated what is now Virginia and

Maryland and the Plymouth Company the coast of New England as far as Maine. This company's charter was revoked and a royal colony, whose council's seal is shown, established in 1624.



4 Six and a half million people had crossed the Atlantic to the New World by the 1770s. One million whites came from Europe – mostly from England, France, Germany and Spain; the other five and a half million were Negro slaves from West Africa, who were transported in appalling cramped conditions in the slave ships. Chained flat to the decks they could cause little trouble and needed less food, thereby maximizing the profits of the traders.



5 Tobacco introduced to Virginia in 1612 became the main export by 1619 and with cotton was to remain the staple product of the Southern states, despite the repeated efforts of successive English governments during the colonial period to diversify their economies. The Northern states, at first a major source of furs and timber, developed their mineral resources, notably coal and iron, from the 18th century onwards, thus laying the basis for their early industrial development.

more, for Roman Catholics, in 1632. In 1625 the Dutch founded New Amsterdam, later renamed New York, as a trading post, to be followed by the Swedes and Finns.

French beginnings in North America stemmed from the trading activities of fishermen and fur trappers who established trading posts along the St Lawrence waterway. Then Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635) founded Quebec in 1608 and in less than 30 years the French had established posts as far west as Wisconsin. By 1660 a portage route from Lake Superior to Saskatchewan had been located and by 1720 New Orleans had been founded to guard the mouth of the Mississippi. Thus by the mid-eighteenth century the French had occupied, albeit sparsely, the whole of middle America, threatening the expansion of the English.

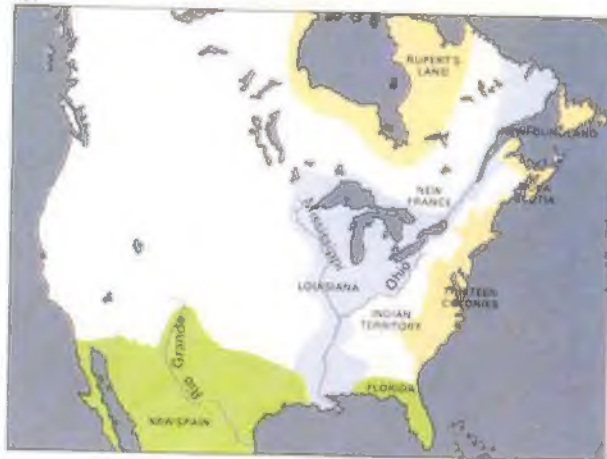
Influence of European events

Meanwhile, the Spanish North American empire, which included the whole coastline of the Gulf of Mexico as well as Florida, blocked English expansion to the south. But it was mainly events in Europe in the shape of

the Seven Years War (1756-63) [11] that were to weaken France and Spain and to allow the English to fill the vacuum these two nations left in America. When George III (1738-1820) came to the throne of England in 1760, the French were confined to eastern Canada and the Great Lakes, while Spanish territory, vast in area although virtually unoccupied, stretched from Panama almost to the Canadian border west of the Mississippi. With the Treaty of Paris (1763) France lost all her North American possessions to Britain with the exception of the small island group of St Pierre et Miquelon, while Spain ceded Florida. Fearing a resurgence of French and Spanish power, however, the English set up a buffer zone west of the Alleghenies and east of the Mississippi.

Having consolidated their position, the British determined to exploit their possessions in North America. But it was the unwillingness of these colonies, now 13 in number, to submit to taxation without representation in Parliament that led to the American Revolution and Declaration of Independence in 1776.

KEY



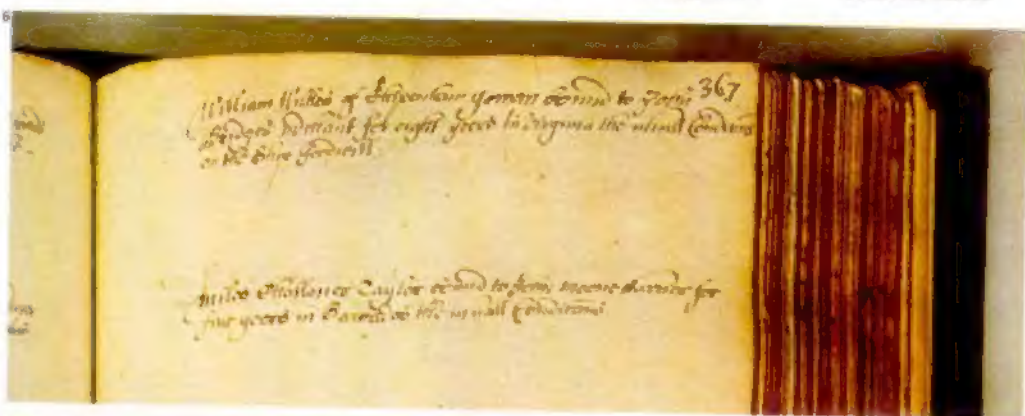
Under British control 1756
Under French control 1756
Under Spanish control 1756

Conflicting claims to the North American continent were the subject of intense and bitter rivalries between France, Spain and England throughout the

18th century. By the Treaty of Paris France's important North American possessions; Spain was too much weakened to assert her claims.

6 Indentured servants made up a large part of the total number of early emigrants. Orphans, petty offenders, political and religious prisoners, younger sons of impoverished landowners and young men and women who possessed a taste for adventure and a better life, bound themselves, or were bound for a term of years, to work for a planter in Virginia or the West Indies. In theory they were taught to become

planters themselves and at the end of their term, usually four or five years, they were allowed to go free and were given 20 hectares (50 acres) of land and other essentials to start up on their own. The indentures shown were recorded at Bristol, July 1660. The first reads: "William Wilkes of Chipenham Yoman bound to John Bridges Merchant for eight years in Virginia the usual conditions on the Ship Goodwill".



7 Many Quakers left England in the late 17th century when they conflicted with laws passed

at the restoration of Charles II on questions of worship, freedom from oaths and military service.



10 Indian villages, the homes of semi-nomadic hunters, bordered the rivers that flow into Chesapeake Bay and the creeks and inlets of New England. The early settlers bartered beads and trinkets for large tracts of land, much of it already cleared for cultivation, thus beginning the relentless process of Indian dispossession. Ports such as Baltimore and Fredericksburg were established around Chesapeake Bay by the 18th century.

8 John Harvard (1607-38), an English clergyman and graduate of Cambridge University, founded Harvard College at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1636 within six years of the establishment of that colony.

9 Pocahontas (1595-1617), the daughter of Powhatan, an Indian chief in Virginia at the time the white man came, became a Christian and married John Rolfe, a prominent settler. This provided a period of peace.



11 The British and French clashed on numerous occasions in the Seven Years War (1756-63). Regiments on both sides adopted uniforms designed more for splendour than efficiency or camouflage. Shown here are a trooper of the 10th British

dragoons and an officer of the Regiment de Saint Germain. A significant part of the war was fought in North America, ending in defeat for the French. The 1763 Treaty of Paris that ended the war vastly increased Britain's territory in America.



The American Revolution

The American Revolution was both a rebellion and an act of nation-building. It was a political upheaval in which Britain's 13 Atlantic coast colonies in America gained their independence and formed the embryonic United States. The revolution was also the first national struggle in modern times for the rights of the individual and the establishment of democratic government.

The British colonies

The Treaty of Paris of 1763, which ended 70 years of colonial wars between Britain and France, gave the British complete victory in North America and control over vast new territories in Canada and as far west as the Mississippi. It caused fundamental changes in attitude both in Britain and in the 13 colonies. The colonists were now rid of the great external threat that had made them rely on Britain for defence. Since Britain was spending large sums to defend the new territories, it was felt that the terms of trade with the colonies should be revised so as to improve their profitability and to increase the local contribution to defence.

To achieve this a Sugar Act was passed in 1764 and a Stamp Act in the following year; and wider use was made of Admiralty courts in their enforcement [1]. The colonies reacted strongly, demonstrations and rioting broke out, and a congress was called in New York which defined the major objections: first that the acts had been imposed by the British Parliament in which the colonists had no representation, and secondly that the colonists, like all British subjects, should have the right to trial by jury, not by arbitrary courts. Such was the opposition that the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766. But in the same year, a Declaratory Act was passed which asserted that Britain had the right to legislate for the colonies if it so wished.

A year later, this right was put into force with a series of acts taxing glass, lead, paper and tea. Widespread unrest followed, climaxing with the "Boston Massacre" [4] in 1770. Most of the acts were repealed, but in 1773 another Tea Act was passed giving favourable trading terms to the East India Company. The colonists again objected and at the "Boston Tea Party" a cargo of tea was

dumped into the harbour [3]. In Britain, acts were passed putting the government of Boston under direct British control.

First Continental Congress

When this became known, representatives of the colonies (except Georgia) met in 1774 at the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia [2], where a petition was drafted insisting that there should be no taxation without representation. The Congress also prepared an association between the colonies which would regulate their own trade. The British government, led by Lord North (1732-92), replied that a state of insurrection now existed in the colonies. Both sides prepared for war.

The first fighting took place on 19 April 1775 when Massachusetts militiamen fired on British troops at Lexington and Concord. An attempt by the militia to prevent the British improving their defences around Boston led to the Battle of Bunker Hill [7] on 17 June. A Second Continental Congress met and established an army with George Washington (1732-99) as its commander. As

CONNECTIONS

See also
Settlement of North America
British colonial policy in the 18th century
Pitt: Fox and the call for reform
The Industrial Revolution
USA: the opening up of the West
The French Revolution
The British labour movement to 1868
The English in Ireland

A Total British revenue from the 13 colonies 1763-4 £2,000 pa
B Cost to Britain of maintaining army in the colonies 1764 £350,000

C Expected yield of Sugar Tax £25,000 pa
D Expected yield of Stamp Tax £100,000 pa

E Total actual British revenue from the colonies 1764-8 £30,000 pa



1 During the 17th century, the British colonies in North America had had the right to tax themselves embodied in their charters and had thwarted attempts by the British to obtain any more revenue from them. But in

1763, faced with heavy debts and the need to support a standing army in North America, Britain tried to relieve some of the burden by imposing a series of taxes on the colonies without consultation. The

taxes fell far short of Britain's revenue expectations but they aroused the colonists in defence of their traditional rights and "Taxation without representation is tyranny!" became a rallying cry of the revolutionaries.



2 The Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia on 5 September 1774, was a gathering of delegates from 12 colonies (Georgia did not attend until the following year) called to prepare a declaration condemning British actions. There was little talk of independence, but the government in Britain reacted strongly, treating the actions of the Congress as rebellion. When the Second Congress met a year later, fighting had broken out and it was rapidly accepted as the effective governing body of the rebels. Although it had no statutory powers, it managed to maintain its position of leadership. It was the Congress that took the vital steps to issue the Declaration of Independence and to move towards a federal constitution.

3 On 16 December 1773 about 50 colonists disguised as Indians boarded three British ships in Boston harbour and dumped their cargoes of tea overboard to discourage enforcement of a tea tax. British reprisals, including a commercial blockade of Boston, led to the calling of the Continental Congress.

4 The "Boston Massacre" was the first violent clash between colonists and British troops. Three men were killed and two seriously wounded when troops who had been jeered at and attacked by a Boston crowd, opened fire without orders.



royal government collapsed, the Congress took over as the governing body.

On 4 July 1776, the Congress institutionalized the break with Britain by passing the Declaration of Independence, which gave a valuable boost to American morale, but had little immediate effect on the precarious position of the ex-colonies with their coasts and trade blockaded by British sea power and with their small, ill-trained forces faced by professionals [5]. However, the British commanders made only fumbling attempts to seize the initiative and a force under General Burgoyne (1723-92) was forced to surrender at Saratoga [6].

Victory for the colonists

This victory was crucial in persuading France to send a fleet to help the Americans in April 1778 and to declare war on Britain in July. With their naval communications now threatened, the British fell back from Philadelphia, and Washington was able to contain them around New York. The British then attempted to switch the centre of the war to the southern states of Georgia and

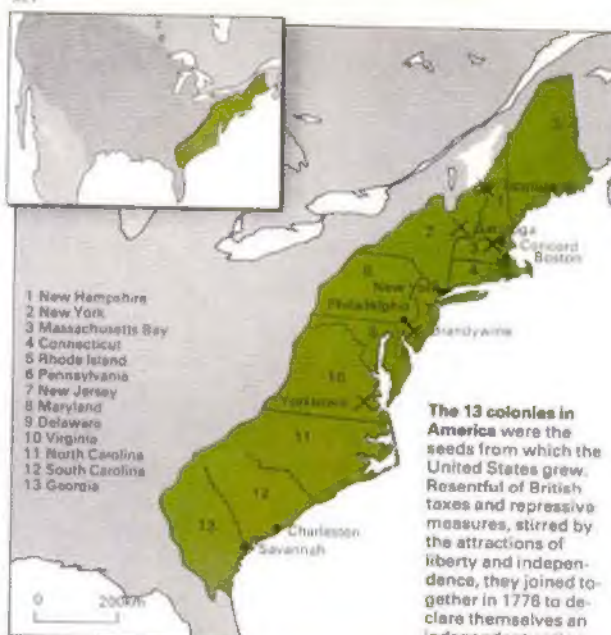
South Carolina. Meanwhile, Washington was working steadily to build up the strength of his army, and when an expedition led by General Cornwallis (1738-1805) attempted to link up with British forces in the north, it was cut off and forced to surrender at Yorktown on 19 October 1781.

This defeat convinced the British that the war must be ended. Negotiations were begun in Paris with an American delegation led by Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) and John Adams (1735-1826) and peace was formally ratified in September 1783.

Immediately after hostilities ended, steps were taken to forge a sense of American nationalism from the shaky wartime unity of the now independent states. A federal constitution, drawn up in 1787, became effective in 1789. A Bill of Rights was added in 1791 to protect the rights of individuals.

The success of the revolution encouraged and inspired democratic and libertarian movements elsewhere in the world during the following decades, particularly in Europe and notably in France, where revolution took place a few years later.

KEY



The 13 colonies in America were the seeds from which the United States grew. Resentful of British taxes and repressive measures, stirred by the attractions of liberty and independence, they joined together in 1776 to declare themselves an independent nation.



5 British "redcoats" were well-trained, professional soldiers who were generally superior in conventional battles to the imperfectly trained American volunteers. It was George Washington who kept the armies in existence despite repeated disappointments and who used the American skill in guerrilla tactics to wear down the British until they could be outmanoeuvred.

6 John Burgoyne surrendered a British army trapped at Saratoga to Horatio Gates in October 1777 after a forlorn attempt to invade the 13 colonies from Canada. The news of American victory encouraged the French to ally with the rebels.



9 A primary objective of the Constitution was to establish a balance of power between the executive

(the president), the legislature (Congress) and the judiciary (Supreme Court) to prevent the emergence

of tyranny. Much political power was reserved for the states, represented in Congress by senators.



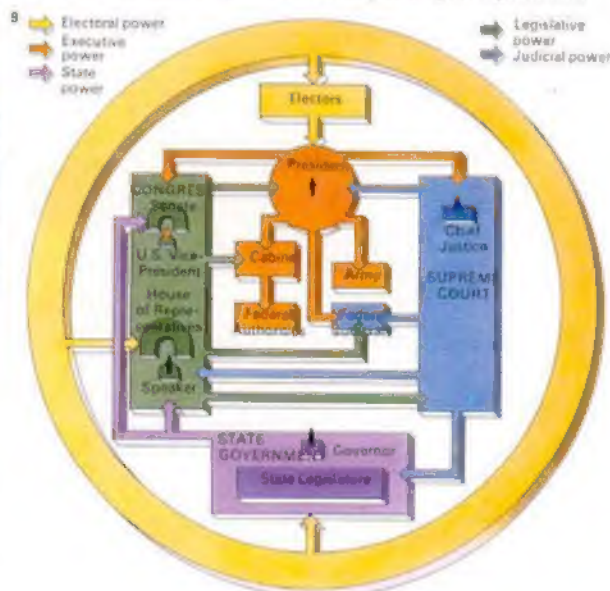
10 Thomas Paine (1737-1809) emigrated to Philadelphia from England in 1774 and soon became one of America's most influential revolutionaries. His pamphlet *Common Sense* and his *Crisis* papers profoundly stirred popular sentiment in the country with their impassioned pleas for liberty, condemnation of tyranny and powerful arguments favouring American independence. His tracts were often read to American soldiers to bolster morale during the war.



7 At the Battle of Bunker Hill, outside Boston on 17 June 1775, the Americans twice drove back British assaults before retreating. The first major battle of the revolution, it was an expensive British victory, in which the Americans proved that they could fight.



8 Scottish-born John Paul Jones (1747-92) took the revolution to sea by raiding British shipping. Called upon to surrender when his vessel *Bonhomme Richard* was battered by HMS *Serapis*, Jones replied, "I have not yet begun to fight" and went on to capture *Serapis*.



The early Industrial Revolution

Britain was the first industrial nation in the world. From the middle of the eighteenth century, a number of factors launched Britain into a period of self-sustaining economic growth by the first decade of the nineteenth century. However, the origins of the Industrial Revolution in Britain lay in the pre-industrial period; by the middle of the eighteenth century there was already a thriving commercial economy, with a growing population, developing agriculture, and expanding trade both at home and abroad.

Population growth

The growth of Britain's population from the mid-eighteenth century was not directly caused by industrialization although a large workforce was an essential factor in the development of industry. A run of good harvests in the first half of the century, low food prices, favourable climatic conditions, the decline of plague and a number of minor improvements in health all contributed to lower death rates and a consequent rise in population [2]. By the end of the eighteenth century, birth-rates began to rise, too, as

people in the industrial towns were able to marry earlier and to have, and keep, more children. Unlike Ireland, where population growth led to impoverishment and, ultimately, to famine, Britain's commercial and agricultural prosperity meant that a growing population contributed to increasing demand for products of every kind. Increased consumption was a stimulus to industrial innovation and methods of production.

In the past, periods of agricultural expansion had been checked by harvest failure, population level and economic downturn. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the profits of thriving overseas trade enabled landowners to borrow capital to increase agricultural production [5]. With increasing demand and prices for foodstuffs, agricultural expansion followed. The enclosure movement grouped the old open fields and common lands into individual, more efficient units, on which more productive techniques could be applied, such as improved animal husbandry, new root crops and the first agricultural machines. Enclosure, secured through Parliamentary Acts, had affected about 20

per cent of the area of England by 1845. Capital was required to make the most of enclosure and it led to many smaller farms being amalgamated into larger holdings. Contrary to common myth, enclosure did not depopulate the countryside, but often increased the demand for agricultural labour.

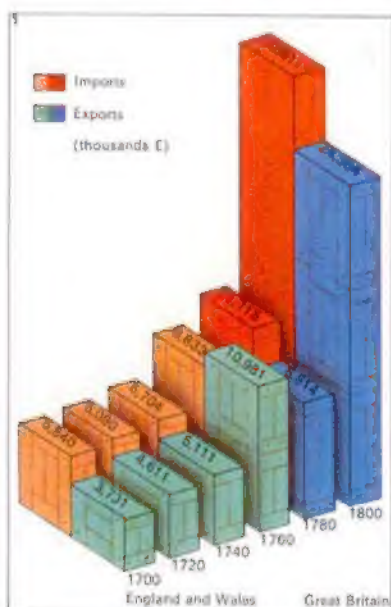
Increased demand

The continued profitability of foreign trade [1], particularly as the colonies grew, provided the capital for increases in production to meet demand at home and abroad. One of the first industries to feel this increased demand was mining, with the need for more domestic and industrial fuel. Output was increased 400 per cent in the course of the eighteenth century through the use of steam pumping engines to keep mines from flooding. Coal was an important raw material for many industrial processes as well as the fuel for steam power. Coal and iron together laid the foundations for the development of industry [4]. The iron industry of the early eighteenth century depended on charcoal for smelting and had a relatively small output.

CONNECTIONS

See also

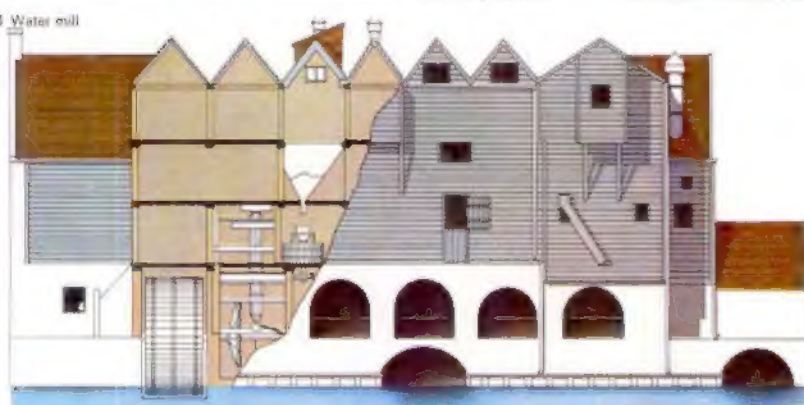
The Industrial Revolution
England under the Hanoverians
The agricultural revolution
The urban consequences of industrialization
The rural consequences of industrialization
The British labour movement to 1868
Exploration and science 1750-1850
Industrialization 1870-1914
Europe: economy and society 1750-1800
International economy 1700-1800



1 Industry was stimulated by growing demand, both at home and abroad. Britain's overseas trade experienced a rapid expansion from the 1680s, providing new market opportunities and the capital for investment in new techniques. New colonial markets acquired after the Seven Years War proved lucrative, as Britain engaged in the "Triangular Trade" carrying factory goods to Africa and the West Indies, transporting slaves across the Atlantic and bringing back colonial produce to Europe. Britain's largest export commodity in the first half of the 18th century was woollen textiles, but this was later overtaken by cotton.



2 Europe's population increased from the 1750s, and despite some appalling conditions in towns (here shown at one extreme in one of William Hogarth's Gin Lane pictures), mortality rates declined. The cause of this is not fully understood but may have been related to the end of plague epidemics after 1700 and improvements in hygiene after 1800, such as the availability of cheap soap, easily washable cotton clothing and improved water supply. Increased population because of earlier marriage and larger families provided a growing market for cheap industrial products and also the necessary ready supply of labour.

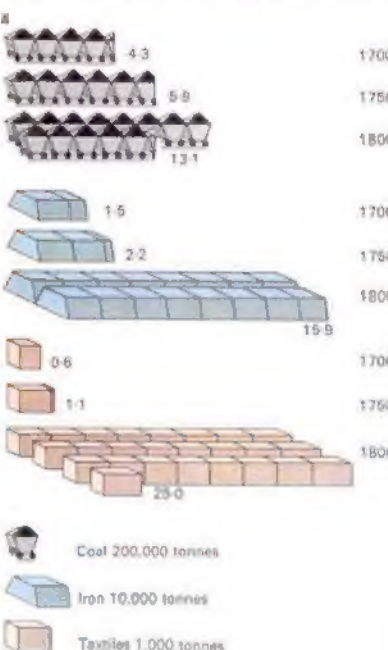


3 Mills driven by water provided the motive force for many processes before the Industrial Revolution, including grinding corn and spinning yarn. A flourishing woollen industry already existed in areas where water power was readily

available, such as the Cotswolds, East Anglia and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Many early machines could be driven by water power and the first phase of industrialization was based almost entirely upon the use of water-driven machinery.

Both the cotton and woollen industries developed on the slopes of the Pennines with abundant water power. It was only with the development of efficient steam power after 1776 that industry began to concentrate upon the

coalfields and no longer had to depend on the hilly regions. The use of coal and invention of coke-smelting enabled industry to expand and escape the problems of a critical shortage of wood for fuel. However, the change to steam was gradual.



4 The most striking developments in 18th-century industry were shown in coal, textiles and iron production. Coal mining expanded with the rise of steam power, a growing population and improvements in communications. Wool output increased to meet domestic and foreign demand, but mainly using traditional processes. Cotton production grew dramatically with the use of machinery and steam power until it became Britain's principal export commodity. Iron production also increased rapidly with the introduction of coke-smelting. These developments were evidence of a broad expansion of techniques to meet opportunities presented by rapidly growing markets.

The discovery by Abraham Darby of coke-smelting at his Coalbrookdale works in the 1730s revolutionized the production of cheap iron and enabled it to be used in the first machines and iron structures.

Allied to these developments, there was a major advance in technological power following the patenting of the improved Boulton and Watt steam engines after 1774. They used much less fuel than earlier models. Beside pumping, Watt's steam engine of 1769 was harnessed to drive machinery.

Labour-saving machinery

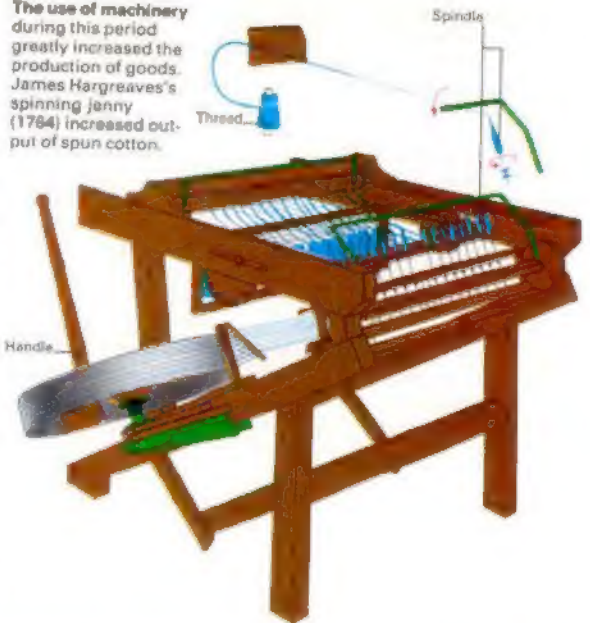
After steam power, the most important innovations were associated with the growth of labour-saving machinery. They occurred most dramatically in the cotton industry, which witnessed technical breakthroughs in weaving (Kay's flying shuttle, 1733) then in spinning [Key] and gradually in other processes. The harnessing of steam power to machinery in the cotton industry led to the first factories in which the production processes were concentrated under one roof [7]. Although many factories still relied on water

power [3], the development of the factory system in cotton foreshadowed the growth of the factory and the use of steam in other industries. Woolen production, for example, expanded mainly by using traditional methods such as water power. Gradually, however, the introduction of machinery and the use of steam power drew it towards the coalfields of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Concentration of production needed both capital and cheap transport. Capital was provided out of the profits of agricultural improvement and overseas trade. Country banks, although subject to panics and bankruptcies, did provide a basic network of credit for industrial and agricultural development. By 1800 there were about 70 London banks and about 400 country banks, usually issuing their own notes. The Stock Exchange was founded in 1773.

Land transport remained slow and expensive for bulky products, in spite of the development of turnpikes. River transport was cheaper, but it was only with the development of the canal network that bulky products could be moved cheaply [6].

KEY
The use of machinery during this period greatly increased the production of goods. James Hargreaves's spinning jenny (1764) increased output of spun cotton.



5 Agriculture could be highly profitable in the later 18th century thanks to a growing population and new techniques, as witness this substantial farmhouse in Gloucestershire. Enclosures grouped fields into more efficient units, permitting the use of four-crop and other rotations while selective breeding and inventions such as Jethro Tull's seed drill contributed to increased agricultural prosperity.

6 Transport developments played a vital part in the Industrial Revolution by widening markets and allowing production to be concentrated where goods could be brought by cheap bulk transport.

8 Josiah Wedgwood (1730-95) pioneered the large-scale production of pottery at his Etruria works near Stoke-on-Trent. He was a self-educated man and typical of those who made the Industrial Revolution.

Turnpikes and improved road surfaces increased passenger traffic by road, but the most important advance for industry came with the development of canals. The Bridgewater Canal between Worsley and

Manchester was built for the Duke of Bridgewater by James Brindley (1716-72), an engineer who remained illiterate until his death. The canal, opened in 1761, halved the cost of coal in Manchester by

reducing transport costs. In the "canal mania" that followed, an extensive canal network was built up and many early industries were based on it, giving them access to raw materials and markets.



7 A pioneer of the factory system, Sir Richard Arkwright (1732-92) built this cotton mill at Cromford, Derbyshire, which Joseph Wright of Derby painted in the 1780s. The first factories were built for the textile industry, where mechanization

and the use first of water power, then of steam, made concentration of production essential. Factories increased in size as steam became the principal source of power. The words "factory" and "mill" were synonymous for a long while.



9 Labour conditions were often poor in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. Child labour was common, especially in the textile industry, with long hours of work, low pay and frequent accidents. Women also worked in the textile

factories, where they made up half the workforce. Though women and children had worked on the land, these new industrial conditions provoked a series of Parliamentary enquiries in Britain and by the mid-19th century Factory Acts were

passed, restricting hours of work and prohibiting women and children from certain areas of employment, such as work underground. By 1900 most other industrialized nations had also introduced some form of factory legislation.

Pitt, Fox and the call for reform

The age of the younger William Pitt (1759–1806) and Charles Fox (1749–1806) saw the beginning of the transformation that turned Britain from an agricultural society governed by a narrow oligarchy of the landed classes into an urban, industrial society with democratic rights for most of its inhabitants. During the 60-year reign of George III (reigned 1760–1820), economic and social change greatly enlivened political debate.

Party lines tended to harden during the latter part of the century, replacing the more fluid groupings of the time of Robert Walpole (1676–1745), and reflecting the rise of more divisive issues in politics, such as the American crisis, the power of the Crown, and the Wilkes affair. Out of these were born the demand for parliamentary reform and the emergence, for the first time since 1715, of something approaching a two-party division under the leadership of Pitt and Fox.

The power of the Crown

The accession of George III provoked a period of instability in British politics. The king's dismissal of the existing administration

under the elder William Pitt (1708–78) and the Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768) was followed in 1762 by the elevation of the king's favourite, the Earl of Bute (1713–92), to lead the administration. These actions, as well as the pronouncements of the new king, reawakened fears that the Crown would attempt to dominate politics and that the mixed constitution of Crown, Lords and Commons, embodied in the Glorious Revolution of 1689 would be undermined.

In fact, George III was not aiming at the royalist reaction that his opponents feared. An inexperienced and obstinate young king, he wished to free the Crown from the domination of the group of politicians that had held power under George II (reigned 1727–60), especially the elder Pitt. The allegations that the king tyrannized his ministers and controlled a vast web of patronage were much exaggerated.

Nevertheless the resentments of the ousted Whig leaders were articulated in Edmund Burke's *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, published in 1770 [3]. Burke argued that the manipulation of

patronage by the Crown permitted the monarch to dominate Parliament and rest his government upon a small group of "King's Friends", thus destroying the independence of the House of Commons.

At the beginning of George III's reign the attempts to exclude the MP John Wilkes (1727–97) [Key] seemed to suggest that the Commons was no longer an independent body or even representative of those who already had the vote.

Demands for reform

Hence the early years of George III's reign saw the rise of demands for reform. These were intended to reduce the influence of the Crown by removing the "rotten" boroughs and giving more seats to the large county electorates and some of the new manufacturing towns. The agitation for reform by the Yorkshire Association under Christopher Wyvill (1740–1822) and by John Wilkes's supporters in Middlesex and the City of London reflected feeling among small landowners and merchants. The war with America aroused still more dissatisfaction.

CONNECTIONS

See also
Europe, economy and society
1700–1800
England under the Hanoverians
The agricultural revolution
The British labour movement to 1868
The fight for the vote
Scotland in the 18th century
British colonial policy in the 18th century
India from the Moguls to 1800
The American Revolution
The story of the West Indies
The story of Canada
Ireland from Union to Partition

1 William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, was secretary of state from 1756 to 1761 and the foremost politician of his age, known as the "Great Commoner". During his period in power he was absorbed in the Seven Years War (1756–63) and left the management of Parliament and elections to the Duke of Newcastle. Pitt kept free of party ties and showed no interest in parliamentary reform, despite his close friendship with Wilkes. His last political act was to plead for a policy of self-government under the Crown for the American colonies. He formed a second administration in 1766, but ill health forced him to retire from politics in 1768.



2 Charles James Fox was the effective leader of the Whigs during the last decades of the 18th century. Independent minded, a brilliant orator and a spendthrift who amassed huge gambling debts, Fox is remembered for his vigorous opposition to the Crown and his support for parliamentary reform and the anti-slavery movement. As a party leader he was not very successful, holding office only twice, in 1783 and 1806. His bitter opposition to George III deprived him of royal favour and kept him from power. In addition, his support for the French Revolution split the Whigs and lost him support, as did his opposition to Pitt's repressive acts in the 1790s.



3 Edmund Burke (1729–97) was one of the leading politicians and political philosophers of the 18th century. A Whig, he articulated the theory of "loyal" opposition to the government of the day, blaming the corruption and alleged oligarchic tendencies of George III's reign for political instability and the disorders of the Wilkes affair. He sympathized with the American colonists' struggle for independence from England, but was opposed to the French Revolution for destroying the historically established, traditional institutions of the country. He broke with Fox and the Whigs over this in 1791 and campaigned for war against France until his death in 1797.



4 The Gordon Riots in June 1780 were caused by opposition to the removal of legal penalties from Roman Catholics. In 1779, an extreme

Protestant Association was formed by Lord Gordon (1751–93) to prevent what was believed to be growing Catholic power. Petitions and demon-

strations were followed by a week of rioting and looting in central London after the Commons refused to debate their cause. Newgate prison was stormed

and burned (shown here), property looted and the Bank of England attacked. More than 400 people were killed in the rioting and looting.

Its incompetent handling, leading to defeat, contributed in 1782 to the fall of Lord North's (1732-92) administration, which had held power since 1770.

The re-emergence of two parties

After a confused period with three ministries in under two years, William Pitt formed a government in 1784. Although he never used the word "Tory" himself, Pitt proved, over his long administration, to be the re-founder of the Tory Party. Fox then emerged as the leader of the Whigs and the effective opposition. The early struggles with George III had helped to sharpen party lines and legitimize opposition. Although the Whig and Tory parties were still more fluid than they were to become, Pitt and Fox provided leadership to a more coherent grouping of supporters than had been the case earlier in the century.

The passing of the "economical reform" acts in 1782 - reducing the number of officers in the pay of the Crown eligible to sit in Parliament - contributed to the waning of royal influence. The professionalization of the civil service under Pitt and his drive for

greater economy further reduced offices and sinecures. George III's recurrent breakdowns into insanity contributed to the decline of monarchical power, culminating in his permanent incapacity in the last ten years of his life. Even so, the king retained sufficient personal influence to exclude Fox from office for much of the period and to support Pitt's administration. It was the king's obstinacy over Catholic emancipation that forced Pitt's resignation in 1801.

The last years of Pitt and Fox were dominated by the impact of the French Revolution and the wars with France. Pitt was forced to act against the threat of subversion in England with a series of repressive measures, culminating in the treason trials of 1794 - aimed at the radical Corresponding Societies - and the Two Acts of 1795. During those years, Fox alienated many of his parliamentary supporters by his support of the French Revolution at a time when its excesses shocked the majority of propertied opinion. Nonetheless, his opposition to the policies of Pitt and his brilliant oratory preserved the Whig's image as the party of reform.

KEY



John Wilkes achieved notoriety as one of the early champions of reform after he was arrested for criticizing George III in his *North Briton* newspaper, in 1763. Wilkes claimed immunity as an MP, but he was expelled from the House of Commons. In 1768 Wilkes was elected MP for Middlesex. He became a focus for popular discontent with the Government and was able to manipulate this to cause riots in London in 1768. Imprisoned, Wilkes was re-elected three times, each time being expelled by the Commons. In 1774 he was finally allowed to take his seat in the House, but his assertion of popular opinion and freedom in politics was not forgotten.



5 Poor harvests and high prices caused several waves of food riots in the late 18th and

early 19th centuries. In particular, the wars with France from 1793 led to great hardship and

many popular disturbances. In 1800, the price of corn was more than treble the price in 1790.



7 The movement for parliamentary reform gathered momentum in the last 25 years of the 18th century. This cartoon shows reformers attacking the "rotten" boroughs, the virtually uninhabited towns that still elected members to Parliament. Old

Sarum was a notorious example of this - there a handful of voters returned two MPs. In addition, many seats were at the disposal of landed patrons, the so-called "pocket" boroughs. The larger manufacturing towns such as Manchester,

Sheffield, Birmingham and Leeds were unrepresented, and the voting qualifications varied from town to town. The younger Pitt introduced a bill in 1785 to remove some of the rotten boroughs, but it was defeated in the Commons.

6 William Pitt, the Younger who led the Tory Party from 1784, is shown here dominating the House of Commons. He held office with only a short break, from 1801-04, until his death. His inexperience led to early defeats of his attempts to reform Parliament and create a police force for London, but he soon established a stable and efficient administration. Pitt reduced patronage and re-organized the civil service, while settling colonial affairs in India with his India Act of 1784. As a war minister after 1793, he was not totally successful. Taxation and defeats abroad made his Government unpopular, but he weathered the crisis, introducing repressive measures against the radical societies at home. In 1801, he resigned over the king's opposition to Catholic emancipation, but returned as prime minister in 1804 for two troubled years before his death.



8 Agitation for reform culminated in the Reform Bill struggle of 1830-32. The Whig Government was returned in 1830 pledged to carry a reform bill. But rejection of the bill by the Lords in 1831 precipitated severe rioting in many parts of the country. At Bristol there were four days of riots and in Nottingham the castle was burnt (shown here) by supporters of the bill. The bill was finally passed in 1832.



Georgian art and architecture

In the eighteenth-century British artists developed a new self-confidence and for the first time in history the general public was interested in art. This was reflected by the numerous art competitions. Not only artists were not content with the new ways, leading to the immense popularity of landscape gardening and the fashion for water appreciation of the architectural styles of the past. Taste in painting, furniture, bejewelled portraiture, sculpture and new opportunities other than the church and the aristocracy.

The influence of Italy

The Georgian achievement was due to continuous historical widespread interest in the arts and architecture. In the sixteenth century, when the Italian Renaissance was at its height, the English style was particularly receptive to classical and young artists. In Florence, the Roman Academy had the remains of antiquity and the artist's achievement of the past. There they could start the new generation of workers.

It was architecture that first attracted the English. These ideas and experiences, the

English was a choice system of rules and by the sixteenth century buildings, derived partly from antiquity but far more from the sixteenth-century Italian. Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) had been a follower of Palladio and gave a patriotic justification for imitating the Italian architect.

The leaders of Palladianism were John Campbell (1676-1729), whose *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715, 1717, 1725) first promoted the new style, which superseded the Baroque of Wren and his school, and Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), who was an architect, a patron of architects and the most influential English architect of Palladianism. Through numerous books of pattern designs, English style spread far and wide, especially to America, where Palladianism flourished [7] long after it had become outmoded in the mother country.

Later Georgian architects

In the 1740s young architects began to study architecture outside the Renaissance tradition, exploring for the first time Greece and the Near East. They studied the fragments

of antique interior stucco decoration hitherto largely ignored, and began to take more interest in long neglected medieval buildings. Of this generation, the conservative William Chambers (1723-96) refashioned Palladianism with greater suavity. his early work was Somerset House, London, begun in 1776. Robert Adam (1728-92) was the prolific exponent of a new form of interior decoration [6]. Strawberry Hill [5], built from 1751 by Horace Walpole (1717-97), is the most famous piece of perfecting Gothic revival. At the end of the century the most original architect was John Soane (1753-1837), who concentrated on the problems of space and mass, and whose master piece was the Bank of England.

Georgian architecture achieved a high standard not only in the design and construction of country houses but in the design. Of this period are the great squares of north London and the grandest sequences of square, circus and crescent in Bath [3]. Most memorable are Regent Street and Regent's Park in London, the work of John Nash (1752-1835).

CONNECTIONS

See also

17th century
18th century
19th century
20th century
21st century
22nd century
23rd century
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27th century
28th century
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1 Thomas Gainsborough painted *Countess Margaret Cavendish* in 1745. She was a Bath woman and in 1745 year he painted her. Margaret Cavendish was a famous Bath woman and in 1745 year he painted her. Margaret Cavendish was a famous Bath woman and in 1745 year he painted her.

2 "The Countess's Dressing Room" (1745) by Thomas Gainsborough. Margaret Cavendish was a Bath woman and in 1745 year he painted her. Margaret Cavendish was a famous Bath woman and in 1745 year he painted her.

3 Bath was the most fashionable winter resort in England in the 18th century. The city was built by John Wood the Elder in 1704-54. The city was built by John Wood the Elder in 1704-54. The city was built by John Wood the Elder in 1704-54.



3 Bath was the most fashionable winter resort in England in the 18th century. The city was built by John Wood the Elder in 1704-54. The city was built by John Wood the Elder in 1704-54. The city was built by John Wood the Elder in 1704-54.

Meanwhile, landowners created England's most important original contribution to the visual arts, the landscape garden [8]. William Kent (1686-1748), Lord Burlington's friend and protégé, was an important early exponent, but from the middle of the century the two busiest landscapists were Lancelot ("Capability") Brown (1716-83) and, from the mid-1790s, Humphry Repton (1752-1818), whose designs embody the taste for the "picturesque" – rougher, more irregular and "natural" than the shaven slopes and demure clumps of Brown.

Georgian painting

In painting, the first great figure of the century was William Hogarth (1697-1764). He is most famous for his paintings – and prints based on them – satirizing contemporary life. He was a theorist of painting who emphasized the sinuous line as the basis of beauty, and was a delightful portraitist.

In 1768 the Royal Academy was founded with Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) as president. Its main aim was to train painters, sculptors and architects. Reynolds en-

shrined its philosophy that "history pictures" of noble themes from the Bible, classical mythology, and ancient or modern history, ranked highest in the types of painting.

In practice Reynolds made his career out of portraiture, and he developed a type of "historical" portrait in which the sitter, usually female, wore classical costume and took up a pose derived from the Old Masters. This was indeed the golden age of English portraiture, with painters of the calibre of Thomas Gainsborough (1727-84) producing fresh and sparkling portraits set in imaginary landscapes, the master of the English conversation piece, or group portrait, was Johann Zoffany (1734-1810).

While the art of landscape was significantly developed by a series of minor artists, incipient Romanticism had already touched the work of the history-painter James Barry (1741-1806) and the Swiss-born Henry Fuseli (1741-1825). It is equally prominent in the engravings of the poet William Blake (1757-1827), which make a great contrast with the classical purity of the sculptor and illustrator John Flaxman (1755-1826).



3 'Croome Court'
Painted by Richard Wilson (1714-82) in 1758, immediately after his return from Italy, it shows how much his study of Claude's landscapes with the fine colouring and well-controlled masses

of foliage had affected his approach to English landscapes. It also shows a typical Palladian house in a landscape garden setting. The central portico and corner towers with pyramidal caps

had by this time become clichés of English country houses. Its architect may have been Sanderson Miller, who was better known as a Gothic revivalist. The park with undulating greenward was laid out by Capability Brown.

4 Pompeio Batoni
1708-87 painted many rich young English lords in Roman costume. Grand Tours. They were often posed casually in front of a mausoleum or monument. This portrait of Cardinal York (1725-1807) a Stuart claimant to the throne.

5 Strawberry Hill
Twickenham was built for the writer Horace Walpole who designed the house with his friends in a Committee of Taste. The house grew slowly and irregularly but it was generally based on engravings of medieval monuments.



6 The interior of Syon House Middlessex was remodelled for the Duke of Northumberland after 1781, and it was one of Robert Adam's first great opportunities to show how a modern noble could be at home with a splendid but more delicate than the antique palaces of the Roman

emperors Hadrian and Diocletian. The anteroom incorporates marble column shafts physically brought from Rome by Robert's brother James (1730-84), who acted as his assistant. Most of Adam's work was more delicate than this one, but the brilliant

columns are typical of his work, as was the free adaptation of the Mediterranean styles. He was perhaps the first English architect to try to create a convincing classical style and proportion in the interior of the building, the interior and the furnishings.



7 Monticello, Virginia was designed by Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) the third president of the USA for his use from 1769. Its central dome echoes Palladio's Villa Rotonda, a favourite model of the English Palladians. In this, it was typical of the idealism of much of the architecture of 18th-century America, where great stress was laid on clarity, simplicity of form, and the human-based proportions.



8 The landscape garden at Stourhead Wiltshire was the personal creation of its owner Henry Hoare (1705-85) and architect Henry Flitcroft. Begun in 1743, the garden was a conscious pastoral union of water, trees and buildings in the spirit of a landscape by Claude. A walk round the lake passed many buildings, temple, cottage, Pantheon, shown here, and a Gothic mansion at the end of the lake.

Origins of romanticism

The reaction against the Enlightenment began early in the eighteenth century and was evident in many isolated ways that were to culminate in the great pre-Romantic period of 1770–98. The Enlightenment had asserted the powers and worth of the individual, laying the philosophical foundations of an individualism that the Romantics elevated to subjectivism. Romanticism rejected the sterility of rationalism, exalting the emotions as the source of all truth.

Influence of Celtic mythology

One theme runs clearly through the mid-eighteenth century, that of Scandinavian and Celtic mythology and antiquities. Among many who explored these veins, Thomas Percy (1729–1811) translated runic poetry from the Icelandic in 1763 and Thomas Gray (1716–71) sought inspiration from Scandinavian sources for works such as *The Descent of Odin* (1761). But these were to be authoritatively overtaken by the efforts of James Macpherson (1736–96). His *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760) derived from Irish cycles that had found a way into Scotland and

their success led to *Fingal* (1761) and the Ossian phenomenon [6], a timely invention of sublime Celtic lore that inspired the European Romantic movement.

Although romanticism quickly spread to painting and music, its origins and first expressions were predominantly literary. German and English. In 1765 Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* brought the strength and freshness of the ballad into the literary domain, at about the same time a *cause célèbre* centred on Thomas Chatterton (1752–70), who devised medieval imitations alleged to be by Rowley, a fifteenth-century author, as well as writing his own poems. By his early suicide Chatterton became a symbol of the persecuted obsessive dreamer.

Genuine scholarship

While Chatterton indulged in his "pious fraud", genuine scholarship looked into the past to assist the revival of romance. *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) by Richard Lurd (1720–1808) and Thomas Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* were influential in this.

Romantic curiosity was not merely academic. A new feeling for landscape took men on journeys to the wild Hebrides to unknown mountains, in search of the physically "horrid and sublime" and, later, the picturesque and romantic. These pursuits would have been almost unthinkable at the beginning of the century under rational classicism. The latent awareness of nature was to bear fruit with the Lake Poets of the 1820's. *Countries of the mind* appeared in *Rasselas* (1759) by Samuel Johnson (1709–84) and *Vathek* (1786) by William Beckford (1760–1844).

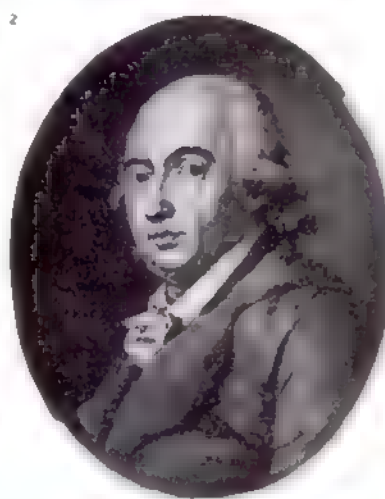
In 1771 Henry Mackenzie (1745–1831) published *A Man of Feeling*, a novel of sentiment of no outstanding merit but attesting the influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), the man of nature and feeling *par excellence*, who, with Johann Herder [2] (1744–1803), was the great theoretical precursor of European romanticism. Rousseau's early involvement with the *encyclopedistes* turned into a conflict of head and heart and it is the supremacy of the heart that inspires *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761).

CONNECTIONS

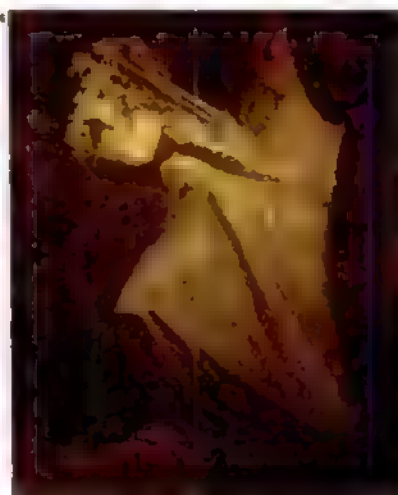
See also



1 Horace Walpole (1717–97) converted a farm at Twickenham into a "little Gothic castle" and for 40 years added architectural detail, armour and stained glass largely derived from chapels and cathedrals of Europe. A "Strawberry Hill Committee" consisting of Bentley the archaeologist, Walpole and others, virtually originated the revival of Gothic. Because of his influential social position Walpole the antiquarian was an unconscious instrument of melancholy romanticism and the inspirer of many monastic country houses.



2 Johann Herder remains the most significant harbinger of the Romantic movement. His real achievement was to alter the course of Goethe's outlook. The young author's rococo ideas were replaced by concepts of spontaneity and originality and he was introduced to popular poetry to Ossian and Shakespeare. Herder's own important statement of the *Sturm und Drang* movement lies in two essays written in 1773. He particularly sought to establish the *Volkstüm* (the folk-song) as the only truly valid poetry.



3 Thomas Parnell's poem "A Night Piece on Death" (1721) illustrated the morbid and baroque "Graveyard School". Robert Blair's "The Grave" (1743) in this pre-Romantic style was illustrated by the painter William Blake in 1808.

4 The new interest in Shakespeare owed much to Herder whose essay *Shakespeare* (1773) celebrates him as an irrational genius, a philosopher of folk poetry. This illustration of Lady Macbeth is the work of Henry Fuseli (1741–1825).

5 The poetic wonder of Goethe's old age *Faust* (Part I 1808, Part II 1832), grew from a lifetime of reflection. The ultimate transformation

of the medieval alchemist into the troubled Romantic scholar was Goethe's search of experience and salvation.

Its enormous success was followed by Rousseau's equally important *Emile* (1762), a novel that revolutionized the concept of education. The child, Rousseau maintained, should grow under the moral influence of nature's laws, protected from ready-made instruction — a theory that still echoes through contemporary thought. Rousseau himself an anguished genius, exercised a profound influence on English literature and the French Romantic movement. His sensibility sympathy with nature, lyricism and insistence on an immortal but complex soul fuse into the plausible dogma of the superiority of inspiration over rational thought.

The influence of Germany

Germany, however, can be regarded as the first home of romanticism and the one in which it took its most characteristic forms. Of its theorists, Gotthold Lessing (1729-81) was of prime importance. His contributions to literary periodicals dismissed the old classical forms, extolled Shakespeare as a model and drew attention to the resources of German folk song. Shakespeare himself [4]

was first translated into German by Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813) in a move that further advanced the *Sturm und Drang* [2] ('storm and stress') movement which embraced a number of young poets, including Goethe, and placed an overwhelming emphasis on intensity of passion.

Rousseau's counterpart, the critic Herder was also paving the way for German romanticism. His advocacy of a return to nature — and to him Shakespeare was a natural phenomenon — and his recognition of [artists' feelings of] all nurtured the young Wolfgang von Goethe [1749-1832] [8] at Strasbourg into inspirational rather than classical paths. Goethe's multifarious activities and literary achievements and his fusion of both rational and Romantic elements mark him as the supreme Romantic figure in European literature.

Many strands were woven into later Romantic attitudes. None equalled the decisive impact of the French Revolution. Where madness and melancholia had been the escape route of the earlier Romantics, those who followed found a new freedom

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George, Lord Byron (1788-1824) was by temperament and tragic destiny an arch Romantic. His

voluminous poetry reckless in its spontaneity on the ready vehicle for his disenchanting feelings had

a hypnotic effect throughout Europe. Its many, however, absent from his shorter love poems



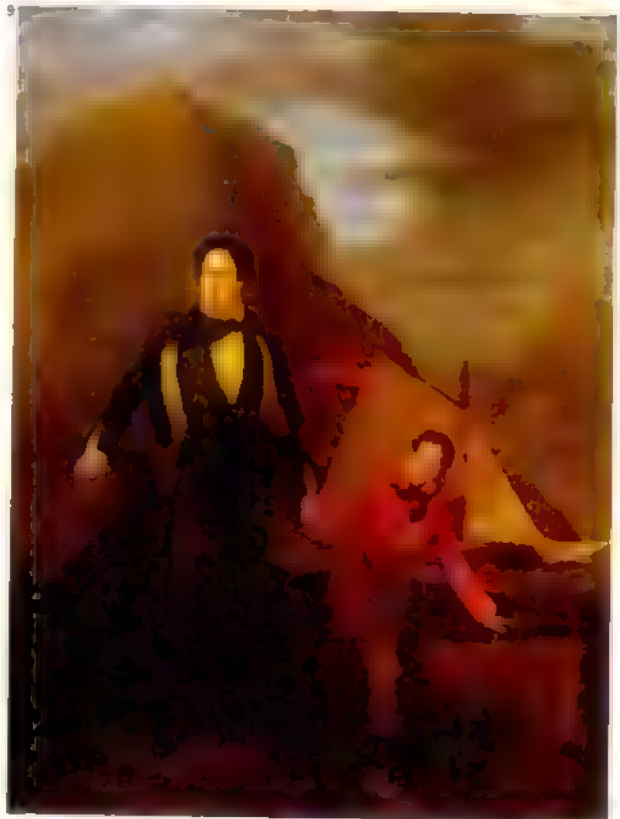
6 The misty Celtic world of Ossian was a rich and enormously influential vein in European romanticism. Ossian was a semi-legendary 3rd century Irish poet-warrior, here dreaming a typical dream over his lyre, when Macpherson published his translation in 1762, birthing a cult that spread throughout Europe. Despite some fierce academic criticism, few suspected that Macpherson had invented freely, with only passing nods to genuine Celtic lore.



7 Siegfried, a hero both of Germanic and Norse legend, is a principal figure in the *Nibelungenlied*. The imposing mythology of the Rhine, and attracted much attention from early Romantic writers and painters seeking to establish a mystical German tradition.

8 Goethe's own disappointment in love was the foundation for his *The Sufferings of Young Werther* (1774). The hero's intensity of feeling and dramatic gestures (as in this illustration) inspired numerous imitators, when his suicide for love did the same. Goethe's notoriety was assured.

9 The first substantial Romantic who lost his native country and conquered Europe. Lord Byron took Spain, Italy, the East and Greece as a battleground for his anti-locustic individualism. A fervent ally of the Greeks, he died supporting their independence struggle.



The French Revolution

The prestige and apparent power of the absolute monarchy that Louis XIV (1638–1715) had built up disguised fundamental weaknesses that were to become serious under his successors. French society was increasingly divided into a small aristocracy jealously defending its privileges of wealth and partial exemption from taxation [2], a growing middle class frustrated by its lack of political power and the incompetence of royal government, and the peasantry which did not own enough land for security from bad harvests and which hated the feudal dues it had to pay the aristocracy.

Calling of the Estates-General

During the reign of Louis XV (1710–74), royal prestige was damaged by a series of disastrous wars with Britain, and the government went deep into debt despite a general increase in trade and industry. Even success in helping the American colonists [1] at the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI in 1774 only highlighted the contrast between American ideals of liberty and democracy, and repression and privilege in France. An

economic slump began in the 1780s and the state of royal finances became so bad that an attempt was made to tax the privileged classes. They refused to pay and the king was forced, for the first time since 1614, to call the Estates-General. When this met in 1789, the Third Estate – the bourgeoisie, or middle classes – swiftly tired of the actions of the aristocracy and clergy and on 17 June proclaimed itself a National Assembly [4A] with the intention of preparing a new constitution.

While this political crisis had been growing, a disastrous harvest in 1788 had brought many peasants and industrial workers close to starvation [3], and riots had broken out in many parts of France. When, on 11 July 1789, Louis (1754–93) dismissed his popular minister Jacques Necker (1732–1804), there was widespread protest.

Anti-royal feeling grows

The people of Paris stormed the Bastille [Key] on 14 July and there was a general breakdown of social order throughout France with aristocratic property being looted or seized. The National Assembly

stripped away the privileges of aristocracy and clergy and the king had to leave Versailles for the Tuileries palace in Paris.

The political turmoil continued over the next two years with attempts to establish a new constitution and with anti-royal feeling growing. Confiscation of aristocratic and Church land and wealth gave the new government welcome financial help, but an issue of paper currency – the *assignats* – soon led to renewed inflation. In June 1791 the king attempted to flee abroad but was recaptured at Varennes. Popular hostility to him increased when the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia issued a declaration saying that the ancient rights of Louis would soon be restored. In September a new constitution [4B] was introduced setting up a legislative assembly and giving the king a strictly limited role. But tension rapidly grew between moderate constitutionalists and extreme anti-monarchists.

In April 1792, war was declared on Austria. As royalist armies backed by Austria and Prussia gathered on France's borders [6] the mob demanded that the

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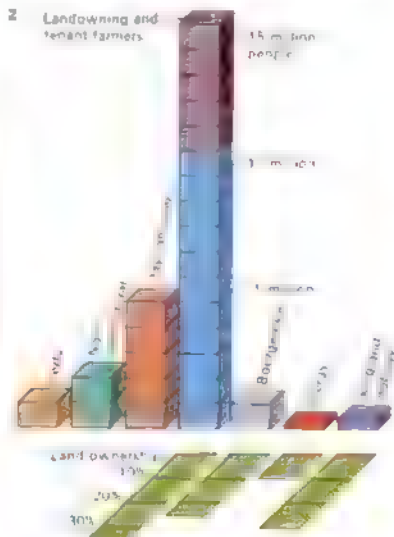
See also

1 The American Revolution
2 The English Revolution
3 The Russian Revolution
4 The French Revolution
5 The Industrial Revolution
6 The French Revolution



1 The Marquis de Lafayette became a popular hero when he led the French volunteers who helped the American colonists break free from Britain. With other aristocrats he joined the National

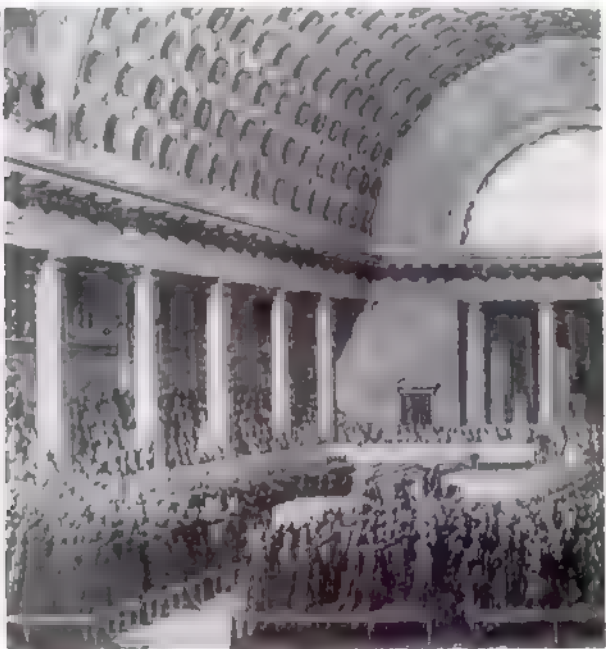
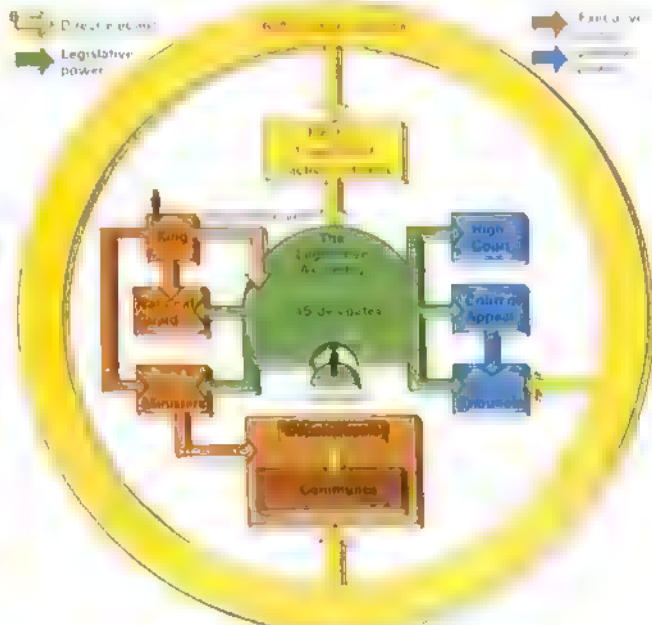
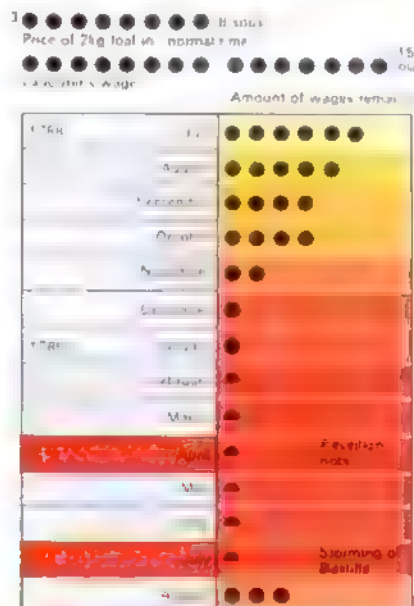
Assembly in 1789, presenting a declaration of rights and organizing the National Guard. A moderate reformer, he became trapped between Jacobin extremists and the court and fled in 1792.



2 Unequal division of land with more than 40% owned by

less than 3% of the population was a major grievance and fundamental problem of French society. As most of the nobility and clergy were largely exempt from taxation, the principal share of the burden fell on the bourgeoisie and the more prosperous of the peasantry.

4 The meeting of the Third Estate as the National Assembly [A] on 17 June 1789 pledged to end feudal privileges was the political start of the revolution. The constitution it produced [B] was a limited monarchy with power residing in a Legislative Assembly elected by citizens who paid direct taxation at least equivalent to three days' wages of a labourer per year. The 1791 Constitution also divided France into the local government *départements* that are still in use.



Assembly act against the king. In September Prussian armies invaded France, precipitating a massacre of captured aristocrats. An unexpected victory over the invaders at Valmy on 22 September relieved the pressure. On the same day France became a republic ruled by a Constituent Assembly which was elected by the extremist Jacobins, the most radical group to hold power during the revolution.

The king was put on trial and executed [5] in January 1793. In the following months, defeats by the *émigré* armies, pro-royalist risings in La Vendée and the south, and continuing economic problems prompted the Assembly to appoint a Committee of Public Safety to exercise emergency powers and to order total mobilization. A reign of terror began during which more than 40 000 enemies of the revolution were sent to the guillotine. All organized religion was officially abolished and replaced by worship of the Supreme Being.

By spring 1794 the republican armies had rallied, in June 1794 the counter-revolutionary armies were decisively

defeated at Fleurus, and in July the Jacobin leader, Maximilien Robespierre (1758–94) who had been virtual dictator for a year, was overthrown and executed. A reaction set in with moderates seizing power. In 1795 a basically conservative constitution was set up headed by a five-man Executive Directorate.

Emergence of Napoleon

The Directorate made peace with Prussia and the Netherlands, but launched a major offensive against Austria by sending a young general, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) to campaign in Italy [7]. He was brilliantly successful during 1796, forcing Austria out of the war. He then led an expedition to Egypt to cut Britain's communications with her Indian Empire, but it was finally forced to abandon the campaign when Horatio Nelson (1758–1805) destroyed his fleet at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. Meanwhile the Directorate had become profoundly unpopular with all sections of the population and when Napoleon returned in October 1799 he was able to engineer a coup that gave power to three consuls [8], of which he was the senior



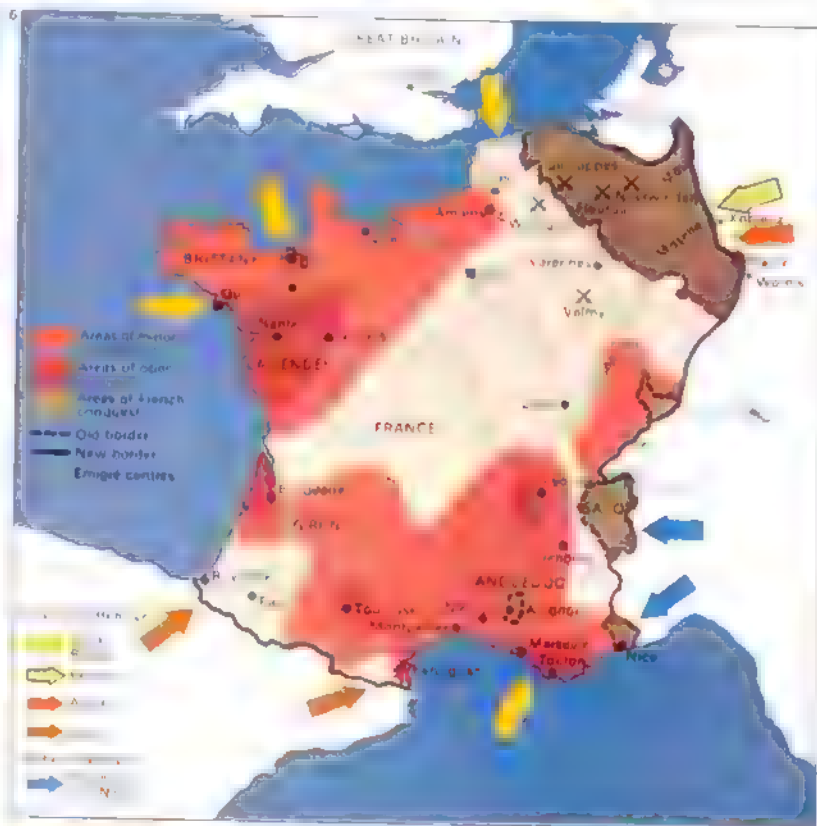
The storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 was seen by contemporaries and later generations as the true beginning of the revolution. Although the political crisis began more than a year earlier, the taking of the Paris mob against this ancient prison and symbol of absolutism was of fundamental importance. It forced the basically middle-class National Assembly to ally with the people to prevent a royalist counter-attack and led to uprisings in the provinces in which aristocrats' estates were seized, land deeds destroyed and officials murdered. It paved the way for feudalism's downfall, transferring political power from the king to the legislature.



5 The execution of Louis XVI on 21 January 1793 followed the threat of an invasion of royalist *émigrés*. Popular opinion turned wholly against the king and the Jacobins were able to seize power and declare France a republic on 22 September 1792. Victory over royalist forces at Valmy gave them the self-confidence to try the king and his execution symbolized the break with the past system.

6 France's neighbours were antagonized by the gathering forces of the revolution. Aristocratic *émigrés* formed a nucleus of resistance and had support from Austria and Prussia. Their first invasion was halted at Valmy and the republic then counter-attacked, occupying Nice, Savoy and Belgium after a victory at Jemappes (November 1792), invading the Rhineland states and threatening Holland. After the

king's execution, war was declared on Spain, Holland and Britain, but military reverses followed, with a major revolt in La Vendée and enemy offensives in southern France, Belgium, Alsace and Brittany. Unprecedented emergency measures put down internal revolts; the invasions were repelled and Belgium and Holland were reconquered. By the end of 1795, France had made peace with all its enemies except Austria and Great Britain.



7 Napoleon Bonaparte led the French army into Italy in 1796–7. Although the Directorate intended the campaign as a diversionary effort, Bonaparte won an extraordinary series of victories, inspiring his conscript troops and using a mobile strategy to defeat the conventional Austrian armies. Once again, in 1800, he led French troops into Italy, crossing the Alps (a route romantically pictured here) to defeat the Austrians at the battle of Marengo.



8 The installation of the Council of State on 24 December 1799 made Bonaparte First Consul. With the prestige of his victory in Italy and the Egyptian campaign behind him, Napoleon was the most powerful man in the turbulent political scene at the turn of the century. The failure of the Directorate to solve internal problems had lost it all support and Napoleon hoped to use his widespread popularity to persuade the assembly to vote him into power without any

fuss. But they refused to do so and he had to use troops to drive them out and allow a small rump of supporters to vote through a constitution. This gave power to a first consul who was assisted by two colleagues and a senate nominated by the consuls. Napoleon then made use of a new device – the plebiscite – to obtain popular support. He announced that three million votes had been cast in favour of the new constitution and only 1 562 votes against it.

Napoleonic Europe

In 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) [Key] became First Consul of France, then still menaced by hostile states. His new constitution confirmed the conservative policies of the Directorate and concentrated internal authority in his own hands. Once in power, he acted swiftly to achieve peace in Europe. After a surprise crossing of the Alps, he shattered Austrian power in Italy at the Battle of Marengo on 14 June 1800 and made peace with her at the Treaty of Lunéville. Russia, under the pro-French Tsar Paul (1754–1801), also ceased hostilities against Napoleon and in December joined Prussia, Denmark and Sweden in a French-inspired League of Armed Neutrality designed to weaken Napoleon's chief remaining foe, Britain, by blocking her trade with continental Europe.

War and peace

Although Paul was soon assassinated and succeeded by the pro-English Alexander (1777–1825), Britain made peace with France at the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802, agreeing to return all her overseas con-

quests except Ceylon and Trinidad, while Napoleon agreed to evacuate Holland and Naples. However, Napoleon soon aroused British suspicions by looking for new colonies, by refusing to evacuate Holland, and by extending French power in Germany. When the British realized that French markets would still be closed to their goods, and that Napoleon was building up Antwerp as a commercial rival, they refused to evacuate Malta and war broke out again in May 1803.

During the years of comparative peace between 1800 and 1803 Napoleon began the internal reconstruction of France which was to be his most lasting achievement. The Bank of France was established in 1800 and tax collecting centralized, the law was remodelled and codified, and a centralized secondary school system was set up. Napoleon's concordat with the Papacy extended his power – the Catholic Church gave up its claims to nationalized Church property in return for state support. In 1802 Bonaparte became First Consul for life with the power to nominate his successor.

The renewal of war identified Britain as

Napoleon's most stubborn and dangerous enemy and at first he tried to defeat her by invasion. However the Royal Navy blockaded the coasts of France and Spain for more than two years and then under Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson utterly destroyed the French and Spanish fleets at the Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October 1805 [2].

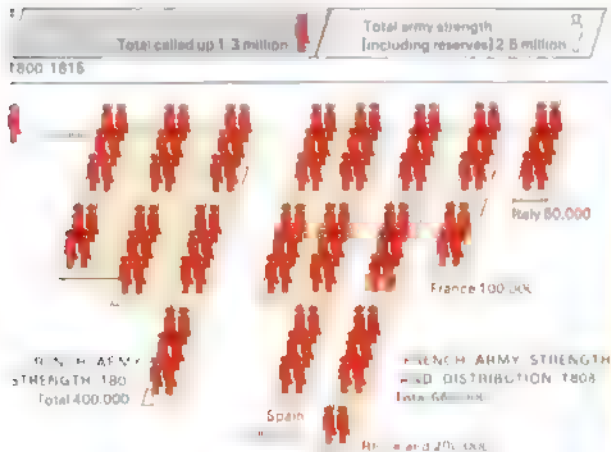
Military and economic strategy

Even before this interim defeat of his invasion plan, Napoleon, who had declared himself emperor [3] in 1804, had had to redeploy the Grande Armée to meet a renewed threat from Austria and Russia, who were now joined in a Third Coalition with Britain. In a swift campaign he smashed an Austrian army at Ulm on 20 October 1805, occupied Vienna and defeated the Russians at Austerlitz [5] on 26 December. At the Treaty of Pressburg with Austria, Napoleon gained complete control of Italy and unified much of Germany outside Prussia in the Confederation of the Rhine. Prussia felt obliged to intervene, but was defeated at Jena and Auerstadt in October

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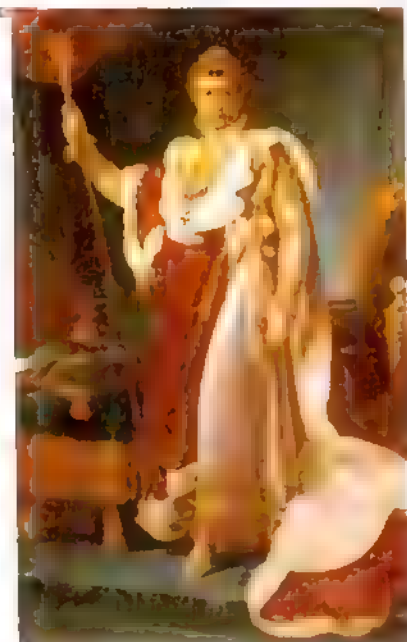
1800–1815
Napoleonic Wars
Continental System
Trafalgar
Austerlitz
Jena
Russia
Britain
France
Spain
Austria
Prussia
Denmark
Sweden
League of Armed Neutrality
Treaty of Amiens
Treaty of Pressburg
Treaty of Tilsit
Treaty of Fontenay-Bleau
Treaty of Paris (1814)
Treaty of Paris (1815)



1 Conscription on an unprecedented scale laid the foundation for the armies that enabled Napoleon to dominate Europe. From 1800 to 1812, an

average of 85,000 men were called up from France each year. The demand for military manpower grew increasingly onerous, especially in

1812 with the costly invasion of Russia. Total deaths during the Napoleonic wars were about one million, of which 400,000 were French.



3 As Emperor of the French, Napoleon used the trappings of imperial glory to consolidate his new dynasty. Most Frenchmen responded but some felt he had betrayed the egalitarian ideals of the Revolution.

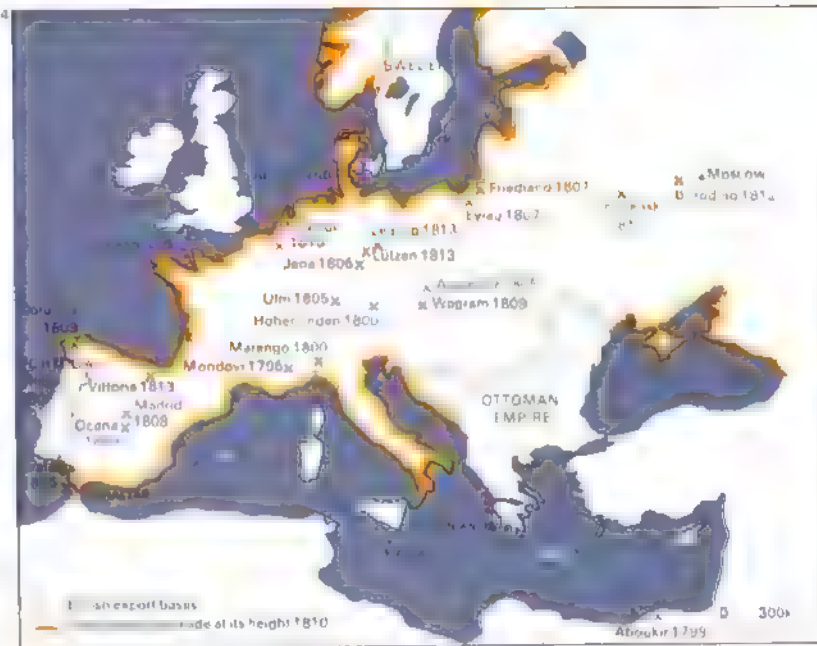
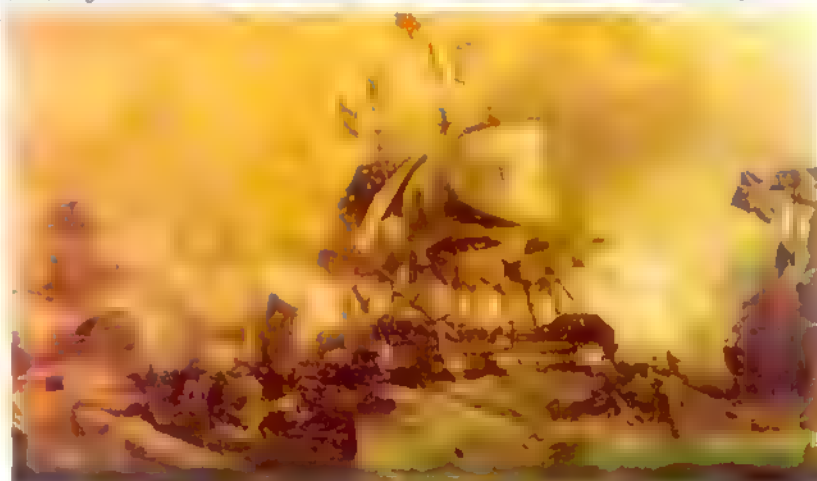
4 Brilliant victories in an almost continuous series of campaigns enabled Napoleon to establish France temporarily as the main power in Europe. In controlling the 'traditional' powers of Austria, Prussia and Russia by a mixture of war and diplomacy, he enjoyed almost total success. But the need to extend and consolidate the Continental System led him to become trapped in a guerrilla war in Spain and then to launch the disastrous invasion of Russia.

2 Nelson's annihilation of the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar was the decisive event in the long naval war

and convinced Napoleon that direct assault on Britain was impossible. Saved from invasion, Britain used her su-

perb navy to blockade the coasts of Europe and her wealth to organize resistance to France. Napoleon was forced to extend

his control of neighbouring states to stifle British trade and the hostility this caused finally brought down his empire.



1806. Napoleon occupied Berlin and defeated the Russians at Friedland in June 1807. Meeting the tsar at Tilsit, he persuaded him to enter an alliance with France against Britain, which once again remained Napoleon's sole effective opponent.

Napoleon now sought to defeat Britain economically by using force to prevent her trade with any part of Europe. Despite the power which his victories had given him, the British continually found ways of smuggling in their goods, and Napoleon had to try to extend his "Continental System" ever farther afield. The military presence [1] and resulting economic hardships made Napoleon's rule increasingly unpopular with his subject nations.

In 1808 Napoleon forced Charles IV (1784-1819) of Spain and his son Ferdinand to abdicate in favour of Napoleon's brother Joseph. The Spanish revolted and the British sent an army to support them. The Spanish campaign cost Napoleon more than 50,000 men and led to his first defeat on land. In 1810, Napoleon tightened up the Continental System by annexing Holland and the

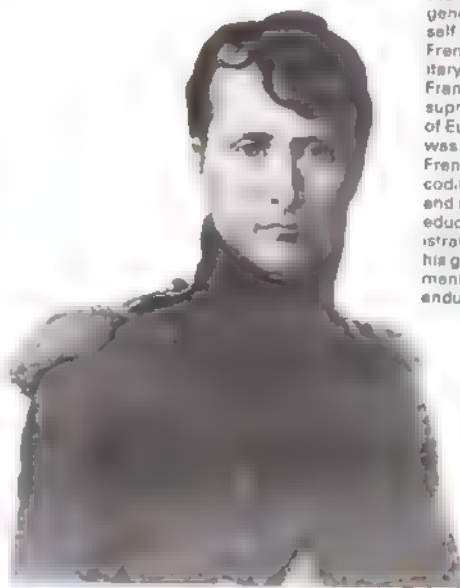
German coast. Europe was thrown into a commercial crisis that persuaded the tsar to end his alliance in December 1810.

Retreat from Moscow

In June 1812 Napoleon launched a massive invasion of Russia with 611,000 men. His troops reached Moscow, but lack of supplies and military reverses forced them into an undisciplined winter retreat, which left only some 10,000 men fit for combat [7]. In February 1813 Prussia declared war on France and Austria, and many subject states followed. Napoleon was defeated at Leipzig in October and the Allies pushed into northern France while the British invaded across the Pyrenees. Paris was occupied on 30 March 1814; Napoleon abdicated on 11 April and was exiled to the island of Elba.

On 1 March 1815, Napoleon took advantage of quarrelling among the Allies and the unpopularity of the restored Bourbons in France to re-establish his power. But defeat by the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) at Waterloo [8] on 18 June 1815 led to his exile on St Helena where he died in 1821.

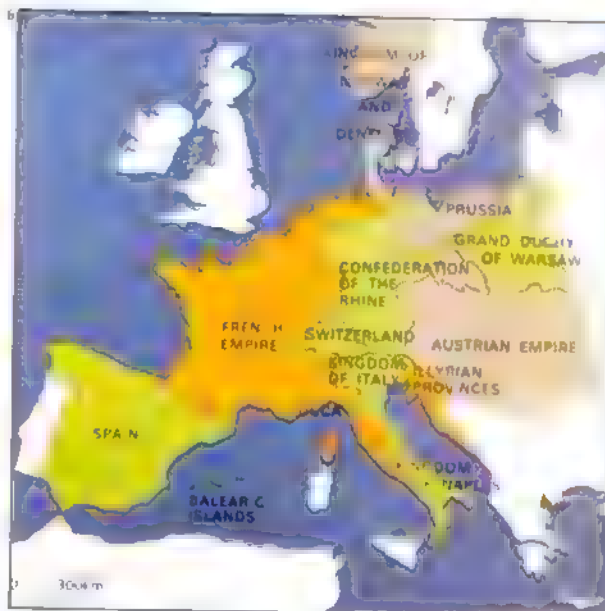
Napoleon Bonaparte, the Corsican born general who made himself Emperor of the French, had the military genius to win France a short-lived supremacy over most of Europe. But it was his reforms of French society in codifying the law and rationalizing education and administration that won him his greatest achievements. Some of them endure to this day.



5 Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz and the campaign that preceded it showed all the qualities of speed and decisiveness that made him one of the greatest generals the world has seen. Having

force-marched the Grande Armée from the Channel to the Danube, he destroyed an Austrian army at Ulm and then pushed a Russian force back until it rejoined the main Russian army at Austerlitz. In the en-

suing battle he used a combination of devastating artillery barrages and massive infantry assaults to sweep the Russians off the vital heights commanding the field of battle and into a precipitate retreat.



French Empire 1812

6 Almost all Europe in 1812 was either ruled directly by Napoleon or members of his family, or allied with him. At the outset Napoleon had been able to draw on widespread support in Europe for the revolutionary ideals of overthrowing the old order. He furthered his own power by using the desire of neighbouring states for freedom: organizing many small states of Italy and Germany into dependent republics and setting up the Confederation of the Rhine that effectively ended the Austrian-dominated Holy Roman Empire.



7 The invasion of Russia was Napoleon's decisive error, celebrated by a Cruikshank cartoon. The Russians refused to make peace when Mos-

cow was occupied and used scorched earth and guerrilla tactics to destroy the invasion armies and encourage subject states to rise

8 Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo, near Brussels, by British and Prussian troops led by the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher. An alliance of major European powers and conquered states had previously forced Napoleon to abdicate, but he had viewed exile on Elba only as an interlude. When the restored Bourbons had earned the dislike of most Frenchmen and the Allies were bickering among themselves at Vienna, he returned and marched to Paris with popular support. But the shock tactics of the Grande Armée met their match at Waterloo where the British infantry held firm against cavalry and infantry assaults until relieved by the Prussians.



Nelson and Wellington

For many centuries Britain opposed any European power that threatened to dominate continental Europe and from 1793 to 1814, with a short break in 1801–2, it fought to defeat the spreading power of revolutionary France. Lacking a large army, Britain had to rely on the traditional strategy of organizing alliances of other continental powers while using its naval supremacy to weaken France by blockade. Whenever possible, troops were sent to help anti-French forces, but Britain's major contributions to the ultimate defeat of France were a willingness to continue fighting, alone if necessary until new allies were found, and the use of a long-established prowess at sea.

Britain's weapons

The Royal Navy had long been recognized as the bulwark of British security but conditions of service were grim. The numbers of recruits needed to man the wartime fleet could only be maintained by forcible impressment [1] and the recruitment of convicts. Once enlisted, men were rarely allowed to leave.

In contrast to the conscript armies of

Europe, the British army at that time was a small volunteer force numbered in tens, rather than hundreds, of thousands. Officers were able to buy their commissions, received no professional training and usually paid scant attention to the welfare of their men. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, efforts were being made to organize supply and medical services [2].

Nelson's great triumphs

Throughout the Napoleonic Wars Britain was fortunate to be served by a number of exceptional naval officers who proved to be both fine seamen and outstanding leaders. The greatest of these was Horatio Nelson (1758–1805).

At the outbreak of war Nelson commanded a ship-of-the-line in the Mediterranean and acquired a reputation as an active, able officer. During the Battle of St Vincent on 14 February 1797 his initiative in breaking the line of battle led to the capture of four enemy ships. For his part in the victory Nelson was knighted and promoted to rear-admiral. Wounded in several engage-

ments, he lost an eye and an arm but his mental powers remained undiminished. In 1798, when Napoleon attempted to cut Britain off from India and its other eastern possessions by invading Egypt, Nelson annihilated the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile, fought in Aboukir Bay. Of the 17 French ships, 13 were captured or destroyed.

The victor of the Nile, now created Baron Nelson of the Nile, took command of the Mediterranean fleet in 1803. For the next two years, in a remarkable display of seamanship, Nelson off Toulon and Admiral William Cornwallis (1744–1819) off Brest kept the French fleet immobile. In 1805 the Toulon force managed to slip out and head for the West Indies meaning to return, link up with other forces and establish temporary command of the Channel so that Napoleon could invade Britain. But the French were forced into Cadiz while the British gathered outside under Nelson's command off the Cape of Trafalgar. When the combined French and Spanish fleet emerged it was utterly destroyed in battle [3] on 21 October 1805. Although Nelson was killed on the quarter-

CONNECTIONS

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1 The hated press-gangs armed with cutlasses, terrorized towns as they went ashore and roamed the streets in search of able-bodied men for the navy. Victims were forcibly seized and dragged aboard for medical examination. Volunteers were few, for life at sea meant separation from their wives and families for long periods, bad food, wretched conditions and brutal discipline, yet morale under Nelson was high.



2 Women were considered to be more a hindrance than a help in the army of Wellington's day, as implied in this drawing by Thomas Rowlandson. Some wives, but not many, were allowed to accom-

pany their husbands on a campaign. The number was limited to between 2 and 6 per company of 100. Those women who did go received half-rations free. Some even took children as well. The women

cooked meals, did soiled laundry and acted as nurses. They had an eye for booty, too. Wellington once observed that 'The women are at least as bad, if not worse than the men as plunderers'.



3 The French took Spain swiftly and compelled the British to leave. After Oporto fell (1807) Portugal appealed to Britain for aid and Wellington sailed with a force of 17,000. Napoleon ordered his commanders to drive the British into the sea, but

the French themselves were expelled from the Peninsula and sent scurrying across their own border, with Wellington in pursuit. Napoleon later said that the 'Spanish ulcer with constant guerrilla activity and rioting, under mined his empire'.

4 HMS Victory, Nelson's flagship at Trafalgar, was typical of the ships-of-the-line that formed the main battle fleet. Floating batteries with 60 to 120 guns firing in broadsides and a complement of 700, these slow, unwieldy vessels could remain

at sea for years on end. Built at Chatham, and launched in 1765, Victory was 69.5m (227ft) long with a beam of 15.5m (52ft). She had more than 100 guns, the largest of which were two 68-pounders, 30 32-pounders and 28 24-pounders.



deck of HMS *Victory* [4] at the height of the engagement [6], he died knowing he had won a decisive victory

The road to Waterloo

Nelson's success ended any hopes Napoleon had of invading Britain. The French emperor was therefore forced to try to destroy Britain by closing Europe to British trade. When Portugal and Spain refused to join the blockade, the French invaded Britain was thus given the opportunity to intervene militarily. An expedition to Spain under John Moore (1761–1809) was compelled to retire but in August 1808 a second force under Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852) [Key], later Duke of Wellington, landed in Portugal.

An Anglo-Irish aristocrat, Wellington learnt his soldiering skills in India from 1796 to 1805. After taking part in unsuccessful expeditions in north-western Europe in 1806 and 1807 he was given command in the Peninsula. There for the next three years he showed great skill in tying down vastly superior French forces [3]. He was always prepared to withdraw behind defences when

necessary, but emerged to inflict a succession of defeats on the French. Finally in 1811 he launched a major offensive that cleared the Peninsula, winning major victories at Salamanca and Vittoria before invading south-west France in 1814 [7].

Napoleon abdicated and left for exile in Elba, but almost a year later he returned to France in an attempt to regain the throne. To meet this renewed threat Britain and the allies – Austria, Prussia and Russia – appointed Wellington to command a combined army gathered in Belgium. Despite being surprised by the speed of Napoleon's opening manoeuvres, Wellington held his ground against superior forces near the village of Waterloo [8] until the arrival of a Prussian army under Marshal Gebhard von Blücher completed a crushing victory.

For the second time Napoleon abdicated and went into exile – this time to St Helena, until his death in 1821. The victories of Nelson and Wellington, coupled with the nation's industrial and commercial supremacy, now made Britain the most powerful nation in the world.



"A Wellington Boot or the Head of the Army" this 1827 cartoon shows the Iron Duke's distinctive profile and characteristic foot wear. Taciturn and aloof, he affected to despise the troops he commanded as the scum of the earth but he based his tactics on their steadiness under fire. He chose defensive positions and relied on the discipline of his men to break the massive infantry and cavalry assaults of the French which had shattered most other adversaries. He hid an emotional nature under an icy manner and he cared for the welfare of his men. They repaid him with their respect and by beating the finest troops of Napoleon's Grande Armée.



5 At Trafalgar the British fleet went into action in two columns. Realizing that he was outnumbered 27 to 33, Nel-

son eschewed traditional tactics of the single line of battle and succeeded brilliantly, capturing 19 enemy vessels.

6 Nelson's death overshadowed the triumph of Trafalgar. Hit on the shoulder by a musket-ball from a sniper, he was taken

below decks where he died four hours later. A stern disciplinarian and a born leader, he displayed in battle great bravery and

daring, tactical genius and shrewd judgment. His devotion to duty was absolute and the men he led revered him.



7 Wellington had a great welcome when he rode into Toulouse on 12 April 1814. The battle, he said, had been "very severe": combined deaths were 7,700. Victory, however, seemed complete when he learnt later that day that Napoleon had abdicated.

8 The Battle of Waterloo (1815) made Wellington a national hero. Napoleon had crossed into Belgium on 15 June and thrust back the Prussian army at Ligny but failed to rout them. Then on the morning of Sunday 18 June he attacked Wellington

at Waterloo. Wellington had 67,000 men with 150 guns, Napoleon had 72,000 with 250 guns. The battle soon became a pounding match with few manoeuvres, but the arrival of the Prussians in the early evening brought swift and total victory.



Romantic art: figure painting

In the later part of the eighteenth century, the classical order was coming under attack in one area after another. Its most formidable antagonist, and one who is now recognized as the father of the Romantic movement, was the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78). He argued that feeling, not reason, should be the basis of belief and conduct and asserted, in opposition to classical theory, that art was not the servant of morality. In addition, British and German writers, such as William Blake (1757–1827) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), identified the unconscious as the source of art and poetry and made sincerity for the first time a test of artistic value.

Romanticism in French painting

The development of romanticism in the visual arts is easiest to see in French painting. This is because it was only in France that a tradition of state patronage of grand historical subjects was kept up and because one can trace in the treatment of these subjects a gradual progression, beginning with an almost pure Neoclassicism and leading

through a steady undermining of classical principles to a more or less pure, but not undisputed, romanticism.

The subversion of classicism began in that temple of Neoclassical painting, the art of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), especially in his work done around the time of the French Revolution and under and for Napoleon. Not that he abandoned classical qualities of style – clarity, precision, economy and references to the Antique and to Nicolas Poussin – but in paintings such as ‘The Death of Marat’ (1793) one can feel beneath the formal calm some of the emotions released by Rousseau, a sense of the precariousness of human life and institutions, an awareness of the power of fanaticism and of chance: a morbid fascination with violence. In part these qualities reside in the subject rather than its treatment, but the choice of the former is significant: one solitary man working, as he believed, for society and then being struck down by it. Throughout Romantic art, the image of a man alone defying and being ultimately defeated by some overwhelming force, whether of so-

ciety, nature, the dark gods of unreason, or in extreme cases the universe itself, is one of the most potent of all symbols.

The poetry and horror of war

After David, the impulse towards emotionalism increased, stretching, although not yet breaking, the mould of classic form. Antoine Gros (1771–1835) [5] expressed the stirring poetry (as it was regarded at the time) of Napoleonic war, a poetry enhanced by its horror and destructiveness. Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) [6] represents a further stage still, in which the colour black becomes eloquent and dark shadows begin to bite into classic outline. With him, the solitary man may be not only the madman, the shipwrecked man or the man on a wild horse, but also the artist in despair.

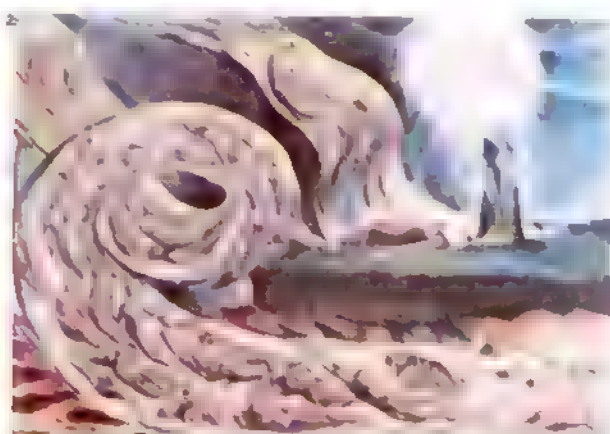
Finally there was Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) [7] over whose work there finally broke out a classic-romantic battle. While he never repudiated classical principles altogether (no Frenchman could ever quite do that), his supporters saw his work as directly opposed to that of his older contem-

CONNECTIONS

See also

18th-century painting
19th-century painting
Neoclassicism
Romanticism

1 Henry Fuseli's ‘The Nightmare’ (1782) is merely sensationalist by comparison with Goya's subtle comment on the horrors that may visit the mind asleep. It evokes a shudder in the spectator partly by drawing on legends of witchcraft (the incubus) and partly by its stirring of sexual fantasies. Yet it was a pioneering effort: not only in its theme – it seems to have been the first picture of a nightmare ever painted – but also in its relaxation of then-modern psychology.



2 In his painting of a vision – the damnation of

Paolo and Francesca (c. 1824) from Dante's *Inferno* –

William Blake treated a moral and poetic theme



3 The execution of a group of Spanish insurgents in Madrid after their abortive rising against the French

occupying forces was powerfully depicted by Goya in his ‘The 3rd of May 1808’ painted in 1814

4 The Nazarenes, an early 19th-century group of German ‘pre-Raphaelites’ were the first systematically to

revive late medieval styles, as in this detail from Franz Pforr's ‘Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest’ (c. 1810)



porary, the Neoclassicist Ingres (1780–1867) (who was not immune from romantic feeling himself). This “battle of the styles” was joined around 1830 and it was then that the word “Romantic” was applied to pictorial art for the first time. Romanticism in painting, as epitomized by Delacroix, was identified with colour, movement, breadth of handling and the uninhibited representation of violence.

It is much more difficult to discuss Romantic figure painting in other countries, as they had no continuous tradition either of patronage or outlook. In Britain, there was a growing interest in the irrational expressed by, for example, Fuseli (1741–1825) [1] and Blake [2] and this reached a climax before 1800, earlier than any comparable development in painting elsewhere; however, it was not followed up. In keeping with the date – the late eighteenth century – the style of Fuseli and Blake retains a strong link with Neoclassicism, in the use of forms derived from the Antique and Michelangelo and a dependence on outline. On the other hand, these forms were “pulled out” and given a sort of airy, boneless quality, which was em-

ployed by Fuseli to explore the psychological states of terror and nightmare and by Blake to express his “visions of Eternity”. German Romantic painting took a different course in a turning back to the styles and subject matter of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance; this was carried out by a group founded by Johann Friedrich Overbeck and Franz Pforr who settled in Rome in 1810 and who called themselves the Nazarenes [4].

A portrayer of violence

There was no Italian painting to speak of in this period, owing partly to lack of patronage but there was one very important artist in Spain: Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) [Key, 3] who is perhaps the hardest of all to classify. Formally, he was no Neoclassicist, yet his print “The Sleep of Reason produces Monsters” can be interpreted among other things as a warning of what happens when rational – that is, “classical” – order breaks down. No revolutionary celebrator of violence, he yet did not flinch from representing it, without traditional moral overtones, in its most terrible and bloody forms.

Reason attacked by the forces of irrationalism and the supernatural, and the loneliness of the individual in his journey through life, are two leading themes of romanticism. Both are reflected in Goya's original frontispiece to his series “Los Caprichos” (1798), a set of cryptic satires on contemporary mores. Both the frontispiece and its caption, “The Sleep of Reason produces Monsters typically reveal only part of the artist's meaning. In a private note he explained that whereas fantasy abandoned by reason produces monsters united with it she is the mother of the arts.



5 Violent action and the sense of “poetry” surrounding it was a major Romantic theme. The sense was that not only the results of conquest, battle and danger are desirable but that the experiences are exciting in themselves, seen in this light, defeat may seem as “poetic” as victory. The living embodiment of this idea was Napoleon, whose military career was charted in pictures by Antoine Gros. In “Napoleon at Eylau” (1808) the emperor is shown displaying his humanity towards the defeated Russian troops (detail).



6 Romantic belief that artistic creation springs from pain and turmoil is depicted in realistic terms in

Géricault's “The Artist” (c. 1818). Whether inspiration comes or goes, the artist is a lonely, tormented being.

7 “Sardanapalus” (1827) by Delacroix is huge, sprawling exhibition of sex and violence, was the ultimate in French

Romantic painting. The subject was taken from an oriental vices play by – significantly – the English poet Byron.



The Congress of Vienna

Even before Napoleon Bonaparte's first defeat, in 1814, the idea of an international diplomatic assembly to restore order in Europe was proposed by Prince Metternich of Austria (1773–1859). Intended to ratify decisions made at the first Treaty of Paris, the congress was announced and from September 1814 delegates from throughout Europe arrived in Vienna [Key]. From the start the congress was dominated by four great powers, Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia, although Prince Talleyrand (1754–1838) soon skilfully gained an equal voice for France.

The distribution of rewards

It was hoped to prevent any one power from gaining more than its fair share of rewards, and to establish a balance of territorial interests. In fact Russia took the major share and established a dangerous foothold in Europe. From this time until the Crimean War (1854–6), fear of Russia was a dominant theme in European diplomacy.

At the Congress of Vienna, however, the immediate fear was that France might cause

another European war. Three buffer states were created to hinder her expansion eastwards [1]. The Kingdom of Piedmont was strengthened; Belgium (previously the Austrian Netherlands) was joined with Holland in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the Holy Roman Empire (consolidated by Napoleon into the Confederation of the Rhine) became the German Confederation – 39 states joined in a weak *Bund* and dominated by an Austrian president.

Yet in the treaties of Paris of 1814 and 1815, France was generously treated. The frontiers of 1790 were restored and an army of occupation was installed only until France had paid an indemnity of 700 million francs to the Allies – a condition met by 1818. Although the monarchy was restored in the shape of Louis XVIII (1755–1824), he was obliged to reign under the Charter of 1814.

A new political settlement

In addition to the territorial changes, political settlement was considered essential for future peace. The French Revolution was largely blamed for the upheavals and wars of

the previous generation. The best hope for stability seemed to lie in the restoration of the legitimate monarchs who had been overthrown. To try to prevent future disturbance in central Europe, the heads of state of the German Confederation were advised to offer constitutions to their subjects – advice which, for the most part, they subsequently ignored.

Finally, the Vienna settlement itself had to be maintained; to this end the four great military powers – Austria, Russia, Prussia and Britain – renewed their Quadruple Alliance and pledged to uphold the settlement, by force if necessary, for 20 years. Viscount Castlereagh [5], the British foreign secretary, in particular saw the alliance as fundamental to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and the four powers agreed to hold periodic peacetime conferences to settle disputes and problems that might arise.

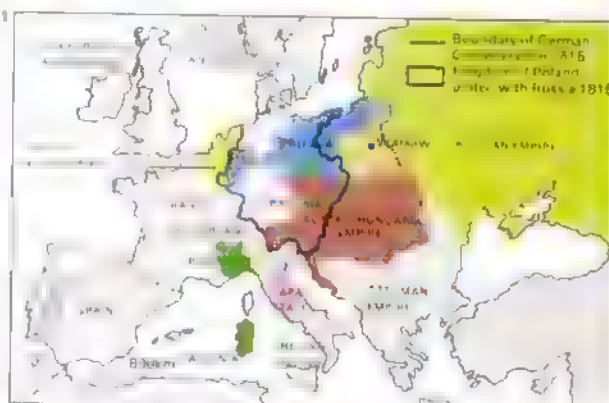
But the relative co-operation and harmony of views shown at Vienna did not continue in the four later congresses held between 1818 and 1822. Austria, Prussia and Russia had formed the Holy Alliance in September 1815. They rapidly adopted the view

CONNECTIONS

See also
European states in the 19th century
Napoleonic Europe
Nationalism
The revolutionary era
A high foreign policy

1 The map of Europe had to be redrawn after the 1815 Vienna settlement. The Hapsburg Empire received the Illyrian provinces and the two Italian provinces (Lombardy and Venetia) in return for the former Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). Sweden won Norway which had been Danish. Russia kept her conquest, Finland, and dominated the new "puppet" kingdom of Poland. Prussia kept Polish Posen

received almost half the Kingdom of Saxony and an area of the Rhineland that included the iron and coal resources of the Ruhr. Britain consolidated her overseas empire and naval bases with the Cape of Good Hope. Malta, the origin of the British Empire, Mauritius, Tobago, St Lucia and Heligoland. Partly through these overseas acquisitions, Britain grew relatively remote from 19th century European politics.



2 The diplomats at Vienna reached compromises over their territorial ambitions but there was to be no compromise with the new forces of liberalism and nationalism. Within 15 years unrest in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany and France showed the growing desire for constitutional restraints on the monarchies that had been restored. Nationalists were crushed in the Polish revolt of 1830.

but they won independence for Belgium (1830) and Greece (where war with the Turks began in 1821). These threats to the Vienna settlement were the main topics discussed at the four subsequent congresses: Aix la Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821) and Verona (1822). Greek independence was a blow, weakening Turkish resistance to the nationalist claims of her other Balkan states.



that the powers should intervene in the internal affairs of European countries where stability was threatened, a doctrine repudiated by Britain

Britain therefore ceased to send official representatives to congresses after Aix-la-Chapelle. Finally Britain dealt the death blow to the congress system by forcing acceptance of Greek independence against the interests of Russia and the protests of both Austria and Prussia

Consequences for Europe

The settlement reached by the Congress of Vienna shaped the following generation in Europe. The Continental powers were committed to upholding the status quo they had created, and they interpreted their obligations with a rigidity that turned the settlement into a straitjacket. Liberal revolts attempting to introduce constitutional limits to the powers of the restored monarchs were crushed almost without exception, although they were successful in France, Switzerland and Belgium in 1830 because it was neither convenient nor in the interests of all the

powers to intervene [2]. The settlement had ignored nationalist feelings in the distribution of rewards and creation of buffer states and there were revolts in Belgium and Poland and growing unrest in Italy and Germany. Furthermore, the old multi-national empires had been confirmed – the Hapsburg and the Ottoman (Turkish) in Europe

The Greek revolt of 1821 proved disastrous for Turkey. Its success encouraged other Balkan states to push for independence and weakened the ability of Turkey, the

"Sick Man of Europe", to resist. The Hapsburgs had added Croats and Italians to their multiplicity of nationalities. Nationalism anywhere was to be treated as an epidemic that could spread and destroy their empire. Metternich [3], his influence in the congress system and his authority in the German Confederation and the whole of Italy to wipe out any symptom of nationalism. The Metternich system of repressive measures spread from the Baltic to Sicily. But the Congress of Vienna did succeed, in a formal sense in securing European peace

KEY



In 1815 Napoleon was safely on St Helena and the waltz took fashionable society by storm. The monarchs of Europe danced to celebrate the restoration of

their political power and the promise of armed backing by all powers. Five monarchs and the heads of 216 princely families arrived in Vienna for the peace

negotiations and the festivities. Their fear of revolution and desire to restore the political situation of the 18th century meant that France was left intact

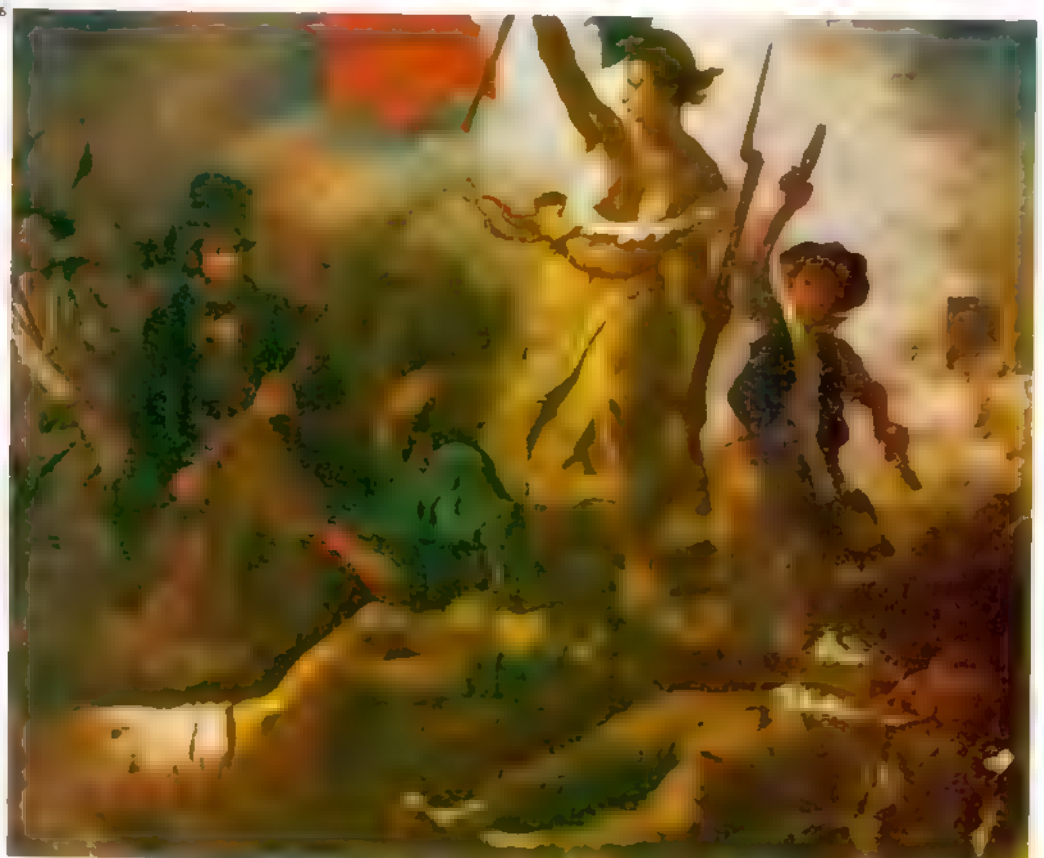
3 Prince Clemens von Metternich was foreign minister of the Hapsburg Empire from 1809 until the revolution of 1848. To many he seemed the champion of autocracy, reaction and the police state

4 A grand sleigh ride was included in one of the weekly programmes issued by the Festivals Committee responsible for entertaining the visitors. The expenses were paid by the emperor



5 Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822) was Britain's foreign secretary from 1812. Regarded as reactionary at home he proved too liberal for the congress system, which he had hoped would provide a diplomatic arena for peaceful change

6 Frequent liberal and nationalist revolts threatened the settlement but were usually suppressed. Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) won the Légion d'honneur for his painting "Liberty leading the People" after the successful French revolt of 1830



European empires in the 19th century

The Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman empires were all deeply involved in the Balkan countries through most of the nineteenth century. The diplomatic and military conflicts between the three powers were a result partly of their own political ambitions and partly of aggressive national independence movements in the disputed areas.

The Serbian struggle for independence

It was in Serbia, one of the Ottoman provinces in the Balkans, that a subject nationality first challenged the political power of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish rule in Serbia which had been conquered in 1389, had become particularly tyrannical at the end of the eighteenth century. The local military commanders (*dahis*) exercised a largely independent authority. In 1804 they executed the pasha of Belgrade, the sultan's own representative, and in 1804 they ordered the execution of 72 Serbian village elders. The Serbian uprising of 1804 under Karadjordje [3], a capable military leader, started off as a protest movement against the excesses of Turkish rule, but after striking military suc-

cesses it developed into a movement aimed at winning full independence.

Russia offered some military and diplomatic support to the Serbs, to whom it was tied through the Orthodox religion and the Slav race, but it was chiefly a combination of Turkish weakness and Serbian resistance that enabled the rebels to remain independent for eight years. The Turks finally crushed the Serbian revolt in 1813 but within 18 months the Serbs revolted again, this time under the leadership of Milos Obrenović (1780-1860), a greater diplomat than Karadjordje.

Obrenović worked out an agreement with the Turks under which Serbia remained formally a Turkish province garrisoned by Turkish troops, but was allowed to share in the administration of justice, to maintain a militia and to summon a national assembly in the capital, Belgrade.

Serbia's struggle for independence was not fully consummated until 1878 when the Congress of Berlin [8] recognized it as an independent state. However, the example of the successful Serbian struggle had a powerful effect on the other Balkan nationalities,

inspiring the growing nationalistic movements, especially among the other southern Slavs living under both the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires.

The unification of the Slavs

The effect was greatest in the Hapsburg Empire where many Serbs had fled from the Turks in the seventeenth century. The Orthodox Church was a powerful link between the Serbs in Serbia and the others outside. Fear of being crushed by the twin pressures of forcible germanization from Vienna and magyarization from Budapest brought the Croats and other Slavs, notably the Slovenes, closer together [7].

In the 1848-9 anti-Hapsburg revolution the Croat general Josp Jelačić (1801-59) fought against the Hungarian revolutionaries with Serbian and Slovene support. But Vienna, after the successful crushing of the 1848-9 revolution, introduced a centralist, strongly germanizing rule. The existence of a semi-independent Serbia fired the imagination not only of the Serbs but of the Croats and Slovenes as well. Linguistic similarities

CONNECTIONS

See also

1804-1813
1813-1860
1860-1878
1878-1896
1896-1918
1918-1941
1941-1945
1945-1991
1991-2000
2000-2008
2008-2016
2016-2020
2020-2024
2024-2028
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2064-2068
2068-2072
2072-2076
2076-2080
2080-2084
2084-2088
2088-2092
2092-2096
2096-2100



1 Napoleon's victory over Austria at Marngo In June 1800 began the process of the Hapsburgs' expulsion from north western and western Europe. Francis I was forced in 1806 to give up the title of Holy Roman Emperor which the Hapsburgs had held for many centuries. From then on Austria looked to the southeast.

2 Lord Byron, who raised an army in the cause of Greek independence, died of fever at Missolonghi in 1824. On 20 October 1827 the Turkish fleet was destroyed at the Battle of Navarino by Britain and France. In 1829 the Treaty of Adrianople recognized Greece's autonomy, and independence came in 1832.



3 Two of the most important figures in the Serbo-Croat independence movement were Ljudevit Gaj (1809-72) (A) and Karadjordje (George Petrović) (1788-1817) (B). Gaj founded the movement for

the political and cultural emancipation of Croatia from Austria. Karadjordje led the uprising against the Turks in 1804. After the suppression of an uprising in 1813 he fled first to Austria and later to Russia.



4 Montenegro was conquered by the Turks in 1499, but a large area of its forbidding mountain territory remained outside their grip. From there Montenegrins like these raided the towns that the Turks held. Following the successful

war against the Turks in 1876-8 Montenegro was recognized as an independent state by the 1878 Congress of Berlin. As a result Montenegrin territory was increased by 70% and the population of the country almost doubled.



fostered the idea that all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were one nation of Yugoslavs or southern Slavs. This idea was developed further in Pan Slavism, a nationalistic movement that agitated for the cultural and political unity of all the Slavonic peoples

The effect of Russia's foreign policy

Russia saw these movements as instruments of its own drive towards Constantinople and access for its navy all year to ice-free waters. Meanwhile, with Prussia squeezing Austria Hungary out of Germany since 1815, Austria developed a renewed commitment to its Balkan role. Because of its mistrust of the new nationalism of the Balkan Slavs, Austria in the first half of the nineteenth century also became a protector of Turkey. In response Russia stepped up its support for Turkey's and Austria's enemies.

Turkey enjoyed the support of Britain, Russia's chief adversary; Britain was joined in the early 1850s by France. After a quarrel over the holy places of Palestine on 21 July 1853, Russia occupied the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were still

under Turkish suzerainty, as a "material guarantee" for the concessions to her "just demands" in Palestine.

On 4 October 1853, Turkey declared war on Russia, as later did Britain and France believing the integrity of the Turkish Empire to be at stake. Austria stayed neutral but in so doing harmed Russia and greatly increased the hostility between the two powers. The Russian forces were worn down in the Crimea [5] until Tsar Nicholas I died in February 1855. His successor Alexander II sued for peace.

The result of the Crimean War checked Russian ambitions in the Balkans, opened the Danube to international navigation and neutralized the Black Sea. The Turkish Empire's territorial integrity and independence were guaranteed and so were Serbia's liberties. In 1859 the election of Alexander John Cuza (1820-73) as Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia prepared the official union of the two principalities as Romania, which became formally independent in 1878. However the Ottoman Empire continued to decline up to 1914.

KEY



Suleiman's Mosque
still stands as a symbol of the once mighty empire of the

Ottomans. In decline from the 17th century the empire was still strong enough in the

early 19th to resist Russian expansionism and maintain some power in Europe.



5 The Battle of the Alma on 20 September 1854 was the first big engagement of the Crimean War between Russia and Turkey, Britain and France following the Treaty

of Paris in 1856. Russia's dominance in southeast Europe ended and Turkey gained a new lease of life under the joint protection of the European powers.

6 Railways linked the two main centres of the Hapsburg Empire – Vienna and Budapest (whose station is pictured here) – with the outlying provinces. Vienna's railway to

the port of Trieste was built in 1854; her imports in 1869-73 increased by 83% compared with the preceding five years. Budapest was linked to Rijeka (Fiume) in 1873.



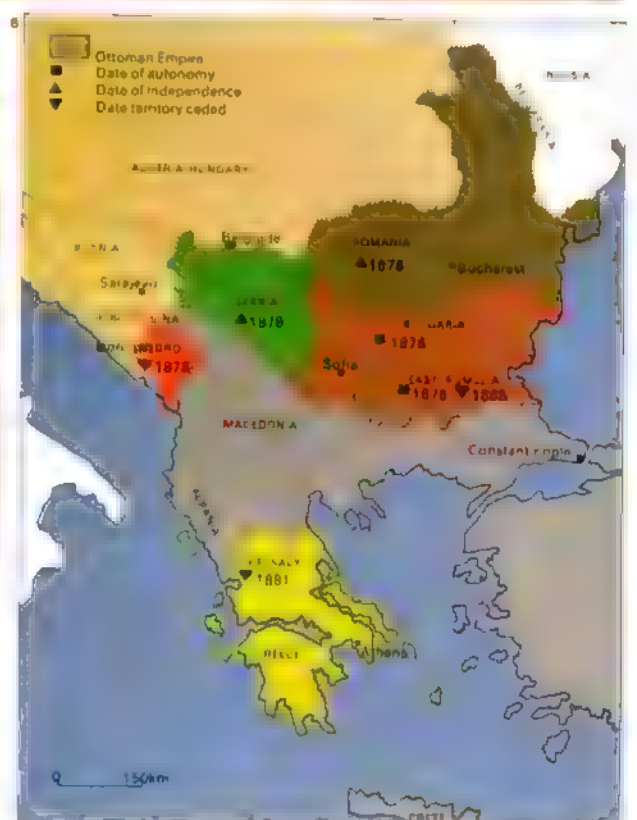
7 The coronation of Francis Joseph took place in Budapest on 8 June 1867. A dualist empire emerged as a result of a compromise (*Ausgleich*) between Vienna and Budapest. In 1867 Francis Joseph was separately crowned in Vienna as emperor of the Austrian half of the dual monarchy and as king of its Hungarian half in Budapest. The Hungarians reached an agreement with Croatia in 1868 guaranteeing it special status and some autonomy within the Hungarian half of the monarchy. But the new Magyar nationalism was resisted by the Romanians, Croats, Serbs and Ukrainians. In the Austrian half of the empire the Czechs led the autonomy struggle against pan-Germanism.



8 The Congress of Berlin produced an uneasy compromise that carried the seeds of future conflict. It gave Austria-Hungary control over the strategic province of Bosnia-Herzegovina but not the title to permanent occupancy. Serbia developed

large-scale propaganda among its fellow Serbs and other southern Slavs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other southern Slav-inhabited provinces of the Hapsburg Empire. In 1908 Austria-Hungary carried out the annexation of Serbia.

Bulgaria, cheated of access to the Aegean and of Macedonia, nursed a grievance against Britain and other powers except Russia and Serbia. Romania gave up southern Bessarabia to Russia, which lost control of Constantinople.



Latin American independence

Most of the 20 republics that comprise present-day Latin America became independent between 1810 and 1824 – the period that began after juntas set up in major cities of the Spanish American Empire had refused to accept Napoleon’s brother Joseph as their ruler and ended with the last significant battle for freedom, at Ayacucho in Peru

Haiti had seized independence from France some years earlier, in 1804. The Haitians subsequently imposed their rule upon neighbouring Santo Domingo, which did not achieve freedom as the Dominican Republic until 1844. Brazil, the Portuguese Empire in America, became independent with very little bloodshed in 1822 and the prince regent, Dom Pedro I, was crowned its emperor. Uruguay emerged as a separate state in 1828 after Argentina and Brazil had fought to claim it. Cuba remained a Spanish possession until the end of the nineteenth century, when the Spanish-American War (1898) led to its becoming independent although bound by close ties with the United States. Panama was a province of Colombia until 1903, when its inhabitants successfully

revolted. Its new government leased in perpetuity to the United States (which had assisted the revolt) the strip of land 16km (10 miles) wide through which the Panama Canal, completed in 1914, was to be cut.

The consequences of independence

The independence of Latin America meant essentially that men of European stock who were born there replaced men from the Iberian Peninsula in positions of power and privilege. The social structure inherited from Spain and Portugal remained virtually intact typified by the *hacienda* or great landed estate. The Church allied with the Crown in the colonial period, continued to exercise a strong conservative influence [5] and the military, greatly strengthened by the prolonged wars, was another privileged institution and one that prejudiced the establishment of effective civilian government.

The vast size of many of the new states, problems of communication, economic dislocation brought about by the wars, lack of experience in administration on the part of the new rulers and the illiteracy of the masses

all contributed to make stable government extremely difficult. Few of the heroes of independence were able to govern successfully when peace came to their countries. Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) [Key], the greatest of them, died in self-imposed exile. José de San Martín (1778–1850) [6], the other outstanding liberator of Spanish America, decided to retire to Europe. The characteristic ruler of the new countries was the *caudillo*, or military dictator.

Relationships between countries

Relations between the Latin American countries following independence were generally neither close nor friendly. While Portuguese America remained intact (as Brazil), Spanish America had disintegrated along the lines of the old imperial administrative divisions. These divisions were the accepted basis for the new states, but there were often disputes over ill-defined boundaries.

Geography and history have combined to isolate the countries of Latin America from each other. Formidable physical barriers have been a major cause of this isolation, as

CONNECTIONS

See also

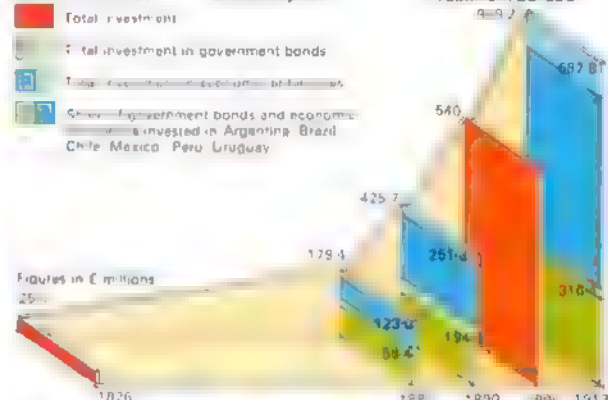
1 On the eve of the wars of independence (c. 1800) Latin America was divided between Spain and Portugal. The newly independent states agreed among themselves to keep their national boundaries generally in line with the old colonial administrative divisions. But because these were often not clearly demarcated territorial disputes inevitably arose. The Banda Oriental (the east bank of the Rio de la Plata) had been a particular bone of contention between Spain and Portugal and continued to be such between Argentina and Brazil after independence. Following a war between these countries (1825–8) and diplomatic intervention by Britain, the disputed territory became a buffer state – the new Republic of Uruguay.



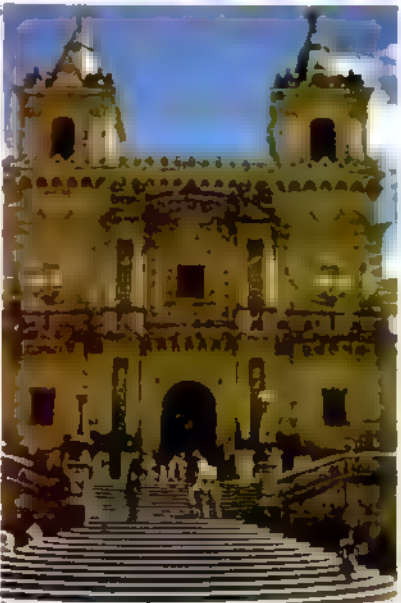
2 Britain's significant influence on the newly independent countries of Latin America was

exerted primarily through commerce and finance. The massive inflow of British capital

reached a peak from 1904–13, when it accounted for at least 20% of all British investment abroad.



4 Native Indians generally viewed Latin American independence as no more than a change of masters. Many who had been subject to the old forms of colonial bondage became peones (peasant labourers) on the great estates.



5 A church in Quito, capital of Ecuador, with an ornate and richly sculptured structure reflects the power and wealth of the Church in

Latin America, both in colonial and modern times. But Church-state relations were generally uneasy following independence.



3 Joseph Bonaparte (1769–1844) was imposed on Spain by his elder brother Napoleon after the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula (1807–8). This forced the issue of Latin American independence. When the French deposed Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) of Spain and then threatened Portugal, the Spanish Americans at first pledged loyalty to Ferdinand but later declared for independence. The Portuguese royal family fled briefly to Brazil and the king's son stayed as regent of Brazil, declaring it independent in 1822.



well as regionalism within individual countries. During the colonial era the viceroalties, captaincies-general and presidencies in to which the Spanish American Empire was divided were linked to the mother country rather than to each other. Since independence, relations with powers outside the region generally have been much more important than those among the Latin American countries themselves.

Colonial trading patterns continued after independence. Most countries had to rely on exporting one or two primary products and on importing manufactured goods.

Dependence on other countries

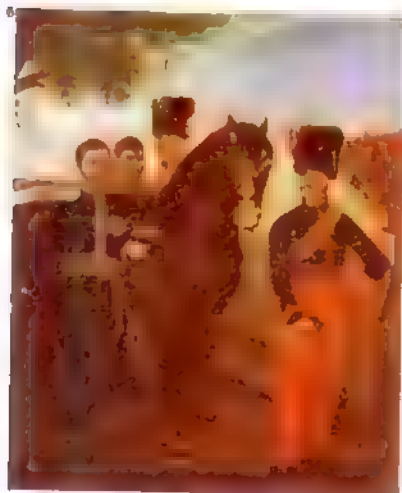
The new states of Latin America thus became economically and financially dependent upon powerful external countries. During the nineteenth century Great Britain was the major economic power in Latin America [2]. British capital played a key role in the economic development of Argentina in the latter part of the century. Her naval power forced Brazil to acquiesce in efforts to stamp out the slave trade. The eventual abolition of

slavery itself was one of the main causes of the overthrow of the Brazilian emperor and the establishment of a republic in 1889.

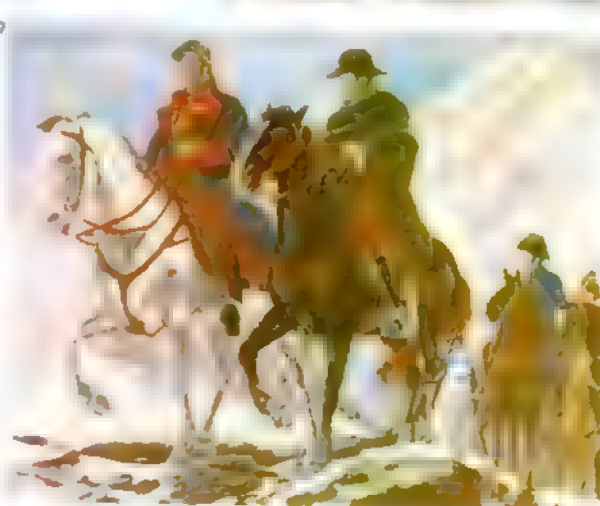
By that time the United States had greatly increased its territory at the expense of Mexico, which it defeated in war (1846-8). Even earlier, in 1823, President Monroe (1758-1831) had enunciated his famous "Doctrine". This warned European powers against incursions or further colonization in Latin America and implied that the United States had a special relationship with Latin America. By the end of the nineteenth century the United States, with military strength was able to compel respect for the Monroe Doctrine when its own interests were at stake. At the same time it promoted "pan Americanism", embodying the idea that the countries of the Americas shared a community of interests and a special "system" of international relations, the inter-American system. A conference of the United States and Latin American countries in Washington (1889-90) set up the International Union of American Republics - renamed the Pan American Union in 1910.



Simón Bolívar known throughout the continent as "The Liberator", was the greatest hero of Latin American independence. He played a leading part in winning freedom for his native land Venezuela, as well as Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, the country named after him. Bolívar brought together the first three of these countries in one state, the republic of Colombia, and he inspired the Congress of Panama (1826) with the principal aim of establishing a league of Spanish American nations. But the league did not materialize. Greater Colombia split into its constituent states, and Bolívar died deeply disillusioned in 1830.



6 José de San Martín [right] was the outstanding liberator of southern South America. He assured independence for Argentina and gained it for Chile and part of Peru (including Lima, the capital). While the liberation of Peru, the last great stronghold of Spanish power, was incomplete, San Martín had a famous meeting with Bolívar at Guayaquil in Ecuador (July 1822) to discuss the future of Spanish America. San Martín then withdrew, leaving the field to Bolívar.



7 San Martín's "Army of the Andes" crossed the mountain passes through the Uspallata pass at a height of 3,799m (12,464ft) - an extraordinary military achievement. The army was on its way to liberate Chile in co-operation with the Chilean patriot Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842). The Spanish forces in Chile were taken completely by surprise and routed at Chacabuco on 12 February 1817. In the following April a victory at Maipo ensured the independence of Chile.



8 Bolívar [right] triumphantly accepts the surrender of the Spanish at the Battle of Boyacá (1819), assuring Colombia's independence.

9 Latin America in 1903 looked much as it does today. Mexico had long before lost more than half its national territory (the former Viceroyalty of New Spain) to the United States. Cuba and Panama had become nominally independent although virtually protectorates of the United States, in 1902 and 1903 respectively. Paraguay had declared itself independent in 1842. Bolivia had lost its coastal territory to Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879-83) and was now landlocked. Central America had dissolved into its constituent states (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua) as early as 1838.



middle of the nineteenth century. The growth of trade led to the expansion of the Stock Exchange and the rise of provincial exchanges [8] to deal in specific commodities. By 1870 Britain was not only the centre of the world's industry and trade but its financial capital. Personal wealth increased rapidly [7].

Population growth

Economic and industrial development was accompanied throughout Europe by population growth [1]. Britain's population increased most rapidly of all, doubling between 1801 and 1851. By the middle of the century Britain was no longer a predominantly rural nation, for more than half its people lived in towns [3]. In 1801 there were only 14 European towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, but by 1870 there were more than 100.

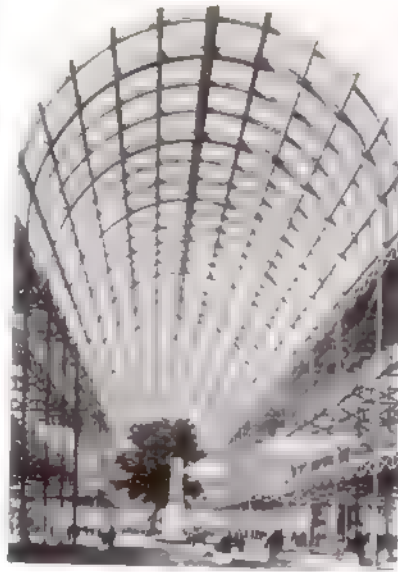
Urban development brought with it a wide range of social and political problems. To deal with these Britain, as the first industrial nation, pioneered many social institutions fundamental to modern life. Measures to regulate public health, provide basic

sanitary and housing amenities and preserve public order through the formation of professional police (the "Peelers") were copied by other countries. Similarly, the introduction of a reliable, cheap postal service [9], the rise of cheap newspapers and the development of cheap railway travel did something to offset the human misery that often accompanied urban development and industrial advance.

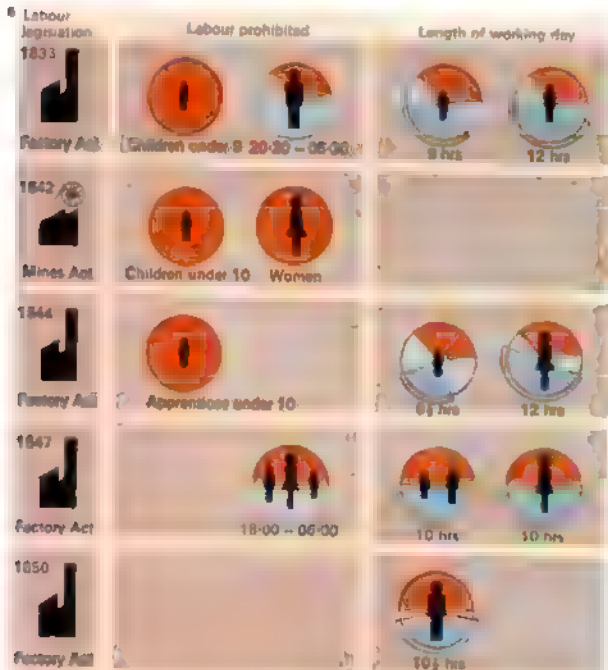
Factory Acts [6] regulated child and female labour, as well as hours of work, from the 1830s. Under early pioneers such as Robert Owen (1771-1858) and Robert Applegarth, industrial workers began to organize themselves into trade unions, political associations and the co-operative movement [4], in order to improve their status.

In Europe the gathering pace of industrial development was shown in the growth of railways [5], textile industries and iron and coal production [2] by 1870. Belgium, France and Germany made the largest strides, and although far behind Britain, both Germany and the United States were poised for rapid industrial development in the latter years of the nineteenth century.

KEY



The Great Exhibition of 1851, in London, marked a high point in Victorian industrialization. Organized to show the progress in trade and manufactures achieved since the first days of the Industrial Revolution, it became a symbol of British manufacturing ingenuity and dominance of world trade, although it exhibited industrial goods from many other countries. It was intended to display the virtues of free trade (*laissez-faire*) as an agent of economic progress. To house it, a revolutionary building of glass and iron was designed by Joseph Paxton and built in only seven months. The Royal Society of Arts sponsored the exhibition with the backing of Albert the Prince Consort.



6 Exploitation of child and female labour, with long hours, low wages and poor conditions, was a major abuse of the Industrial Revolution. In the middle of the 19th century, humanitarian concern in Britain led to the passing of Factory Acts to protect women and children.

8



7 Incomes and social status in Britain changed with the rise of the middle and professional classes and the creation of a new class of manufacturers. But in the mid-19th century the largest group still earned less than £30 a year.

8 The Cotton Exchange in Manchester was one of a number of major commercial institutions set up throughout Britain to deal in particular commodities. The growth of large-scale industry and the demands of a more complex society

forced rapid developments in finance and banking. The Stock Exchange, which had become the centre for financial dealings in the 18th century, continued to expand, doubling in size during the 1860s alone.



9 A cheap postal system was one of the many new social amenities made possible by growing community wealth and a more ordered urban society. In Britain, the railway system permitted rapid movement of mail and a "penny post" was introduced by Rowland Hill in 1840. (A) The British Post Office introduced the first of its distinctive red letter boxes in London in 1855. (B) A telegraph system came into use in the middle of the century with undersea cables



providing the first international means of communication. By 1861, 18,000km (12,250 miles) of cable had been laid.



10



10 The cotton mill was the symbol of the 19th-century industrial town. Cotton was the most completely industrialized sector of the economy, being almost entirely mechanized, steam-powered and factory-based, and was one of

the first industries to develop in Europe. Mills were gaunt, utilitarian structures, housing long banks of spinning and weaving machines, tended largely by women and children. Conditions were often dangerous

with many accidents, hours were long, even for very young children, and discipline was strict. In Britain by 1851 over half of the population lived in urban rather than rural areas. Factory conditions improved only slowly.

The urban consequences of industrialization

Pre-industrial Britain was a predominantly rural society in which there was only one large city, London, and few other large towns. In 1700 London had a population of more than half a million, but only six towns had populations of more than 10,000. Many parts of the country supported only villages and small market towns with populations of fewer than 5,000. Population growth from the mid-eighteenth century combined with the expansion of industry transformed Britain into a predominantly urban nation.

The growth of towns

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were more than 70 towns in Britain with populations of more than 10,000, eight with more than 100,000 and Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool had more than 250,000 inhabitants. By 1851 more than half the population lived in urban areas, compared with about a sixth in 1700 [1]. This growth continued until the eve of World War II, when more than four-fifths of the total population of Britain lived in urban areas. Only in the mid-twentieth century has

the spread of urbanization in Britain been reversed. Continued suburban development and the growth of car ownership has permitted more people to live outside urban areas in the years since 1945 [5].

One major impact of population growth and industrialization was rapid urbanization. Population in Britain rose three-fold between the middle of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth, from more than 7.5 million to more than 21 million. Although population growth occurred in the countryside as well as in the towns, urban centres expanded both from internal increase and migration from rural areas. London received between eight and twelve thousand immigrants a year by the end of the eighteenth century. In addition, the redistribution of population was changed - new industrial regions such as Clydeside and Lancashire became principal centres of growth.

New industries often recruited substantial portions of their labour force from the surrounding countryside. Short-distance migration, of not much more than 30 or 40 km (20 or 30 miles) in most cases, was the

general rule within Britain. Some immigrants, however, did come from farther afield from Scotland, Ireland, and rural Wales.

Local government created

The rapidity of growth is well illustrated by Manchester. A population of 75,000 in 1801 had grown to nearly 750,000 inhabitants by the eve of World War I. These tremendous increases in urban population almost completely swamped the provision of social amenities and local government. Until 1835 Manchester was still governed as though it were a rural parish, although it had 250,000 inhabitants. Slowly, the structure of local government was created to deal with these problems. The 1835 Municipal Corporations Act provided a basic framework for local government, and during the century most towns were given elected councils and the apparatus of local government [Key].

Conditions in the early industrial towns were often cramped, unhealthy, and insanitary [3]. Rapid expansion meant that families were crowded into cheap lodgings, cellars, and small courts. Piped water sup-

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 In 1700 only an estimated 16 per cent of the population in Britain lived in towns of more than 5,000 people. The Industrial Revolution and its attendant dramatic population growth in the 18th century created a predominantly urban society by 1900 when 77 per cent of the population lived in towns. This growth of the new towns and cities within 200 years bore little relation to the pattern of towns in pre-industrial Britain. Instead the expansion was almost entirely dictated by economic necessity. Some of the most spectacular growth took place in parts of the country that had been least densely populated in the pre-industrial era, such as Lancashire, Yorkshire, north-east England, South Wales and the Lowlands of Scotland. These industrial regions dominated the UK economy until the economic slump of the Depression in the 1920s and 1930s.



2 The human conditions behind the creation of the first industrial nation were tragic. The unprecedented changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution on Britain's demographic character

brought an equally dramatic decline in the social conditions for the majority of the population. Glasgow, an expanding city of more than 100,000 people, had only 40 sewers in 1815. This

harmful level of sanitation and hygiene caused an increase in the death rate and the city's population level would actually have declined in the 1820s and 1830s had it not been supplemented by steady immigration.



4 Middlesbrough was literally a creation of the Industrial Revolution. In 1801 it was a tiny group of houses of only 26 inhabitants, but by 1901 the population was more than 90,000, with iron, and later steel, as the principal industry.

Without the railways, in this case the Stockton and Darlington line, the town would probably never have existed. The carefully planned growth of the streets and houses, still evident today in this aerial view, was the product of

its Quaker founders, who first recognized its great commercial potential at the terminus of the new railway line. In the space of 100 years, Middlesbrough had become one of the commercial prodigies of the 19th century.



3 Cramped "back-to-back" housing was constructed to accommodate the expanding populations of the early industrial towns. The growth of some old towns was actually restricted by local landowners who feared that their power would be undermined by the new industrial masses. This led to chronic overcrowding within the boundaries of the old towns. Only in the mid-19th century did the government begin to introduce legislation to clear and improve insanitary areas.

phes and sanitary services were often totally inadequate or non-existent, and resulted in disease and high mortality rates, especially among young children. In 1842 the average life expectancy for children of labouring families in Manchester was 17 years, compared with 38 in rural Rutland. Cholera epidemics in 1831-3, 1847-8, and 1865-6 helped to focus attention upon the need for improvement in sanitary conditions. The first Public Health Act was passed in 1848 and a Board of Health was set up to deal with some of the problems of the industrial towns. But industrialization was not responsible for all the squalor and overcrowding to be found in the towns. Pre-industrial London, for example, had had its unsavoury stretches.

Even when new housing was constructed it was often built cheaply by factory owners or speculative builders. Small, terraced houses, often without adequate light or ventilation, with poor foundations and of flimsy construction, soon infested by damp and vermin, created a legacy of slum housing that survived well into the twentieth century in many industrial towns. Indeed it was only

after the destruction brought about by the blitz in World War II that extensive rebuilding of nineteenth-century slums in Britain's cities was carried out [7].

Social concern and planning

Towards the end of the nineteenth century philanthropists and social reformers, conscious of the destructive physical and social effects of industrialization put forward ideas for limited, planned towns and cities. Robert Owen (1771-1858) had attempted to create a "model" community at New Lanark and the first proper "garden cities" at Letchworth (1903) and Welwyn (1920) show a similar concern for careful regulation of the growth and structure of towns and cities. In 1895-6 the first industrial estate, at Trafford Park in Manchester, was built, railways, canals and other transport now enabled a separation to be made between work and home, and encouraged a concentration of industry that was socially and economically attractive. On a smaller scale, the houses built by knitting machine pioneer Jedediah Strutt (1726-97) can be seen to this day.

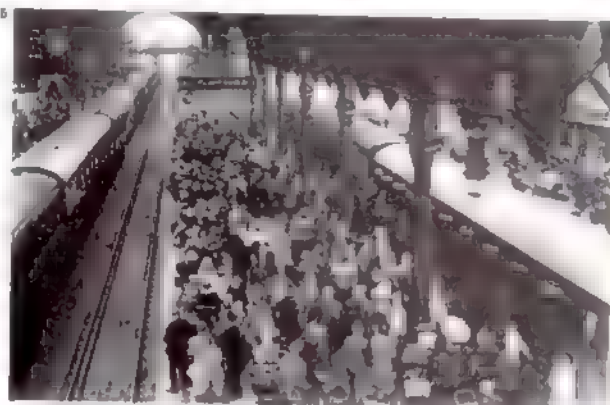


Manchester Town Hall, designed by Alfred Waterhouse (1820-1905), symbolizes the social pride of the rich in the Victorian era.

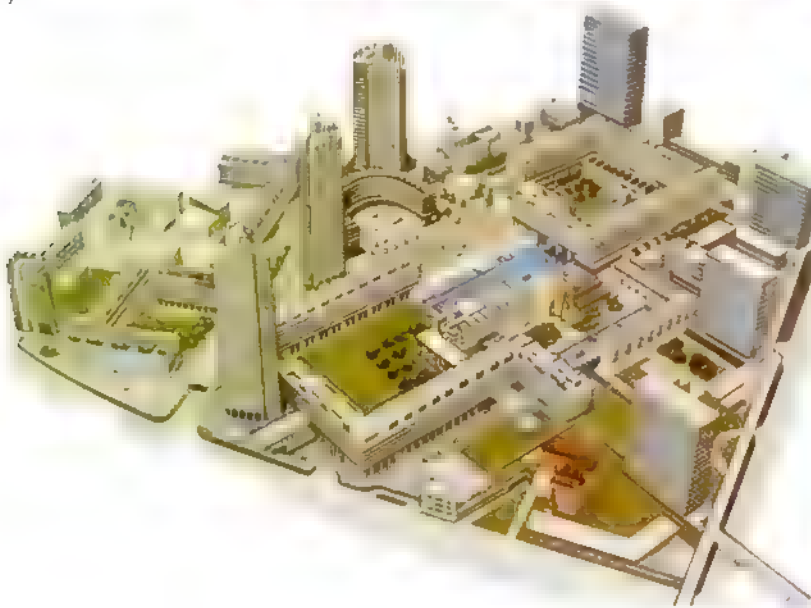
pride of the rich in the Victorian era, symbolized by the Industrial Revolution. The nineteenth century.

saw the creation of local authorities to deal with the intense problems caused by industrialization and growth.

5 Railways not only led to the spread of towns into the countryside, the creation of "suburbia" but they also resulted in the creation of holiday resorts for the industrial workforce. Blackpool and Scarborough are examples of sea side resorts that developed in the 19th century a short train ride away from industrial regions. Here holidaymakers are shown leaving London for Cornwall in August 1924.



6 Industrialization has created a more affluent society. Previously the predominantly agricultural population had been almost entirely dependent upon fluctuations in harvest levels. Until 1850 it is true to say that the overall standard of living suffered decline, although it was subject to severe fluctuations and regional discrepancies. After that time, the standard of living of the population rose with higher real wages and kept to a more consistent level. This is shown in the provision of public amenities such as schools, roads and hospitals as well as in the level of personal consumption.



7 London's Barbican housing project is a fine example of the redevelopment that has taken place since the blitz destroyed large areas in many of Britain's cities. Historic features

such as St Giles's Church have been sensitively incorporated into the scheme; and pedestrians and traffic have been separated. The complex also includes shops, a theatre, restaurants and a concert hall.

8 The Alton Estate at Roehampton in London illustrates one of the more successful attempts to rehouse the population of the overcrowded inner city areas in an attractive environ-

ment. Built between 1952 and 1961, the 11-storey blocks are carefully grouped among four-storey buildings and terraced houses with plenty of open spaces and trees situated on the estate.



The rural consequences of industrialization

The Industrial Revolution had profound consequences for agriculture and rural life. Population growth and increasing urbanization stimulated a demand for foodstuffs of every kind, which in turn made necessary a drastic expansion and development of agriculture. This involved the reclamation of marginal and waste land, the reorganization of landholding through enclosure, the introduction of new crops and techniques, the scientific breeding of healthier and bigger animals, and a more efficient, capitalistic type of farming. The result was a sufficient increase in domestic agricultural production to satisfy the demands of an expanding population until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when cheap foreign foodstuffs became generally available.

Unemployment on the land

The expansion of agriculture was not sufficient to absorb all population growth on the land. Although the number of families engaged in agriculture rose from 697,000 in 1811 to 761,000 in 1831, many more were forced by sheer economic circumstances to

swell the workforce of the industrial towns.

Those who remained were often faced with poor prospects. In the rural south, the system of subsidizing wages from parish rates, introduced by the magistrates of Speenhamland in Berkshire in 1795, discouraged farmers from paying economic wages. Moreover, population growth created conditions of chronic rural unemployment, which depressed farm levels to near subsistence level. The harsher New Poor Law of 1834 gave farm labourers the choice of low wages or even worse conditions in the workhouse. By the end of the century, the rural counties still had the highest levels of poverty in the country, often as bad as the worst urban slum areas. Cottage industry too, especially handloom weaving, was badly hit by competition from the factories. Although enclosure did not immediately reduce the agricultural labour force, often actually increasing the demand for labour, wages on the land remained persistently lower than those in industry.

By the turn of the century a drift from the land was accelerated by the depression

in prices for farm produce. By 1901, less than ten per cent of the total labour force in the country was involved in agriculture [5].

"High farming" period

Mechanization had not played an important part in the agricultural improvements of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Seed drills and threshing machines had some success, but the latter aroused opposition in the "Captain Swing" disturbances of 1830-32. The mid-Victorian "high farming" period saw the introduction of more elaborate machinery, including the use of traction engines for steam ploughing. These machines were expensive and not suited to every type of soil, but many new types of apparatus were in use by 1870.

The introduction of the internal combustion engine in the twentieth century had a dramatic impact on farming. Tractors proved useful for a wide range of tasks and, by 1939, there were 55,000 in use. By 1945, there were more than 200,000 tractors working in Britain and more than 50,000 combine harvesters [8]. Electricity was also being

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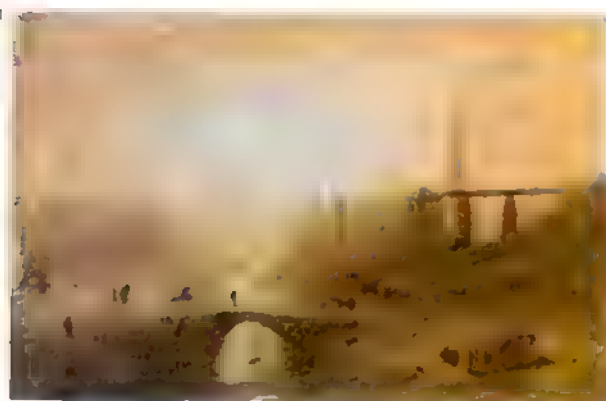
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1 The Nant-y-Glo ironworks in Wales in an early 19th-century picture presents a prospect soon to become too familiar. Industrial pollution, where it was noticed, could be ignored or sometimes

enjoyed as a 'sublime vision of hellishness'. Despite the unhealthiness and squalor of the conditions in which they worked and were housed to many in the most poverty-stricken areas industry brought a welcome opportunity

to earn a living from works in South Wales and the coalfields in the valleys attracted labour from the surrounding regions and some men came on foot from North Wales. Factory life was even thought preferable to farming

2 The map shows the routes of the earliest railways in Britain, initiated by the opening in 1825 of the famous Stockton-Darlington railway. The railways were in fact only the third wave of improvements in transport in Britain since the 17th century. The building of turnpike roads and of canals had already done much to transform communications and trade and made travel itself more convenient and enjoyable - the 18th century was a golden age of British tourism. The success of the Stockton-Darlington railway - it more than halved the cost of coal in Stockton - initiated a railway boom, that bound the once distant provinces into an interdependent trading grid, establishing industries far from cities and ports



3 John Kay, inventor of the flying shuttle in 1733, is wrapped in a sheet so as to make good his escape from the wrath of rioters at his window. The flying shuttle put out of a job those who previously had thrown the hand shuttles, and enabled a comb to be worked by

one weaver alone. By undermining the rural cottage industries, this and other inventions concentrated within the town the main sources of employment. These rioters were members of an urban workforce whose divorce from the land would soon be politically significant

4 An expanding railway network was established by 1851. The bridges, tunnels and stations created by the railway engineers proved that the transformed landscape was nowhere inaccessible. But although the influx of trade brought whole new towns such as

Swindon, into being in the Midlands, the more backward parts - much of Wales, Scotland and Ireland - were unaffected. The new habits of leisure travel induced by railways could be seen in the success of the tours organized by Thomas Cook (1808-92)



used for milking and heating. Technology was applied to a wide range of farming techniques. Animal husbandry was now more scientific and embraced battery farming and complex fertilizers and feedstuffs. The dwindling workforce became much more highly skilled as manual labour was taken over by machinery.

Rural enfranchisement

Social relations on the land were much influenced by the changes in agriculture. Very gradually since the sixteenth century the rural "middle class" of tenant-farmers and yeomen was displaced by the larger landowners and farmers, who employed landless wage-labourers. The dominance of squire and parson was undermined by the enfranchisement of the rural worker and reorganization of local government. In 1832 most agricultural labourers received the vote. The Ballot Act of 1872 also removed them from the more obvious forms of landlord domination by introducing the secret ballot. The establishment of county councils in 1888, and parish councils in 1894

aided the decline in the influence of the landlord. The early successes of Joseph Arch's Agricultural Trade Union in the 1870s illustrated the permeation of union organization among the agricultural labourers; its progress was nevertheless much slower than among industrial workers.

Many rural areas were brought into the industrial age only with the coming of the railways in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras [2, 4]. The last phase of railway expansion brought branch lines to many hitherto untouched areas. This trend was reversed following the Beeching Report in 1963 which recommended cuts of 8 000 km (5 000 miles) of railway. Subsequently, reduction in public transport further isolated many towns and villages. As a result the motor car became a necessity for those living and working out of town.

The motor car also enabled city-dwellers to enjoy rural pleasures more easily. Large areas of land were set aside as national parks, to be preserved from urban encroachment, while other parts of the countryside were developed for tourists [7, 9].



A Yorkshire miner of 1814 retains a rural look against an early industrial background. Behind him the steam-driven pithead winding gear brings coal down to the surface, and a Blenkinsop locomotive hauls tubs of

coal as hills stretch behind. During those early days of industrialization, mining and textile communities were hardly different from farming villages, slightly larger but not yet obtrusive. With the expansion of industry

accompanied by a rise in population, factories and housing began to encroach on the rural landscape so much that the countryside in many places became a mere interval between towns. Urban 'sprawl' has continued to this day.



5 The proportion of workers employed in industry and services and in agriculture altered greatly between 1801 and 1901. This comparison reveals a clear drift away from the land into the cities, a trend that continues.

6 The destruction of the country house is a recent consequence of industrialization. In previous centuries the country house was the centre from which agriculture was created and the unit of local power. Its architecture was an expression of its owner's local status and national role even if this money came originally from trade or the colonies. After industrialization the country house lost its economic and political vitality and importance.



7 Traffic jams are a consequence of the countryside's role as the playground of the

cities. One cause was acceptance by industry of holidays as periods of relaxation, when towns-

8 Industrialization of the farm itself is one of the inevitable consequences of the mechanization of the entire economy. The trend towards investment in machinery to do the work of many men has made machines such as combine harvesters a commonplace on the land. To obtain sufficient returns on capital outlay farms have had to expand greatly.

9 Giraffes quench their thirst at Longleat, Wiltshire, one of the most popular stately homes in Britain. If the opening of great houses and their parks to the public has made possible their upkeep, it has also helped them. The traditional English countryside has lost its essential rusticity, and even moors and mountains, once regarded as wilderness, are now amenities.



The British labour movement to 1868

Craft organizations had existed for centuries in Britain, usually protected by a framework of paternalistic legislation that determined terms of apprenticeship and wages. With the growth of towns and industry during the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, the old craft regulations came under pressure from employers who sought to free industry from rigid restrictions and to introduce labour-saving machinery.

Unrest and the Combination Laws

The wars with revolutionary France, which opened in 1793, were marked by high prices and labour unrest. Fearing the growth of radical ideas among the lower classes, the government passed the Combination Laws of 1799-1800 [Key]. These were the culmination of a series of laws against "combinations" in specific trades. The Combination Laws prohibited any association between two or more workmen to gain either an increase in wages or a decrease in hours. Unions were forced to operate in secret or under the guise of "non-political" Friendly Societies, which were recognized as legal in 1793.

The economic warfare between Britain and France in the latter part of the Napoleonic Wars brought trade depression and hardship to the growing industrial areas. In 1810-12 there occurred the most serious wave of Luddite disturbances [3], in which workmen under a mythical leader, "King Ludd", destroyed machinery which they saw as threatening their livelihood.

This violence was in large part the traditional reaction of workmen threatened with a decline in their living standards. The degree of union organization in the Luddite outbreaks is obscure, but some elements of union organization were undoubtedly present in Nottinghamshire. Further outbreaks of machine-breaking in 1816-17 and 1826 were also firmly repressed.

In the post-war years, continued distress and radical agitation for parliamentary reform made the government suspicious of trade union activities. Strikes in the factory districts took place in spite of the Combination Laws, most notably in Lancashire where the cotton spinners and weavers conducted an extensive strike in 1818. Elsewhere brick

makers and carpenters secured wage advances without being prosecuted.

Postwar agitation came to a climax in the St Peter's Fields meeting in Manchester of August 1819 [5]. The Peterloo Massacre, as it was dubbed by the radical press, helped to create a more sympathetic attitude towards working-class organizations. The writings of men such as William Cobbett (1763-1835) [4] were also creating a more self-conscious desire for improvement among workmen.

Growth in union membership

In the easier economic climate after 1820, the Combination Laws were attacked. A former tailor, Francis Place (1771-1854), devoted himself to the legalization of trade unions and, with the support of radical MPs, secured the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824. Unions could now bargain about conditions although still surrounded by some restrictions. Attempts, in 1830 and 1833 to form a single national union failed. Many unions turned to 'new model unionism' emphasizing their respectability and rejecting militant activity.

CONNECTIONS

See also

THE MICH
THE 2011
THE BRITISH MUSEUM
THE 2011
THE 2011
THE 2011

The Author

1800 4000

Postscript: The thought in



1 Thomas Paine's (1737-1809) *The Rights of Man* (1791-2) was published in reply to Edmund Burke's (1729-97) criticisms of the French Revolution. It did much to stimulate popular radicalism. However, threat of prosecution forced Paine to flee the country for France in September 1792.

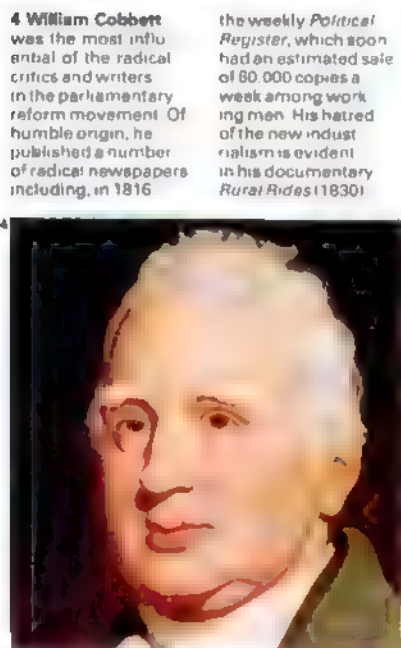


2 Disturbances broke out in England between 1830 and 1832 in which agricultural labourers protested against unemployment, low wages and the introduction of threshing machines. The unrest was not politically motivated, but was a reaction to growing poverty. Nine labourers were hanged and 457 transported.



3 Luddite noters
of 1810-12 and 1816-17 smashed factory machinery in protest against the introduction of new equipment in the hosiery and wool len cloth industries. The protesters claimed to be led by a "Ned".

or "King Ludd" whose name was attached to public letters denouncing the product on of the new machinery. The riots caused a series of harsh measures to be enacted by the government.



4 William Cobbett was the most influential of the radical critics and writers in the parliamentary reform movement. Of humble origin, he published a number of radical newspapers including, in 1816

the weekly *Political Register*, which soon had an estimated sale of 60,000 copies a week among working men. His hatred of the new industrialism is evident in his documentary *Rural Rides* (1830).



5 The Peterloo Massacre so-called was a tragic fracas that took place in August 1819. Manchester reformers called a meeting at which the radical demagogue 'Orator' Henry Hunt (1773-1835) was to speak. But the local magistrates, fearing trouble, ordered the yeomanry to arrest Hunt at the meeting. When this failed, Hussars were sent in against the crowd of 60,000, and in the ensuing confusion 11 people were killed and more than 400 injured, including women and children. The incident was used by the government as a pretext for introducing a fresh wave of repressive legislation, the Six Acts against 'seditious assemblies' and politically 'subversive' literature.

By the 1840s most unions consisted of skilled workmen and the bulk of semi- and unskilled workers still lay outside union organization. The conviction of the "Tolpuddle Martyrs" in Dorset in 1834 [6] for administering unlawful oaths showed the obstacles that could still face unskilled workers who tried to organize themselves.

Many unions took an ambivalent attitude towards the Chartist demands for the vote contained in the People's Charter [7]. Elite craft groups, such as the engineers or potters, were reluctant to align themselves with a movement tainted with violence and disorder. Some of the declining crafts, however, such as the handloom weavers, participated in Chartism as a desperate attempt to reverse their deteriorating situation.

With the decline of Chartism after 1848 the craft unions continued to consolidate their position. By 1852, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers had 12,000 members, centralized control, and high rates of subscription, which enabled it to wage successful strikes. Unskilled workers formed organizations, such as the Miners' Associa-

tion of 1842, but still lacked the solidarity and strength of the skilled workmen.

From the period of model unionism there was an improvement in the public image of the trade union movement. The Friendly Societies and Co-operative Movement, founded at Rochdale in 1844, were aided by middle-class sympathizers [9].

Co-ordination of union activities

In 1866-7, a short trade slump in the midst of improving conditions led to a number of strikes and some violence, notably at Sheffield. The "Sheffield Outrages" [10] led to a Royal Commission in 1867 on trade unions. The Commission recommended putting trade unions upon a firm legal basis and allowing them to secure their funds. These gains were established in the Trades Union Act of 1871. In 1868 the Trades Union Congress (TUC) was founded in Manchester with 34 delegates. In 1869 in Birmingham, quarter of a million trade unionists were represented at the TUC by 40 delegates and a "Parliamentary Committee" was established to represent trade union interests.

KEY



Repressive measures were adopted by the government against radical societies which arose following the French Revolution. Habeas corpus was suspended in May 1794, and some radical leaders were charged with high treason. In 1796 following an attack upon the king's coach in October, the Two Acts were passed. These restricted the right of free assembly and extended the law of treason to cover acts of speech and writing. The laws against combinations restricted the growth of trade unions. After 1815 the government again resorted to laws against meetings and radical propaganda, in the "gagging" Acts of 1817 and the Six Acts of 1819.



6 The precarious legal status of early trade unions was illustrated when six Dorset labourers were arrested in 1834 for swearing men into a union at the village of Tolpuddle. All were sentenced to seven years transportation. After demonstrations such as this, they were pardoned in 1836.

7 Chartism, expressed in the People's Charter, owed its origins to the failure of the 1832 bill fully to enfranchise the working man. The Charter demanded male suffrage, secret ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, an end to property qualifications for MPs and the introduction of official payment for them.



8 The Anti-Corn Law League, which was mainly composed of industrialists, was founded in 1839 to oppose the duties on imported corn that protected domestic producers. Although the League was campaigning for cheaper food in oppo-

sition to the power of the landed classes, the Chartists and the working classes did not fully support it. The Chartists argued that in reality the League wanted wages reduced by the amount that corn prices would fall if the Law were repealed.



9 The first Co-operative shop, a non-profit making retail store, was one of a number of co-operative ventures in the 1830s and 1840s. By selling cheap and pure food it was the most successful.

10 The "Sheffield Outrages" a series of violent incidents directed at non-union members, led to the establishment of a Royal Commission to investigate the status of trade unions. In 1867 union status

was further put into question by a ruling that they were defenceless against officials, who absconded with union funds. Unions were represented on the Commission which recommended that they be given a legal basis.

10

THE SHEFFIELD HEROES



Social reform 1800–1914

The rapid increase in population and new industrial towns during the Industrial Revolution created immense social problems in Britain. The new towns had grown uncontrolled, many lacked basic amenities such as sanitation and water supply, and the problems of poverty, ill-health, crime and bad housing were widespread. There was almost no schooling for most of the population. Child and female labour was regularly used in factories and mines [1], even for the most arduous and dangerous tasks. The prevailing ethic of *laissez-faire* that the state should not interfere with the workings of the economy or society held back any far-reaching legislation to improve working conditions.

Poverty and social concern

During the course of the nineteenth century some of these evils were diagnosed and brought to public notice by social commentators [8] and novelists such as Charles Dickens (1812–70), Mrs Gaskell (1810–65) and Charles Kingsley (1819–75). In addition parliamentary enquiries were set up to examine social questions. The result was a

considerable body of social legislation.

The Poor Law was a source of concern to nineteenth-century reformers. The existing system of "outdoor" relief, levied from parish rates, burdened the propertied classes and Thomas Malthus (1766–1814) in his influential *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) had argued that it perpetuated poverty by encouraging population growth. Under the Speenhamland system, introduced in 1795, labourers' wages were subsidized out of parochial funds on a scale linked to the price of bread. But in the large industrial towns, the parochial organization of poor relief was totally inadequate to meet the strains of heavy unemployment.

In 1834 the New Poor Law was passed. It much reduced "outdoor relief". Instead of receiving charity, all able-bodied people requiring relief were forced to go into the workhouse, where a strict regime, including segregation of the sexes, even of married couples, was intended to deter all but the truly destitute [5]. In addition, poor law authorities were amalgamated to spread the burden of poor relief evenly.

The insanitary conditions of the great towns gave rise to considerable concern about public health. In the 1840s an inquiry showed that more than half the major towns in Britain had an insufficient or impure water supply. The cholera epidemics of the mid-nineteenth century acted as a spur to the public health movement. Edwin Chadwick's (1800–90) famous *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population* in 1842 led to the creation of a central Board of Health under the Public Health Act of 1848. Individual towns were empowered to set up local Medical Officers of Health. In 1875 a Public Health Act laid the foundations for an overhaul of public sanitation.

Legislation on housing

Housing reform was left to piecemeal action. Lord Shaftesbury's (1801–85) [2] Lodging Houses Act of 1851 checked the worst abuses of "doss houses". More important, however, was the Artisans' Dwelling Act of 1875 which gave local authorities the power to clear slums. A number of reforms of local government, especially the Municipal

CONNECTIONS

See also
The nation

1 The use of child and female labour in factories and mines during the Industrial Revolution was widespread in the early 1830s, nearly half the labour force in the cotton mills was under 21, and of the adults more than half were women. Hours and conditions were regulated only by the benevolence of employers and a working week exceeding 90 hours was common until the 1833 Factory Act became effective.



2 Lord Shaftesbury was an evangelical churchman and a dedicated reformer. He is associated with the 1833 Factory Act and with legislation to prohibit the employment of children by chimney sweeps, in 1840 and of women and children in the mines, in 1842. But his overriding paternalism made him unsympathetic to franchise extension in 1867 and to too much state involvement in welfare.



3 The Corn Laws of 1815 protected British agriculture by prohibiting the importation of foreign wheat until the domestic price exceeded 80 shillings per quarter. These laws were widely opposed by the urban poor

and also by the industrialists because it was generally thought that they forced up the price of food and wages. In the long term too, it was argued that protectionism would harm exports. In 1839 the Anti-Corn Law League was founded

by Richard Cobden (1804–65) and John Bright (1811–89) to agitate for repeal. In attacking the privilege and sectional interests behind the laws the league took on a reformist appearance. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846.

4 No free public libraries existed before 1845. From the mid-century, however, many towns set up rate-assisted public libraries to provide access to books and newspapers for all classes.



5 Under the New Poor Law of 1834, workhouse conditions were to be made inferior to those of the poorest labourer outside in order effectively to deter 'laziness' and 'vagrancy' among the poor.



Corporations Act of 1835 and the Local Government Act of 1888, provided the administrative machinery necessary to implement these measures on a local level.

Factory legislation began as early as 1802 when Robert Peel senior (1750-1830), introduced an act to limit the employment of children to under 12 hours a day. The 1819 Factory Act forbade the employment of children in cotton mills under the age of nine. Lord Shaftesbury's 1833 Factory Act further limited the working hours of all children under 18 years old and appointed factory inspectors to enforce this. Safety regulations and limitations on women's working hours were introduced by an act in 1844. This legislation was extended in the course of latter part of the nineteenth century to include all types of factories. In 1891, a consolidating act raised the minimum age for the employment of children to 11 years.

The rise of state education

Education remained a patchwork of private initiative and philanthropic effort for much of the nineteenth century. The Royal Lancaste-

rian Association (1810) and the Anglican National Society (1811) founded hundreds of schools without any government involvement. State intervention began in the 1830s and the first government grant to education was made in 1833. In 1839 an education department was set up to inspect grant-receiving schools [6].

In 1870, Forster's Education Act provided virtually free elementary education for anyone who wanted it by setting up local boards empowered to establish schools financed, in part, from the rates. Education up to the age of ten years was made compulsory in 1880. In 1902, the Balfour Education Act created Local Education Authorities and thoroughly reformed the whole system of secondary education.

The growth of state responsibility for social welfare was embodied in the legislation of the Liberal governments after 1906, which went a considerable way towards creating a rudimentary "welfare state", with important new measures such as the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 and the National Health Insurance Act of 1911 [10].



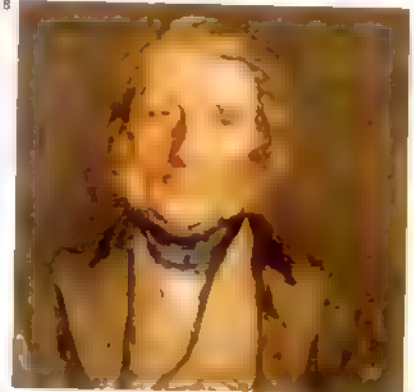
Chronic overcrowding and grossly inadequate facilities characterized the new industrial towns that mushroomed

during the Industrial Revolution. The sheer scale and complexity of the problems were quite unprecedented and unnoticed until

social reformers, philanthropists and the unavoidable pressure of events forced them upon public notice.

7 The Salvation Army, founded by "General" William Booth (1829-1912) in 1865, aimed at social as well as spiritual welfare. It provided soup kitchens, night shelters and many facilities for the destitute.

Booth was particularly concerned at the adverse effects of urbanisation and the depopulation of the countryside. He hoped that through a system of rural re-education he could reverse this trend.



9 John Ruskin (1819-1900) art critic and reformer argued that art, ethics and social conditions were inextricably linked. Many of his proposals such as pensions and state education were later adopted.

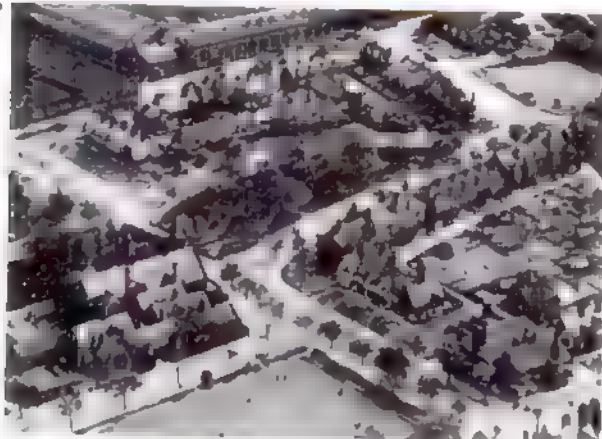
10 The National Insurance Act of 1911 provided unemployment pay and free medical treatment in return for graduated weekly contributions to be paid by employers, employees and the state.



6 The growth of education was a central feature of 19th-century reform. This diagram shows the rise in grants and school inspectors in elementary education between 1839 and 1865.

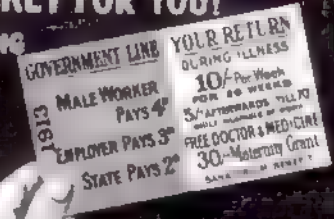


9 Private philanthropy in the 19th century very often preceded state action by many years. Port Sunlight, shown here, was built by the industrialist Lord Leverhulme (1851-1925). In 1888 it was the first village to be built on the garden city principles, then advocated as a means to eliminate the physical and moral effects of urban overcrowding by Ruskin and other social reformers. This is shown in the planned houses, open spaces, and the provision of public amenities.



THE RIGHT TICKET FOR YOU!

YOU ARE TRAVELLING ON A SAFE LINE



AND ARE ASSURED A SAFE RETURN

The novel and the press in the 19th century

There were many technical innovations in printing between 1800 and 1900 that had important effects on newspapers and novels. The use of metal presses, steel engraving and, after 1848, of stereotypes and mechanical presses completely altered the production process. Marketing techniques changed too: circulating libraries [Key], railway station bookstalls and cheap reprints of successful titles helped to establish and satisfy a market that expanded with the rising population, increased literacy [7] and greater educational opportunities. In Britain newspapers were hampered by taxation until 1855, but by the end of the century mass circulation newspapers had developed [4].

Changes in the novel

The novel never suffered taxation problems but was otherwise similarly affected by these changes. The huge problems of the new industrial cities [6] offered fresh subject matter to be interpreted in the new intellectual climate of Europe after the French Revolution. Even two such early novelists as Jane Austen (1775-1817) [2] and Walter

Scott (1771-1832) [1] reveal a distinct if conservative responsiveness to change. Jane Austen's domestic comedies, carefully structured in six novels, are at once amusing and deeply serious. Scott virtually invented the historical novel. His popular success brought him a considerable personal fortune.

Popular success was also enjoyed by his Victorian successors, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63), Anthony Trollope (1815-82) and above all by Charles Dickens (1812-70) [3] and George Eliot (1819-80). Dickens built up an astonishingly close relationship with his readers in his sentimental but brilliantly funny and sometimes despairing vision of city life. George Eliot, on the other hand, was provincial in her subjects and European in the range and discipline of her thought. The mid-century also saw the publication of the Brontë sisters' novels. Charlotte (1816-55) was the most successful, but Emily (1818-48), author of significant poems as well as of the novel *Wuthering Heights*, has since been more highly regarded. Important later novelists include George Meredith (1828-1909), George Gissing (1857-1903), Samuel Butler (1835-1902) and Thomas Hardy (1840-1928). Hardy's novels frequently express a passionate feeling for man's tragic involvement in nature and estrangement from it.

The novel in Western Europe

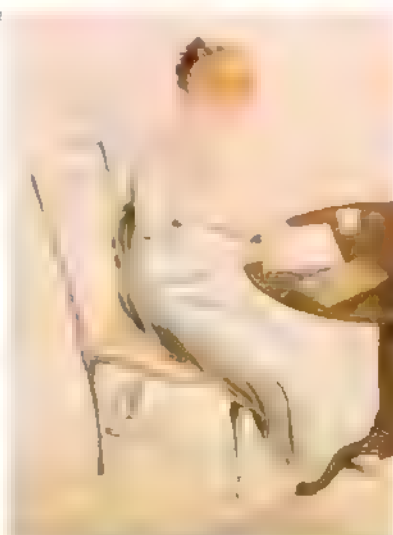
French fiction in this period was much more urbane and less prudish than English. The realists, Stendhal (1783-1842), Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) [5] and Gustave Flaubert (1821-80), depicted French history and bourgeois life at great length and in minute detail. Romantic experience and attitudes, however, were given vivid expression in the works of Victor Hugo (1802-85) and George Sand (1804-76). Emile Zola (1840-1902) [8], leader of the naturalists, produced franker and more painfully pessimistic studies of the workings of heredity and environment in human affairs [6]. The enormous popular success of Alexandre Dumas the father (1802-70) and his historical romances was matched by that of his son of the same name (1824-95).

The giant figure of Johann Wolfgang

CONNECTIONS



1 Scott's novels are full of dramatic incidents, such as Amy Robsart's death in *Kenilworth*. His success with historical romance was huge. He built a country house with the proceeds, went bankrupt and wrote himself out of debt. Much of his writing is slack and he is no longer so widely read, but his greatness is unquestionable. His use of famous historical characters is discreet: they are rarely central and his sense of how history bears on the experience of ordinary people has a breadth and humanity declared Shakespearean by his European admirers.



2 Jane Austen concentrated on witty incisive descriptions of rural English society. Her sense of form had its roots in the classical English comedy of Congreve and Jonson. She was the first of a remarkable line of women novelists whose lives were otherwise provincial and obscure. During her lifetime she earned only £250 for six novels, but time has discriminated in her favour and she is now regarded as an immortal of English literature. Two of her best works are *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) and *Emma* (1816), both about ordinary people unaffected by world events.



3 Dickens's novels were published in frequent illustrated instalments as with *Nicholas Nickleby*, the parts of which are shown here. Part publication was common practice and allowed Dickens to keep in close contact with his public and alter plots if sales fell off. He kept the English-speaking world in agonized suspense over the death of Little Nell in *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Dickens was, however, a serious artist who influenced, among others, Dostoevsky.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL.

(BY TELEGRAPH AND DUTYING TELEGRAPH.)

VIENNA, MONDAY MORNING.

The *Morgen Post*, which is a paper of no great authority, has the following:—

"CZERNOWITZ, Nov. 11.

"On the 6th the whole garrison of Sebastopol, amounting to 65,000 men, made a sortie.

"A furious battle ensued, which was not ended when the morning left; but the allies had the advantage."

We have received, at half past 4 o'clock this morning, the following despatch, dated yesterday afternoon, from our correspondent at Vienna:—

"The news forwarded this morning relative to the sortie was but too true.

"Reliable information has been given me that the English suffered a very heavy loss, and had three Generals wounded.

"It is said that later intelligence has been received, according to which the Russians had at least 1,000 repelled with a loss of 3,000 men."

THE MURDER OF



IN THE RED BARN AT POLSTED

ACCOUNT OF THE CRIMINAL AND EXECUTION

4 Mass circulation newspapers became possible after the development of new printing techniques and the ending of the newspaper tax in 1855. Serious major

journalist innovations, like *The Times'* coverage of the Crimean War (A probably had less influence on novels than gutter press sensationalism [8]

von Goethe (1749-1832) overshadows nineteenth-century German literature. In his wake the regionalist anti-romanticism of Theodor Storm (1817-88) and Fritz Reuter (1810-74) seems relatively less significant. Italian prose in this period was dominated not by one great man but by one great book, *The Betrothed* by Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873), a patriotic Romantic who was greatly influenced by Scott. The task of modernizing the Italian novel fell to Giovanni Verga (1840-1922) and Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911).

The literary tradition in Russia

In some ways the most surprising national achievement in the evolution of the novel was that of Russia. The first major Russian novelists were Mikhail Lermontov (1814-41) and Nikolai Gogol (1809-52). Their successors Ivan Turgenev (1818-89), Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-81) and Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) were to make a deep impression on Western European culture when their works were translated into French, German and English. Tolstoy's *War*

and *Peace* and *Anna Karenina* are among the greatest of all literary works.

While Dostoevsky's intellectual perspectives are significantly modern it was Henry James (1843-1916) who introduced modern techniques into the novel. Although he spent most of his life in Europe, he remained in important ways American. The formal complexity and ironic indirectness of his work is also characteristic of Nathaniel Hawthorne (1806-64), Herman Melville (1819-91) and Mark Twain (1835-1910). In his own fiction James abandoned the convention that the author knows everything and selected one or two characters from whose point of view he told his story. Although most of his own novels are long, this technique led on to the writing of shorter, more economical works. As well as the artistic reasons for this development there were also strictly commercial ones: with the advent of cheap editions that readers could buy for themselves the great circulating libraries were in decline and publishers became less interested in length alone. The age of the Victorian novel was over.



The Temple of the Muses in Finsbury London was a state supported public reading library. Novel reading was widespread among middle and upper class households by the middle of the 19th cen-

tury in Britain even the wealthy subscribed to circulating libraries. Consequently a novel's success or failure depended on the good will of these libraries which had a vested interest in keeping

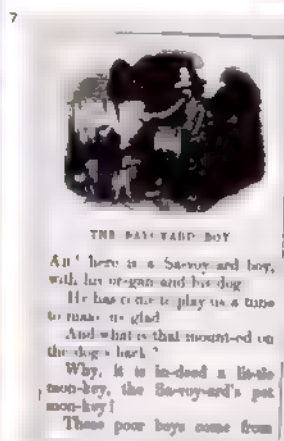
books both expensive and pure. 'Society will not tolerate the naturalism our art complained Thackeray in his novel *Pendennis* (1848). Bestselling libraries were not so easily resisted.



5 This remarkable sculpture of Balzac by Rodin suggests the bulk and force of Balzac's vision of human society. His 85 novels attempt to characterize almost every aspect of life in France between the 1789 revolution and the fall of Louis Philippe in 1848. By romantic standards an unrewarding subject for the novelist but he made it lively and real.



6 *Germinal*, Emile Zola's outspoken novel describing the degrading conditions of life endured by miners in northern France, illustrates the freedom from prudery that French novelists enjoyed. Mrs Gaskell, Kingsley and Dickens had tried to depict the consequences of industrialization without dealing with human sexuality.



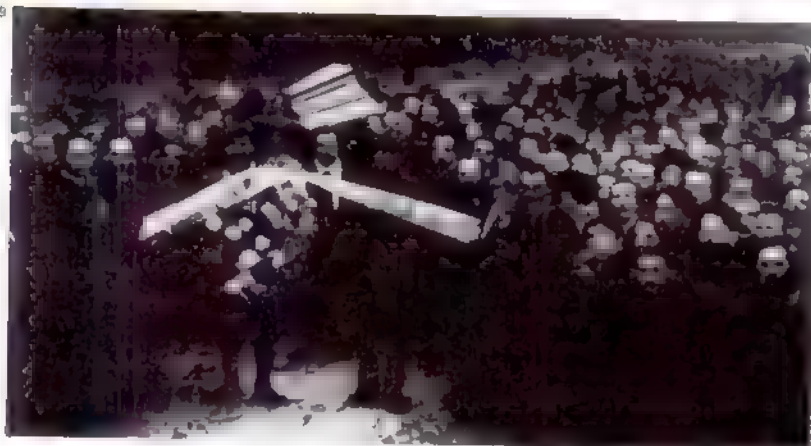
THE SAVOYARD BOY

An' here is a Savoyard boy, with his organ and his dog. He has come to play us a tune to make us glad. And what is that mounted on the dog's back? Why, it is in-deed a little Savoyard, the Savoyard's pet monkey! These poor boys come from

their coun-try a long way off, to gain a few pence. Their own coun-try is not so rich as ours, and we ought not to deny them a few pence. We may chance, some time or other, to be left friend-less in a strange coun-try, and we shall then feel very glad if any kind people take no-lice of us, and give us food, or mo-ney to buy food with. We should al-ways give to those who are in need, and if we do so, we shall be sure to get help when we our-selves are in need. You will some-times meet with per-sons who beg, and could do with-out beg-ging, but they like to live an id-dle life.

7 Green's *Universal Primer* injected heavy-handed moralizing into reading lessons. Urban, but not rural, literacy rates were fairly high in the 1840s. Total literacy ranged from 16% to 25% and about three-quarters of the working class was literate by the middle of the century. Most people read only novels of the lowest character and fears were expressed about whether good literature could survive.

8 Emile Zola in *Les Rougon-Macquart* attempted to follow the adventures of a family during the 1880s, calling it "a physiological history of the 2nd Empire." The series has 20 volumes with modern themes. In *The Dram Shop* (1877) the evils of drink, in *Nana* (1880) sex, in *Earth* (1888), the degrading brutality of peasant life. Naturalists believed writers should go beyond the surface detail of life.



9 Tolstoy's funeral was the first non-religious Russian funeral, yet he died with the reputation of a saint because of his religious and political devotion to the ideal 'simple peasant' life. In *What is Art?* (1897) he had repudiated most of European literature including his own and Shakespeare's works, yet in his own ascetic and prophetic old age he demonstrated the same sort of passion and contradictory idealism with which he had invested his fictional heroes.



Poetry and theatre in the 19th century

The Romantic movement in poetry at the end of the eighteenth century stressed intensity of emotion rather than elegance and art, freedom of expression rather than stylistic rules. In England its most important forerunner was William Blake (1757-1827), who was less known in his own time than Walter Scott (1771-1832) or Thomas Moore (1779-1852). The rebellious spirit of the movement was epitomized in the life of Lord Byron (1788-1824) who, with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), towered over European literature in the 1820s. Yet Byron's best work, *Don Juan*, is anti-Romantic in its sceptical wit.

William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and John Keats (1795-1821) better represent the actual changes in English poetry brought about by romanticism. Wordsworth's ideas about mind and nature [1] forced him to adopt an unorthodox style and subject-matter. His creed was to take "ordinary things" and show them in "unusual aspect", believing that intense joy could arise from deep harmony with nature. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) wrote more directly of

the power of joy as a reforming influence, as Keats stressed the power of beauty. The lyrical intensity of Keats's poetry deeply influenced later poets.

Lyricism, nature and the exotic continued to attract Victorian poets. Robert Browning (1812-89) used anti-lyrical effects, tough rhythms and difficult meanings but was always drawn to the exotic. Faith in joy and the senses waned however both Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-92) and Matthew Arnold (1822-88) wrote sombre, noble verse and Tennyson had earnest doubts about the relevance of his lyric gift. A reaction against undue moral earnestness came with Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) and the Decadents who stressed flagrantly amoral beauty. But later British poets, Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-89), Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) and W. B. Yeats (1865-1939), remained deeply serious.

Poets in Europe

The writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge reveal the Romantics' debt to Germany where Goethe, a champion of the *Sturm und*

Drang movement, had established the concept of the suffering hero. But Goethe's work shows the difficulty of arbitrary distinctions between romanticism and classicism. He wrote the classical *Roman Elegies* as well as passionate lyrics to Charlotte von Stein. Similarly the Romantic 1827 *Songs* of Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) are balanced by his more sombre later poems. The Byronic mood was more influential in Russia where Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) was a disciple [2], as was Mikhail Lermontov (1814-41).

In France, Victor Hugo (1802-85), poet, novelist and dramatist, led other Romantic anti-classicists including Alphonse Lamartine (1790-1869), Alfred de Musset (1810-57) and the young Théophile Gautier (1811-72). But Charles Baudelaire (1821-67), lyricist of moral decay [5], the boy-poet Arthur Rimbaud (1854-91) and Paul Verlaine (1844-96) are better seen as early Symbolists rather than late Romantics. Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-98) and the Symbolists tried to create a poetry of emblems to convey the meaning beneath the surface of things. In Italy, Giosuè Carducci

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The English Lake District inspired some of Wordsworth's finest work. There faced with sublimely rugged scenery, he experienced a sense of harmony with nature which he expressed as a moral

force. He and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) published their *Lyrical Ballads*, including Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner', in 1798. Coleridge is remembered as much for his criticism as for his poetry.

2 Pushkin, the first major Russian writer, was exiled for writing epigrams against the Russian government. During his exile he read Byron and created a Byronic hero for his poem *Eugene Onegin*

(1831), an immortal Romantic legend. He also wrote popular prose romances and experienced the conflict between patriotism and liberalism which became a common Russian problem later in the century.



3 Riots followed the first performance of Hugo's *Hernani* (1830) which broke with the rules of classicism. Hugo's romanticism was ardently supported by young French poets but a reaction against emotionalism and looseness of style soon followed as poets turned to subtler themes and more concise imagery.

4 Gabriele D'Annunzio worked on the script of the epic film *Cabiria* (1913) and was also a dramatist, novelist and flamboyant political leader both before and after World War I. His later support of Mussolini cannot detract from the sensuous poetry he wrote in the 1890s during his affair with the actress Eleonora Duse.



(1835–1907) led a reaction against undisciplined verse, but Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938) sounded late in the century the authentic note of Romantic joy [4]

From melodrama to naturalism in drama

Romantic and post-Romantic drama generally fails as literature. The plays of Goethe show classical influences while his master piece *Faust*, transcends categories. Hugo's triumph in France with the Romantic *Hernani* [3] is hard now to understand. Victorien Sardou (1831–1908) and Alexandre Dumas (1802–70) wrote successful comedies and romances. Later Alexandre Dumas the younger (1824–95) produced some solemn social problem plays and Edmond Rostand (1868–1918) poetic dramas. But the dominance of opera and of Shakespearean revivals [8] inhibited convincing representation of contemporary society.

Towards the end of the century three major dramatists emerged as forerunners of modern theatre. The Norwegian Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) moved from verse plays to a series of controversial and influential

social dramas in prose such as *A Doll's House* [6]. August Strindberg (1849–1912) a Swede drew on a tragic personal history to inject an element of psychosexual horror into his work. Like Ibsen he finally moved towards symbolism. The Russian plays of Anton Chekhov (1860–1904) are notable for their formal grace, realism and insight into personal and social insecurities [7].

New directions in the theatre

The comedies of the Irish dramatist Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) [9] were well fashioned in plot and characterization but Wilde used his scintillating wit to parody cleverly the conventions of melodrama and Romantic comedy. Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) a champion of Ibsen, used similar techniques in constructing plays of social and moral ideas at once amusing, humane and deeply thoughtful. In Paris, the anarchic farce *Ubu Roi* by Alfred Jarry (1873–1907) was already pointing towards expressionism, in which reality would be presented as a reflection of the mind and towards the illegitimacy of the theatre of the absurd.

KEY



Shelley's death by drowning is immortalised in this memorial to him in University College, Oxford. A

radical and passionate poet, Shelley connected the health of literature with the

health of society and denied that poets had any obligation to express contemporary ideas of morality.



5 Charles Baudelaire in *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1857) took shadowed symbolism by searching for significance in all things, not merely the respectable and finding symbols of hollowness in the

beauty that hid corruption. He was responsible for the European vogue of Edgar Allan Poe and was an important influence on English poetry, especially Swinburne and the poets of the 1890s.

6 Nora Helmer here dancing the tarantella was the central character of Ibsen's most controversial play, *A Doll's House* (1879) which was seen as a breakthrough in theatrical realism. His audience

must have expected this drama of black revolt and wifely loyalty to end in a triumph of domestic virtue. But in a famous final scene Nora leaves her husband and children to seek her own identity.



7 Chekhov's *The Seagull*, as produced in 1898 by Konstantin Stanislavsky, was a landmark in drama. Stanislavsky taught actors to identify with the characters they played, a technique particularly adapted to Chekhov's plays which concen-

trate on the unfolding of character rather than on plot development or melodramatic situations.

8 Henry Irving (1838–1905) here playing Hamlet, led the idolatry of Shakespeare who had become a national

institution in England and an important influence in Europe by the 19th century. Shakespeare provided virtuoso actors with great parts. But heavy naturalistic sets led to tediously long intervals and to brutal cutting of the original text.



9 Oscar Wilde, who was imprisoned for homosexuality after a famous trial, was the witliest dramatist of the 1890s

and a leading poet of the English aesthetic movement. He was a master of paradox and an apostle of art for art's sake.



Romantic art: landscape painting

Everything is becoming more airy and light than before, everything tends towards landscape", wrote the German painter Philipp Otto Runge (1777-1810) in 1802. His remark, although in one sense exaggerated, was truer than he perhaps realized, as landscape painting had become popular in Britain as well as in Germany at this time. In these two countries, especially the genre assumed a new role during the Romantic period. Previously it had been considered little more than a minor decorative form, despite its great seventeenth-century practitioners such as Poussin and Claude. Now, however, it was called upon to express feeling, not just for the outward beauty of woods, fields and skies but for nature's inner life.

The German approach to landscape

In Germany where attitudes were more informed by philosophy than in Britain nature was invested with an all-pervading spirit of an almost sacred character, not static but subject to growth and change, analogous to the spirit in man. To represent the changing states of nature as symbols of the

varieties of human emotion was therefore the aim of Romantic landscape painting. As Carl Gustav Carus, a younger contemporary of Runge and follower of Friedrich, put it: "Just as the vibration of a string may cause another similarly tuned, though of lower or higher pitch, to vibrate in unison with it, so congenial states in nature and in the human spirit may interact."

Runge's work was insufficiently developed (he died young), especially in landscape painting, to produce more than a fragmentary and eccentric, although highly interesting, reflection of these ideas [3]. With his visionary temperament and boldly original mind, he had something in common with his English contemporary, William Blake (1757-1827), although probably neither knew of the other's existence. The greatest German Romantic landscapist was Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) whose art is superficially more traditional, in that he represented natural views seen from fixed points in space and time. But for him, too, nature was only the physical manifestation of an inward life: a continuous process corres-

ponding to the agitation of the artist's mind. He specialized in changing effects of atmosphere and light, depicting them with a refinement and air of gentle melancholy unlike almost anything else in art [4].

CONNECTIONS

See also



The British tradition

If the purest and most studied forms of Romantic landscape painting were produced in Germany, it was Britain that in this period had the longest and most varied landscape tradition. (In France, broadly speaking, what was new in landscape was not Romantic and what was Romantic was not new.)

Some of the qualities already discussed in connection with German landscape - the emphasis on mood, the concern with nature as a process rather than an order, the awareness of some spiritual entity concealed within nature's visible forms - are present in varying degrees in British painting too. They were intimated first in the calm and serene watercolour views of the Swiss Alps [1] by J.R. Cozens (1752-97) and in Thomas Girtin's (1775-1802) solemn watercolours of the Yorkshire dales [2]. They showed more fully



1 The emotional bond between man and nature is stressed by eliminating figures from the picture. J.R. Cozens's "Valley in the Tyrol, near Brixen" (c. 1783) offers the viewer an impression of stillness and of vast space. The innate beauty of alpine scenery was one of the early Romantic discoveries.



2 Stillness and quiet are features also of Thomas Girtin's "Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire" (c. 1800), but the setting is gentler. Besides exploring new types of scenery, the Romantics turned their attention to Gothic remains. Cozens and Girtin were two pre-eminent watercolourists.



3 Runge's "Morning" (1803), a baby lying in a radiant yet paradisaical landscape, symbolizes not only natural morning but also the dawn of the universe and the beginning of each individual life. More than the English, German Romantics dealt with the idea of nature in terms of symbols.



4 The symbolism of Friedrich's "The Cross in the Mountains" (1808): an altar piece for the chapel of Schloss Teichhausen, is at once more literal and more orthodox than that of Runge. Friedrich's theme is the impact of Christianity on world history and its gifts of faith and hope in God.

in the response of Joseph Turner (1775-1851) to the violence of storms at sea and his fascination with the brilliance of sunlight, in Constable's feeling for the moral and religious values inherent in ordinary nature, and in Palmer's assertion that 'bits of nature are generally much improved by being received into the soul'

Movement and the sky

However, British landscape painting is, on the whole, less mystically inspired and more empirical than German. Its sense of the divine is diluted by being combined with more mundane preoccupations such as topography and the picturesque, the interaction of the ideal and the real, and the influence of the Old Masters. It is also more involved with the idea of the sketch—that is, both with "sketchiness", in the sense of breadth of handling (whereas German painting is very smooth and neat in handling), and with working direct from nature in watercolour and oils. The Romantic concern with transience is thus realized by British painters chiefly in terms of movement

through clouds being blown across the sky and wind whipping up the waves

In both, indeed all, countries the sky is the focus of Romantic landscape painting—it was, as John Constable (1776-1837) called it, the keynote, the standard of scale, and the chief organ of sentiment". Constable was not the only landscapist in this period, but merely the best-known to make sky studies, with notes on the back stating the date, the exact hour of the day and the direction of the wind. In his finished landscapes of the Suffolk countryside, in which he was born and brought up, he used the light of the sky to give vitality and poetry to his rendering of simple agricultural scenes [6]. Turner did the same with a much wider range of scenery and phenomena, finally almost dissolving form altogether in a haze of light and colour [8].

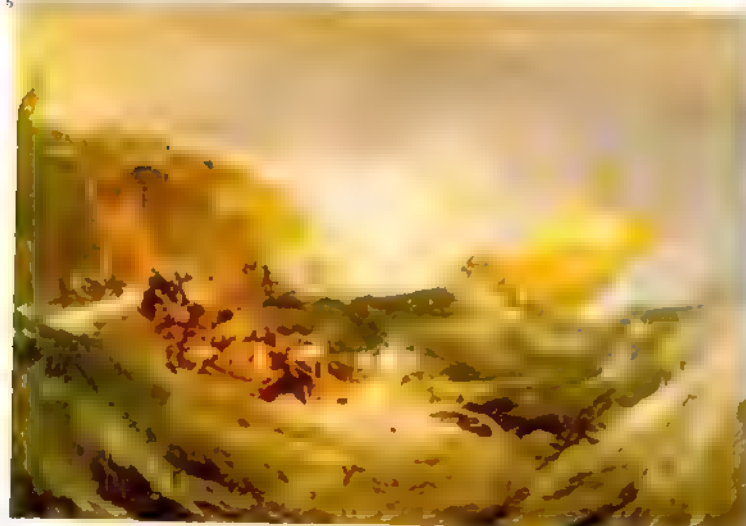
The next and final "Romantic generation" produced a type of landscape painting more overtly expressive of feeling, such as the apocalyptic and grandiose fantasies of John Martin (1789-1854) [7] or, at the opposite extreme, the intimate pastoral visions of Samuel Palmer (1805-81) [Key]



A sense of heightened mood is the chief common factor of Romantic

landscape paintings. It is expressed by Samuel Palmer in terms of the pastoral

genre, which he saw as part religious in "The White Cloud" (c. 1831) [2].



5 The huge output of J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) embraced the extremes of traditionalism and experiment and of agitation and calm. His early

paintings, such as *The Wreck of a Transport Ship* (c. 1810) are predominantly dark in tone, acknowledging the Old Masters, but the vital role he always

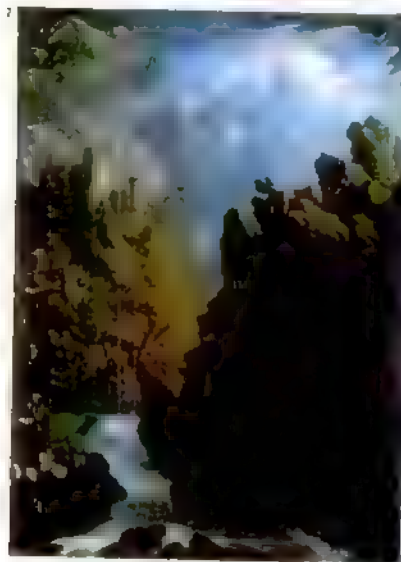
gave to light is evident. *Shipwreck*, an all too common instance at that time of the destructive powers of nature, is a frequent theme of Romantic art.

6 "Flatford Mill" (1817), one of Constable's best known paintings, shows him at his most natural

istic. His sheer love of, and identification with, the countryside he painted. The Suffolk

of his childhood make Constable a Romantic artist. His aim was to achieve truth to nature and

its light and to combine this with the practical details of agricultural life at that time.



7 Mountain grandeur combined with the theme of the lone man defying his enemies are thus treated in Martin's *The Bard* (1817). The subject is from a poem by Gray lamenting the suppression of the Welsh bards, symbols of freedom and nationhood, by King Edward I.

8 The ultimate expression of the Romantic concern with light is in Turner's late work. In "Norham Castle, Sunrise" (c. 1835-40) his earlier preoccupations—old castles, hills, rivers, the head-on sunlight effects of Claude—remain, but only as traces suspended in colour.



Development of the orchestra

While by the sixteenth century there already existed a body of secular instrumental music, it was slight compared to the wealth of choral music sponsored by the Church. The growing patronage of secular works, especially opera and ballet, required accompaniment by instrumental groups, most of which were temporary, although several permanent ensembles had made their appearance by the early seventeenth century.

Various combinations of instruments had been popular from the sixteenth century. Some were of one family, such as the viol or recorder families, and were called consorts. A "broken" consort might include instruments of other families to lend a more lively character to a rather bland sound.

The development of opera in Italy led composers to more colourful use of instrumental groups. Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), in his opera *Orfeo* (1607), used an orchestra consisting of 15 keyboard instruments, brass, strings and woodwind. He left to the music director the choice of which instruments should play which parts of his music, with the exception of sections where

he specified the use of trombones for music associated with Hades. His understanding of orchestral sound was not entirely new. About ten years earlier Giovanni Gabrieli (1557-1612) specified instruments to play parts in *Sacrae symphoniae* (1597), possibly the first work scored in such detail.

The string families

The improved quality and brilliant sound of the violin in the second quarter of the sixteenth century overwhelmed the viol family, although one descendant of the viol, the double bass, has survived. The violin family produced the sound that was to be fundamental to the symphony orchestra. Les Vingt-quatre Violons du Roi that played under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-87) was one of a few such ensembles to play in the courts of Europe.

Throughout the seventeenth century, composers used a thorough (through or continuo) bass in writing for orchestra. The continuo instrument, usually a harpsichord or an organ, "filled in" harmonies where there was no instrument free to play a certain part or

in places where the part needed support

By the late seventeenth century the four part string orchestra – first and second violins, violas and cellos – was well established. The double bass at first played the cello line an octave lower. The instrument was regularly a part of the orchestra by the mid-eighteenth century, but was not of a standard form until the Italian model with four strings won general recognition in the late nineteenth century.

The woodwind families

To the strings various instruments were added until certain of them found lasting places in the orchestral establishment. First and second oboes and bassoons added woodwind tone in the seventeenth century. At first the bassoon took a bass role but later came to play tenor parts. From about 1650 oboes "doubled" the violin parts, but virtuoso players soon individualized.

The flute appeared in early orchestras. Its vertical forms, the recorders, were ousted by the oboes and the transverse flute, which owed much to French craftsmen and musi-



1 The historical growth of the orchestra began in the late 17th century when the nucleus of the violin family became standardized. Other groups of instruments were added as they were developed and as influential composers (listed) wrote parts for them. Horns came into the orchestra from the hunting field, drums and trumpets from the army and trombones from the opera house in the 19th century.

2 The string section of the modern orchestra is based on the violin family - violin, viola and cello. The violin role divides into first and second parts, although the nature of its played A are lent for a other part. The larger viola (B) plays a part that corresponds to the alto voice in singing.

ing, and the violin cello, or cello [C], as it is usually called, takes the tenor part. The fourth main member of the modern string section is the double bass. It is not a member of the violin family but is really a viol. String quartets consist of first and second violins, playing different parts, a viola and a cello.

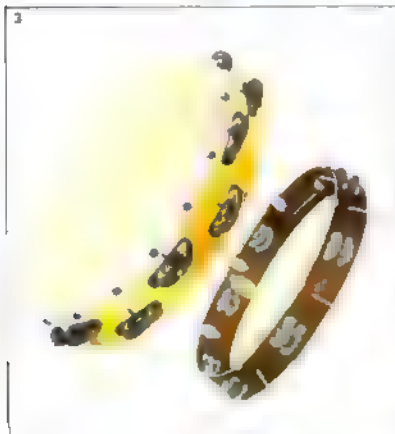


4 Non-reed woodwind instruments in the orchestra were

originally of two kinds: reeders played by blowing

vertically into the mouthpiece and flutes, played horizontally. The second group is a regular component of the modern orchestra. It includes the piccolo (A), concert

flute B and bass flute (C). Recorders are still used in orchestras where their characteristic tone colour is required in producing the authentic sound of the Baroque orchestra.



3 Tambourines combine the stretchy membranes of drums with a jangle that has elements both of cymbals and of rattle instruments. Percussion instruments, including triangles and gongs, were late additions to the orchestra. For a long time, only timpani represented percussion and were usually combined with trumpets to give brilliance of effect. There are also some early instances of the orchestral use of bells by J S Bach and G F Handel.

CONNECTIONS

See also

cians in improving their mechanics. The final addition to the orchestral woodwind families was the clarinet, "invented" by Johann Denner (1655-1707) in about 1700.

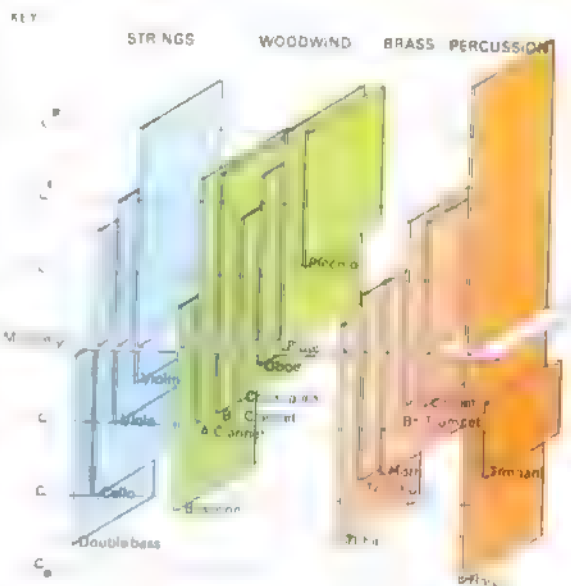
The principal woodwind instruments had some variants which gained regular orchestral places: the oboe's cousin, the cor anglais, with its deeper tone became a popular instrument with Romantic composers seeking fresh tone colours, the bass flute and bass clarinet were used occasionally and the piccolo added sparkle to wind sections.

The brass and percussion families

By the time Bach wrote his first *Brandenburg Concerto* (1721) the French horn had joined the orchestra. The trumpet had already won a place, usually playing at the top end of its range. French horns were often grouped in pairs with oboes in a woodwind section. Wolfgang Mozart wrote 19 of his first 40 symphonies for orchestras whose wind sections were of oboes and horns only. The trombones, used in late eighteenth-century opera orchestras, entered the symphony orchestra 50 years later.

The invention, in Germany, of valves for brass instruments in about 1815 meant that they could produce semitone scales throughout their ranges without fitting alternative lengths of tubing every time the music changed key. More percussion instruments were added as Romantic and post-Romantic composers explored the possibilities of orchestral colour.

The discipline of orchestras had not always been as high as the standards established by Johann Stamitz (1717-57) in Mannheim, whose orchestra was compared favourably by Mozart to his "rabble of players". By the early nineteenth century the leadership of orchestral performance was outgrowing the situation where the leader of the violin section controlled a performance. In 1820 Ludwig Spohr surprised orchestra and audience in London when he directed the orchestra with a baton, apparently for the first time. Hector Berlioz (1803-69) and Wagner pleaded for improved performance, and the middle classes, flocking to the new concert halls, made long rehearsal time and full-time orchestras financially possible.

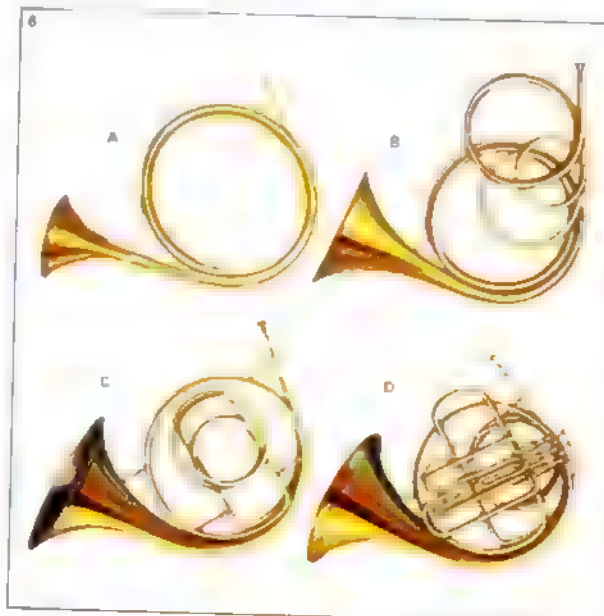


The pitch range of a symphony orchestra is fairly evenly represented across the various sections - strings (blue), wood-

wind (green), brass (beige) - except for percussion (brown).



5 Reed woodwinds shown in appropriate playing positions are the bassoon (A), oboe (B), cor anglais (C), clarinet (D) and bass clarinet (E). The clarinets have a cylindrical bore and are played by means of a single reed (F) fixed over a chamber in the mouthpiece (G) and secured by a ligature (H), shown in transverse (I) and cross-section (J). The oboe family (A, B and C) is played by blowing through two pieces of reed (K) fitted round a brass tube (L). The tube is placed in a cork cylinder (M) with the twin reeds whipped round it (N), (as shown in cross-section) with the complete double reed in position (O).

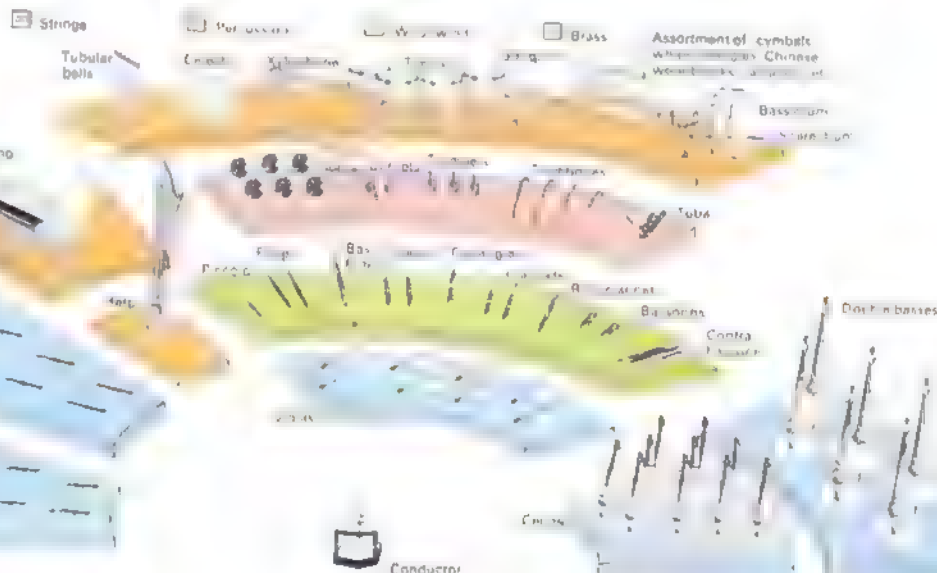


6 The French horn is a direct descendant of a coiled hunting horn (A), that originated in France about 1680. It changed its form because when it was first used in orchestras, players were obliged to change horns when the music changed key. Crooks, extra lengths of tube, were introduced (B), and later both crooks and a tuning slide were added (C). The development of the piston valve (D) early in the 19th century gave the horn a full range of semitones. Other members of the orchestral brass are the trumpet and trombone with cylindrical bores, and at the lower end of the pitch range the tuba, which has a conical bore like the French horn.

7 Modern symphony orchestras are arranged generally on the pattern illustrated here. Conductors make minor adjustments to meet special demands of the music. This happens most frequently for Romantic and modern works where the sonorities are especially important.

2nd violins

1st violins



Music: the Romantic period

The nineteenth century saw the birth of the idea in Western music of the composer as an artist, instead of being merely a craftsman providing music for an employer – usually the Church or an aristocratic patron. Beethoven [Key], whose revolutionary stance was one of determined self-expression, was a central figure in the transition.

The influence of Beethoven

Having absorbed classical elements from Haydn and Mozart (whose last three symphonies to a degree prefigure romanticism), Beethoven embarked on a course that can be seen as a parallel in music to the emergence of the Romantic concept of the liberated individual. His third symphony, the *Eroica* (1803–4), is a pivotal work in this respect, and revealed an impetus that was to burst forth in the power of many of his symphonies, concertos and piano sonatas. The intense late string quartets are altogether a more intimate compression of similar emotional power.

Virtually all serious European music of the nineteenth century was to flourish under the far-reaching influence of this music, for

Beethoven transformed the standard classical forms of sonata, symphony, concerto and quartet that he inherited by infusing in them a musically emotional intensity. Many subsequent composers took the liberation of individual emotional expression for their starting-point, rather than seeing it as the resolution of conflict through relentless and imaginative musical logic as in Beethoven, and at times Romantic music suffered the excesses of self-indulgent feeling.

The early Romantic giants

Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826) is generally credited with being the first freely Romantic composer, and also the pioneer of German Romantic opera. His often superficial piano music was destined for the increasingly popular public concerts that encouraged virtuoso composers such as the violinist Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) [7].

At the opposite pole were the private musical evenings given by Franz Schubert (1797–1828) [6] in Vienna. These “Schubertiads” united poets and musicians, and saw in particular the fashioning of the *Lied* (song)

in which Schubert’s accompaniment opened new worlds of melodic and harmonic enrichment of lyrics. Yet songs were just part of the general response music was making to literature in this period, offering both attractive distant realms of order, fantasy and heroism and a framework for new ideas.

Felix Mendelssohn (1809–47) [3] made Shakespeare’s *Midsummer Night’s Dream* the subject of a concert overture when he was only 17, but his fresh-sounding music still drew much charm from a traditional eighteenth-century restraint and balance. Hector Berlioz (1803–69) [1], on the other hand, expressed a passion for the works of Shakespeare, Byron, Scott, Goethe and others, and they figure in many of his orchestral and dramatic works. His *Symphonic Fantastique* (1830) extends the idea of a literary “programme” to a love affair. Robert Schumann (1810–56) drew characters from Romantic writers.

More adventurously, Franz Liszt (1811–86) [7] wrote “masterpieces of music which absorb those of literature”, to adapt his own words, and created the symphonic

CONNECTIONS

See page 158 for more on the Romantic period.



1 Romantic music, inflated by Beethoven, was still finding a powerful exponent in Rachmaninov in the 1930s. The portrait is of Berlioz, who represents the most intense expression of the movement.



3 Fingal's Cave in the Hebrides inspired Mendelssohn with a theme for a concert overture (1830) conveying his impression of the cave. Music describing scenery or literary subjects – programme music – was a commonplace of Romantic composition.

5 Johann Strauss the Younger (1825–99), conducted the orchestra and presided as musical director at such typical Viennese entertainments described as the “Waltz King”, thanks to works such as “On the Beautiful Blue Danube” and “Tales from the Vienna Woods”. He composed light-hearted music whose brilliance and gaiety captured the spirit of the Hapsburg capital during a 50-year period. He also composed a number of successful operettas.

2 The Royal College of Organists, established in London in 1864, was just one of the many conservatories and academies of music that proliferated in Europe in the 19th century. They owed their origin to the Italian conservatorio, where orphans were taught music. Notable conservatories were founded in Paris (1784), Vienna (1817), London (the Royal Academy of Music, 1822) and Leipzig (by Mendelssohn 1843).



4 Tchaikovsky stood apart from the self-proclaimed nationalist composers of late 19th-century Russia in his constant use of established European forms such as the symphony, the concerto and the symphonic poem. Even so, his personal idiom was coloured by a characteristic Russian emphasis on style, minor keys and folk-like melody. His popularity today is high based chiefly on his symphonies, concertos and ballet music.



poem (*Turso, Muzepa*) from the combination in music of both the narrative and psychological aspects of a story or poem. Many composers were to build on this format, most notably Richard Strauss (1864-1949). Liszt's brilliant piano music also often had an outside or literary impulse.

Nationalism and the Romantics

In 1848 revolutions throughout Europe were crushed but gave new directions to nationalist feelings that were finally to emerge in music. Frédéric Chopin (1810-49) [9] in exile had already used the mazurka and polonaise to express his nostalgia and hopes for Poland. In Bohemia, Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904) and Bedřich Smetana (1824-84) were to emerge as Czech nationalists, as would Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) in Norway and, following the early lead of Mikhail Glinka (1804-57), the "Mighty Five", headed by Modest Musorgsky (1839-81), Alexander Borodin (1834-87), and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908). In Russia, Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-93) [4] remained apart

from this group. In the United States, Edward MacDowell (1861-1908) and in Germany Richard Wagner (1813-83) were pre-eminent.

Wagner's use of native German myth to create a flowing music drama in place of traditional opera was eventually secondary to the pervading influence of his extremely lush chromatic harmony and inspired use of the orchestra, almost the culmination of Romantic music. But composers such as Brahms [8], Anton Bruckner (1824-96), and possibly Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) harked back to classicism.

The final flowering of Romantic nationalism was seen in England with Edward Elgar (1857-1934) and Frederick Delius (1862-1934), in Finland with Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) and in France where in 1871, a national society was founded under César Franck (1822-90) and Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921). The rising French school of Impressionist music, culminating in the works of Claude Debussy (1862-1918), was to be a major signpost to the music of the twentieth century.



Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) is portrayed as Janus, god of the new year.

He looks back to the classical tradition which he transformed and forward to 19th

century music and the Romantic composers who would be inspired by his achievement.



8 Franz Schubert, son of a Viennese schoolteacher, was a prolific composer during his brief life, writing nine symphonies, much chamber and piano music and an innumerable body of more than 600

songs. He gained little public recognition during his lifetime - his C Major Symphony was not performed until ten years after his death - and his last years were spent in Vienna often in real poverty.

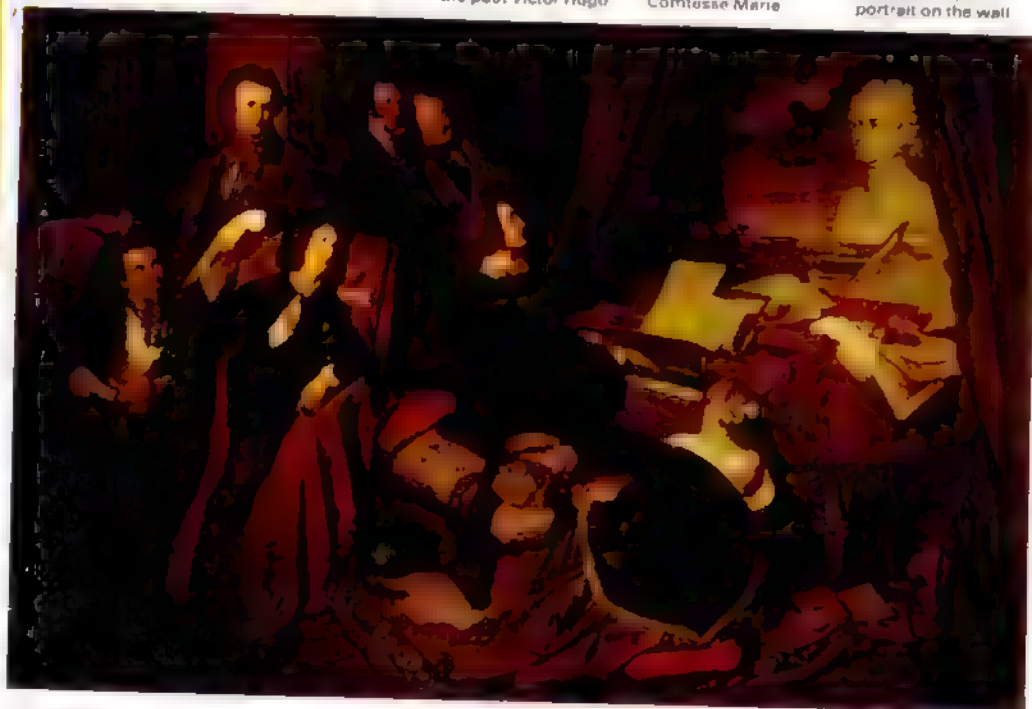
7 The close links between music and literature are underlined in this group portrait of several Romantic artists by

Joseph Danhauser (1805-45). Liszt at the piano is playing to the authoress and mistress of Chopin, George Sand, who is

sitting beside the novelist and dramatist Alexandre Dumas the younger. Standing (from the left) are the poet Victor Hugo

the violinist and composer Paganini and the opera composer Rossini. At Liszt's feet is the Comtesse Marie

d'Agoult, with whom the pianist had a lengthy affair. Beethoven's bust is on the piano. Byron's portrait on the wall



8 A silhouette of Johannes Brahms (1833-97) shows him going off to his favourite tavern, "The Sign of the Red Hedgehog". Brahms was a late Romantic composer who revitalized the tradition of classical forms that had culminated in Beethoven. Brahms's use of traditional devices such as the harmonic minor and counterpoint, his emphasis on colourful harmony in structure and not only for effect, the stringent unity he sought within music, the independence of his pieces

from poetic or literary interpretations all show classical qualities. These combined with his expansive rhythmic and lyrical romanticism - as in his songs - produce musical tension that is rich in feel.

9 A cast made of Chopin's left hand testifies to the public enthusiasm and admiration evoked by his skill and sensitivity as a pianist. He was pre-eminent among 19th century composers in his command of the modern piano's improved dynamic and

expressive possibilities, and has been called "the poet of the keyboard". Early in his career he wrote music for piano and orchestra as showpieces with which to establish his reputation, but from the time he settled in Paris at the age of 21, having left his troubled native Poland, he concentrated on composing and playing short solo works, in the main for salon audiences. In all he wrote more than 150 such pieces before his death at the early age of 39.



The Wanderer by Caspar Friedrich, the German Romantic painter, heightened mood, typical of this style, beautifully conveys Wanderlust, the German national love of rambling.



Scenes from
Victorian London
Right: the MCC
(Marylebone Cricket
Club) 1874
gathered for a trial of
Lord's pavilion. Below
a busy Victorian
station, painted by
William Powell Frith
incorporating as
background a typical
picture of Victorian
eastern railway
architecture.



The revolutions of 1848

In an age of revolution 1848 was the year of revolution. The governments of France, Italy and central Europe were all shaken by insurrection. Contrary to the belief of contemporaries, there was no overall plan, however, and lack of co-ordination was fatal for the revolutionaries.

Political reform through revolt

The roots of the risings throughout Western Europe were remarkably similar. The Industrial Revolution had uprooted traditional patterns of life and had created a new urban proletariat and a much enlarged bourgeoisie intent upon political power. Economic and social unrest was aggravated by the autocratic rule that was a legacy of the Vienna Settlement of 1815 and which provided a focus for the intellectuals who were agitating for political reform. People were hungry as a result of crop failures in 1845, 1846 and 1847 when bad corn harvests coincided with potato blight. Famine drove desperate mobs onto the streets prepared to demand any changes that offered hope.

Significantly, the centres of unrest were

the great cities [2]. Many areas of Europe had recently experienced the Industrial Revolution and thousands had flocked to the cities only to live in squalor and work in conditions of frightening degradation. These people were hit by the second crisis of 1848 – an international credit collapse, which led to wholesale bankruptcies and unemployment. The unemployed joined the hungry on the streets. Finally, there was a psychological catalyst. The epidemic of revolution was accompanied by an epidemic of cholera, which spread panic and anger [7].

Wave of early successes

The first revolts erupted in Italy [5]. Once Louis Philippe (1773–1850) had abdicated from the French throne in February [3] revolution took hold. In March the resignation of the apostle of European stability, Prince Metternich (1773–1859), Chancellor of the Hapsburg Empire, boosted the morale of the revolutionaries. Caught by surprise and overwhelmed by the extent of the outbreak, governments could not call on each other for help. Their only hope seemed to be

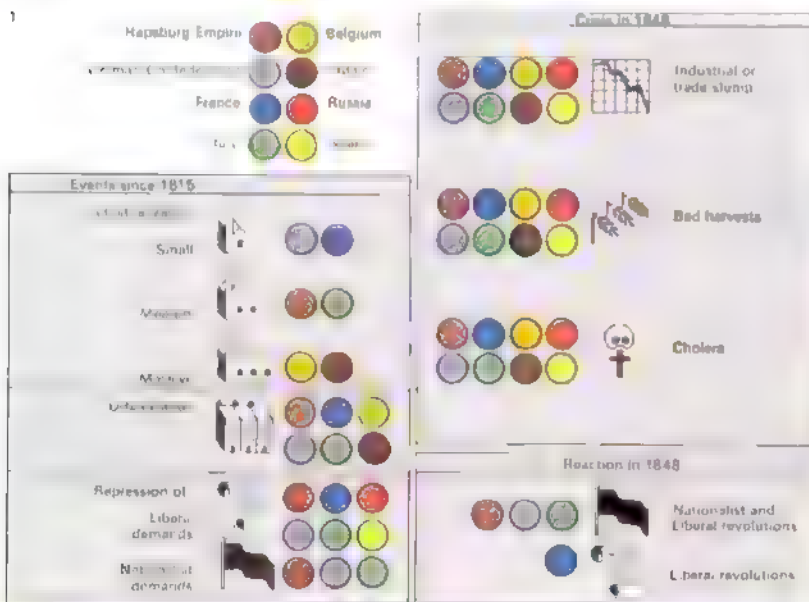
to make concessions. Liberal constitutions [1] were granted everywhere and the Hapsburg emperor, the pope and the kings of France and Prussia fled from their capitals.

Simultaneously with the liberal revolts came an upsurge of nationalism. The Hapsburg Empire with its spheres of influence in Italy and Germany [4] seemed doomed. Hungary declared her independence, the Bohemians formed a nationalist movement and a Slav Congress met to consider a new deal for Slavs in the empire. In Italy Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–72) called for a rising to form a new Italian state. At the same time King Charles Albert of Piedmont (1798–1849) sent an army to help the Lombards drive out the Austrians, hoping to form a north Italian kingdom. In the German Confederation an assembly met at Frankfurt to decide on a policy to unite Germany. These political moves showed the degree of hostility to the Vienna Settlement of 1815 and its legacy of repression.

In spite of all this, by the middle of 1848 the tide of revolution was stemmed. Early successes proved illusory. The Hapsburg

CONNECTIONS

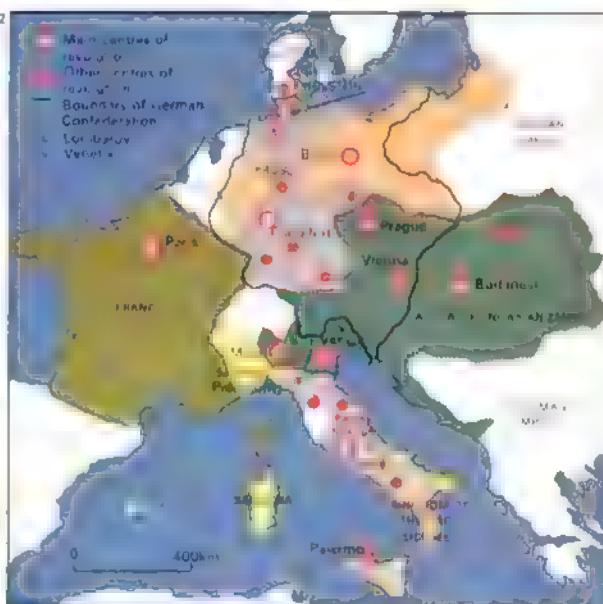
See also



1 Uprisings occurred in most European countries in 1848, with similar causes but varying in intensity and effect. In Russia and Spain, political dissent lacked the concentrated support of

the factory or city, while Belgium and Britain had already made political concessions in the face of heavy industrialization and urbanization, avoiding the violent confrontations of 1848.

2 The revolutions of 1848 were urban: the peasants were apathetic or conservative. Political ideas spread quickly along the new railways, attracting city intellectuals, workers and businessmen.



3 Paris barricades in March 1848 were manned by middle-class liberals, working-class socialists and the unemployed. Shattered by his unpopularity, Louis Philippe abdicated within a few days.

4 Liberal revolts in the 39 German states won constitutions that did not survive the repression of 1849. The impotence of the nationalists in the Frankfurt Assembly was shown when they called Austrian and Prussian troops in to keep order.



Empire followed its historic policy - divide and rule - by exploiting deep divisions between the revolutionaries. Croats and Romanians who resented Magyar domination rose against Hungary's new leader, Louis Kossuth (1802-94). Their armies helped to do the Hapsburgs' work for them. In Italy, Charles Albert's forces were smashed by the Austrian army in two campaigns. Traditional loyalty to existing separate states deprived him of wide Italian support. Catholics hesitated to disobey the pope, who had forbidden violence against the Catholic Hapsburgs.

In Germany, at the Frankfurt Assembly, the intellectuals wrangled interminably and failed to decide on a form for the new Germany until it was too late. Everywhere the middle classes, who had provided the impetus and leadership for the revolution, were horrified by the forces they had unleashed. (8) Having seen revolution degenerate into anarchy, they welcomed the restoration of law and order. By 1849 all was quiet again. The forces of reaction seemed triumphant. Disorganized mobs (Key) stood no chance against the professional armies (6)

of Austria, Prussia, Russia and France. The Hapsburg tradition of garrisoning each province with troops from other provinces had prevented any chance of soldiers siding with the revolution. In every area there was little hope of successful revolution since most of the population - the peasants - rejected it.

The legacy of 1848

There were a few significant gains, however. Serfdom was abolished in the Hapsburg Empire. Piedmont and Prussia kept their constitutions and eventually led Italy and Germany to unity in 1871. Governments learned to pay more attention to the material interests of their subjects and to pay lip service at least to more democratic processes.

But nationalists had learned that idealism and popular enthusiasm would not be enough. Their hopes would be fulfilled only if they could match their opponents' military strength. The revolutions of 1848 were followed by a period of cynicism and opportunism in politics and a use of armed force to settle grievances. Bismarck's age of "blood and iron" had begun.

KEY



Women on the barricades - the tricolour symbolizing hopes of liberty, equality and fraternity - the

red flag of socialist revolution, the flags of German, Italian, Hungarian or Bohemian nationalism - all

these made a heroic display in 1848. But heroic slogans such as "Bread or Death" did not match an army



5 Italian revolts for state constitutions, for republics in Rome and Venice and for a north Italian kingdom all collapsed by 1849

6 Military saviours of the Hapsburgs (left to right) were Jellačić (1801-59) who led Croats against Magyars in independent

Hungary, Radetzky (1766-1858), who successfully ended the Italian revolts, and Windischgrätz (1787-1862), who subdued Vienna and Bohemia

6



7 The Paris sewers begun by Baron Haussmann (1809-91) during the 1850s were a response to criticism of governmental failure to stop cholera spreading in 1848 when fear of the disease acted as a catalyst in the revolutions. Haussmann also created wide boulevards to facilitate cavalry charges against future revolutionary barricades.

8 Karl Marx (1818-83) shown as Prometheus chained to his printing press, and Friedrich Engels (1820-95) published the *Communist Manifesto* early in 1848 as a doctrine and strategy for the Communist League. Although this made no contribution to the outbreaks of 1848, fear of socialism inhibited the revolution.



German and Italian unification

Italy and Germany were created in spite of limited popular support. In the century of loyalties to existing units and the proximity of two powers whose interests were endangered by their emergence as strong nations – the Austrian Hapsburg Empire and France. The new nations were the fruit of the ambitions of their constituent components, Piedmont and Prussia, and of the outstanding personalities of the new *Realpolitik*, Camillo Cavour and Prince Otto von Bismarck.

The birth of modern Italy

As Prime Minister of Piedmont from 1848, Cavour (1810–61) [5] built up his state as a magnet to attract the rest of Italy. He made the new parliamentary democracy work, encouraged up-to-date agriculture and industry and linked the Piedmontese economy to that of Europe through a railway network and the modernized port of Genoa. He created a fair legal system and an efficient bureaucracy. With a competent small army and a king, Victor Emmanuel (1820–78) known to be a genuine Italian patriot, Piedmont became the focus of national hopes.

Cavour's job was to drive out the Austrians. France became a pawn in Cavour's game. In the Pact of Plombières (1858), Louis Napoleon – the French Emperor Napoleon III (1808–73) – promised him help in a future war. Cavour triggered an attack against Piedmont by Austria in 1859 and French troops were sent to assist. Victories at Magenta and Solferino. Louis Napoleon had second thoughts and withdrew support from Cavour, but his help had been decisive. In the excitement of the victories, Parma, Modena, Tuscany and the Romagna demanded amalgamation with Piedmont. In 1861 for the acquisition of Nice and Savoy, Napoleon backed plebiscites. A 99% majority in favour of the formation of a north Italian kingdom.

Matters might have rested there but for Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–82). When the Sicilians rose in revolt against Naples in 1860, Cavour sent Garibaldi to help. Within weeks the Neapolitan army had been defeated. So Cavour had to face the triumph through Naples itself. Rome

was his next objective. But if Garibaldi attacked Rome, then France and Austria might intervene to defend the pope. So Cavour sent a Piedmontese army to forestall any further advance. Garibaldi, in a dramatic gesture, marched south to Piedmont [6].

Only two areas of Italy now remained unintegrated. Venetia was held by Austria and Rome and its surrounding territories were held by the pope and a garrison of French troops [3]. In 1866, Victor Emmanuel joined Prussia in the Austro-Prussian war and was given Venetia. In 1870 France withdrew her troops from Rome to fight the Prussians and Victor Emmanuel became king of a united Italy [7].

Prussia and the "Iron Chancellor"

In northern Europe Bismarck (1815–98) had become Chancellor of Prussia in 1862, where he was faced with a Liberal majority hostile to his aims. But he managed to manipulate them and finally gain their support for unification and his policy of *Realpolitik*.

Together, the customs union or *Zollverein* [2], and the growth of railways had

CONNECTIONS

See also

1848–49

1859–60

1866–67

1870–71

1871–72

1872–73

1873–74

1874–75

1875–76

1876–77

1877–78

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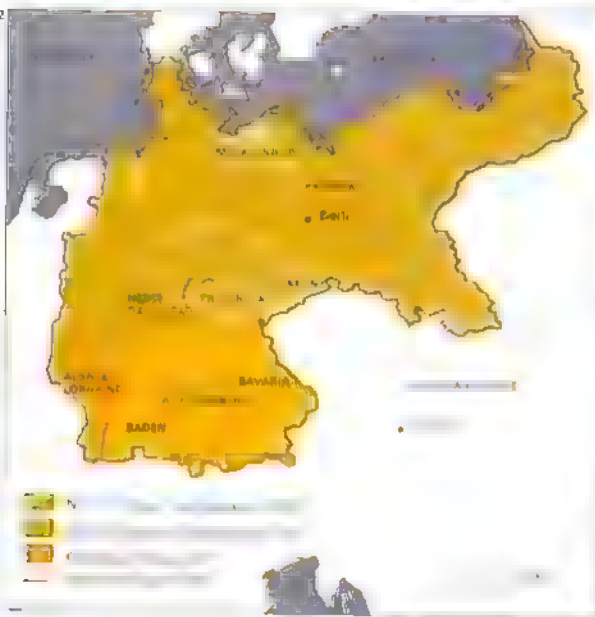
1927–28

1928–29

1929–30



1 Kaiser Wilhelm I of Prussia was acclaimed German Emperor at Versailles in 1871. He called it "The unhappiest day of my life" he had wanted the less democratic title "Emperor of Germany" and left the room without glancing at the architect of the new Germany, Bismarck. Bismarck had crushed all opposition to German reunification by "blood and iron". It was his skill and vision that had created Germany as Chancellor from 1862 to 1890 he moulded its institutions and laboured to make it inviolable. Von Moltke (1800–91) (on Bismarck's left) Chief of the Prussian General Staff, was the strategist of the triumphs against Austria and France.



2 A potpourri of 39 states, the German Confederation was united in the customs free Zollverein in 1844. The Confederation was further extended by the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Mecklenburg and Hesse-Darmstadt and Saxony were annexed to Austria's defeat.

3 This caricature of Pope Pius IX expresses the disappointment of his failure to support liberalism consistently. As papal lands were lost he increased the number of his subjects. He died in 1878. His political doctrines and in 1870 were enshrined in papal infallibility.



already removed most natural and artificial impediments to German integration and prosperity. Bismarck was determined to remove Austrian influence and unite Germany, and despite opposition in the Catholic south to the dominance of Protestant Prussia in three wars he succeeded.

Bismarck's diplomatic skill ensured that each war was fought against an isolated opponent. In the Danish war of 1864 he fought ostensibly to free the two German-speaking duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Danish control. But by setting up a joint control of the duchies with Austria, the principal obstacle to German unification, he created an ideal situation for picking a quarrel with her.

The time was ripe in 1866. France's neutrality had been bought by vague promises of territorial concessions and Louis Napoleon had no time to realize his mistake [Key]. In a war lasting only seven weeks, the Austrian army was smashed at Sadowa. In 1867 Prussia dominated a north German confederation. A southern confederation was set up, but without Austria.

France realized too late the emerging danger on her eastern frontier. Vital reforms to her army had come too late and Louis Napoleon was outmanoeuvred by Bismarck in a diplomatic game over rival candidates for the throne of Spain. The hysterical reaction in both countries to the candidature of a nephew of the Hohenzollern king of Prussia provoked France to declare war on Prussia in July 1870. On 1 September, the French army capitulated at Sedan and all resistance collapsed by January 1871.

A wave of enthusiasm swept the south German states in unison with the north. On 18 January 1871, Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, was proclaimed German Emperor [1].

Death of a dream

Before 1848 Italian and German nationalists had dreamed of new states that would free their citizens, release their stifled energies and regenerate Europe. The new states of 1871 were created at a price. Liberalism was sacrificed to nationalism, cynicism, opportunism and violence had triumphed over idealism and liberty.



Napoleon III
Emperor of France was exploited and outwitted first by Cavour, then Bismarck, in the unification of Italy and Germany. By offering help to Cavour, he hoped to gain Savoy and Nice and create a weak client state. In the event he almost missed his reward and saw the creation of a unified Italy. He was outmanoeuvred by Bismarck, realizing the threat to France after Prussia had defeated Austria. By making his authority on an attempt to force Bismarck to give up any future plans to put a Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne, he led France into the war with Prussia that destroyed the empire he aspired to.

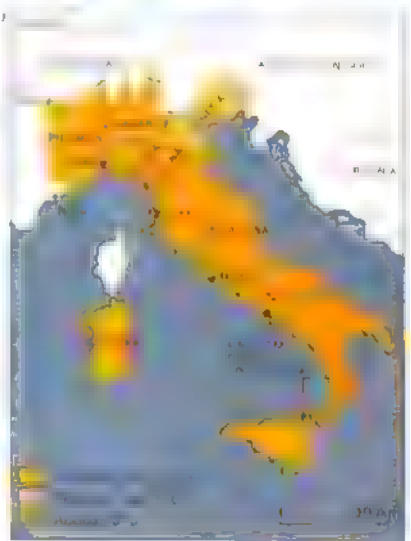


4 Mazzini's proclamation of a Roman Republic in 1849 left a legend of heroism to Italy. Giuseppe Mazzini (1818-72) had founded

Young Italy to lead his countrymen to wards democracy without outside help.

He earned a state that would evoke the soul of Italy.

5 Camillo Cavour was never able to inspire the moral crusade that was brought to the Risorgimento by Mazzini and Garibaldi. But in domestic politics, he grasped the international situation and the possibilities. Without the reach of his skills Italy could not have been unified.



6 At an historic meeting in 1860 on the Naples road, Garibaldi gave to Victor Emmanuel the gift in effect of a unified nation. In exchange he took

7 Although Italy was united by 1870, political and economic development was uneven. Despite Garibaldi's dramatic exploits, southern Italy remained backward compared with Piedmont.

Victoria and her statesmen

Queen Victoria's reign, from 1837 to 1901, lasted longer than that of any other British monarch. During that time the party system and parliamentary democracy came to their maturity. The monarchy itself moved out of the arena of active politics, but achieved a new status as the neutral guardian of national stability. In 1830 even *The Times* had found it difficult to mourn the death of George IV, republicanism was a serious radical cry. By 1897, the year of the Diamond Jubilee [9], republicanism had been drowned in popular royalist enthusiasm.

The changing style of politics

Ten prime ministers served Queen Victoria [Key]. None of them was chosen by her in defiance of the wishes of the Commons. Each came to power by virtue of being the leader of his party, and cabinets were composed of members of the same party. That was a marked though gradual change from the eighteenth-century politics of connection. Party had replaced the Crown as the source of political power. After the 1832 Reform Act, both the Whigs and the Conserva-

tives took steps to organize themselves into national parties. Elections lost much local colour and acquired national meaning.

The first half of the reign

It was not easy for the 18-year-old princess to step with confidence onto the crowded political stage. Victoria was fortunate to find a devoted tutor in her first prime minister, the debonair Lord Melbourne (1779-1848), then mellowed with age. To the man whom Caroline Ponsonby had flattered to deceive in marriage, Victoria brought a late spring in the autumn of his career. To her, he became as a father.

She was loath to part with Melbourne. But the weakness of her constitution and position was brought home to her by the Conservative victory at the 1841 elections. Loving Melbourne, she had learned to love the Whigs. Losing him, she learned to work as closely and fairly with his successors. Throughout her reign she kept herself fully informed on political developments, her opinions could never be treated lightly by her ministers.

Robert Peel, from 1841 to 1846 the first prime minister of a Conservative (as opposed to a purely Tory) Party, was a new breed of prime minister. His roots were commercial and his interest was economics. He had no sentimental attachment to the landed aristocracy. The squires on the back benches, the heart of his party, found him uncommunicative and arrogant. He tried to turn the Tories into a party that worked to balance the claims of competing interests [1], instead of seeking to defend the exclusive interests of the land and the Church. He failed, split his party, and left it a minority for a generation.

Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) was the beneficiary of this Conservative misfortune. He was prime minister for all but 14 months between 1855 and 1865. England was then moving the mid-Victorian boom, the standard of living was generally high and social problems unobtrusive. Palmerston believed that a government did best by doing as little as possible. His great interest was foreign affairs, the one sphere where the royal will still counted for something. He

CONNECTIONS

Continued



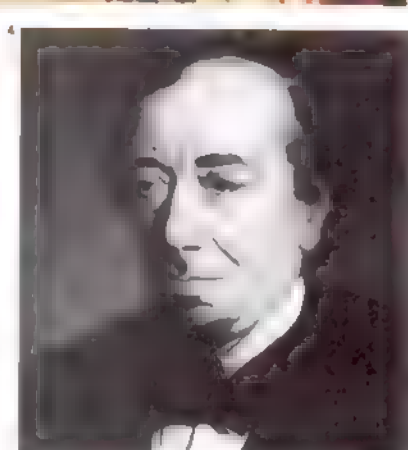
1 Robert Peel, 1788-1850, bought an undor-
trine re approach to the
problems of industrial
ization that brought
violent Chartist un-
rest, and in 1846
after the Irish famine
he initiated the tradi-
tional v Tory land
owners by removing
tariffs on imported
corn, thus reducing
the price of bread.

2 The Great Exhi-
bition (1851) at the Cry-
stall Palace asserted
victoria's internal one
standing early in her
reign. Rulers from
many parts of the
world attended the
festivities which
were originally con-
ceived by Prince Al-
bert to celebrate the
wonders of industry
and to promote peace.

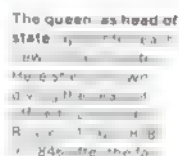
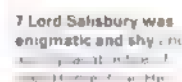
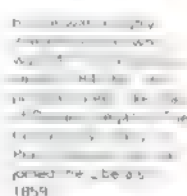
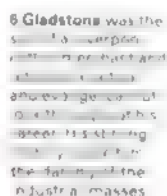


3 Prince Albert
(1819-61) married Vic-
toria in 1840 and
rebuilts much of the
Kensington district of
London for the Great
Exhibition. Among the
monuments erected to
him was the Albert
Bridge, shown here.

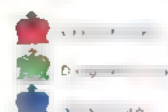
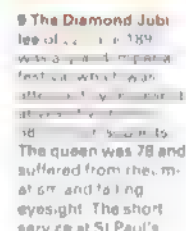
4 Disraeli became Con-
servative leader
the Commons in 1849.
He passed the 1867
Reform Act in an at-
tempt to curb the
labors for popular
appeal and to
the Commons
Central Office 1868
to organize the party
in the country.



His successor as Conservative leader Lord Salisbury (1830-1903) [7], was in the purest Tory mould the most conservative of the Cecil family that has risen to prominence under Elizabeth I. He was the first minister to preside over the Jubilee celebrations. He formed three administrations in 1885-8, 1886-92, 1895-1902, and in politics just after the queen's death.

[illegible]

model $\theta = (\theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3)$ is
 $P(y = 1 | \theta) = \text{cost}$
 , with $y = 1$
 the statistic infer

[illegible]

Wesley was taken from Buck
House, London, where he was
found by the police after
the death of the stepson
in a wheelchair. Like
the justice of 1887,
the Diamond Jubilee
provided an occasion for
a colonial reference.

Victorian London

In the nineteenth century, London became the biggest and richest city in the world, its population quadrupling to reach 6,586,269 by 1901 in Greater London (a term first used in the 1881 census). Its growth as the heart of a great commercial and military empire presented a spectacle both imposing and appalling. Between the plush and cut-glass elegance of the West End and the fever-ridden slums of Dickensian description lay a gulf the century could not bridge. Overwhelmed by the squalor in which many of the people lived, the critic John Ruskin in 1865 called London "a rattling growling, smoking, stinking, a ghastly heap of fermenting brickwork pouring out poison at every pore".

Commercial expansion

The port of London was central to the economic growth of the capital. The first large enclosed docks were completed in 1802. In 1885 the expansion of trade was marked by the completion of the Victoria Dock, 2 kilometres (1.2 miles) long. Although challenged by ports such as Hull and Liverpool, London remained the premier

port, and 13 million tonnes of goods passed through it in 1886.

London was the centre of a host of industries associated with trade – refining and processing imported goods for distribution to the rest of the country or for re-export. In addition to brewing, distilling, tanning and food-processing, the capital supported a shipbuilding industry that was overtaken by Newcastle and Glasgow only in the closing years of the century. By 1851 there were almost half a million workers engaged in manufacturing. Service industries employed nearly one million by 1865.

Even before the end of the eighteenth century, London had begun spreading out into rural areas of Surrey and Kent. The nineteenth century saw a rapid extension of this process as the City proper, the "square mile" formerly confined by the city wall, was given over to shops, offices and warehouses. In the West End, fashionable squares and town houses were completed. The growing middle classes built houses in suburbs such as Camberwell, Paddington and Clapham. Although the East End, [7] including

Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Stepney continued to grow, the working classes too began moving to districts on the edge of the built-up area, such as Hammersmith.

Railways and transport

The growth of suburban London was greatly accelerated by the coming of the railways [1], which soon spread out into a dense network. The first underground line in the world, from Paddington to Fenchurch Street, was opened by the Metropolitan Railway Company in 1863 and in the first six weeks carried an average of 26,000 passengers a day. A first-class fare between Fdgware Road and King's Cross was sixpence. In 1864 special workmen's trains were introduced with a maximum return fare of only threepence. Other lines soon connected the main line stations and all important parts of the metropolis. The first electrified line opened in 1890. By the end of the century horse-drawn buses and trams provided alternative transport [Key].

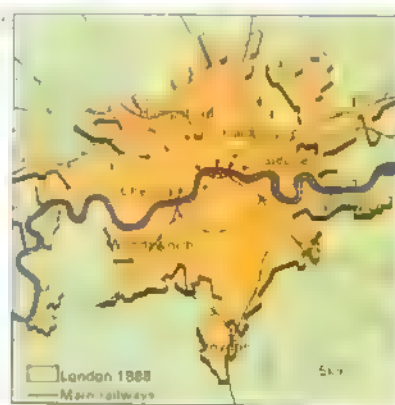
The central area of the capital was refurbished with a series of new public buildings

CONNECTIONS

See also

18th century London
19th century London
20th century London
Victorian London
Edwardian London
Interwar London
Post-war London
Modern London

1 Railways grew out of urban expansion but also created it. The London and Greenwich Line opened in 1836, was London's first steam-powered railway. By 1852, most of today's main line stations were in being and there were 1,000 miles of urban lines. In 1863 the Underground system provided rapid transport in the metropolitan area. In 1880, between 150 and 170 million rail journeys were made in the city annually.



2 Cholera epidemics in the 1830s and 1840s gave an important stimulus to the public health system. Royal Commissions of inquiry led to the creation of a General Board of Health and a Medical Officer of Health in 1848, in spite of opposition from the City of London. Improvements in water supply and sanitation followed. Until the 1860s, London's sewers were discharged into the Thames.



3 A professional police force for London was created under the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. Until then, London had only a few hundred professional police. The security of the capital largely depended upon an armed and hated band of footmen and

colporters under several different authorities. The Act enabled a unified policing of the whole metropolis, with the exception of the City proper, which remained under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and his

4 The Bank of England, established in 1694 to finance a war with France, was subsequently granted a monopoly of joint stock banking. While smaller banks were restricted to only partnerships between

1708 and 1826, it became government banker and reserve bank for the whole country – a status ratified in the Bank Charter Act 1844. The fine buildings completed in 1827 are imposing examples

of the many public buildings erected in London during the 19th century. Others, in Victorian neo-Gothic style, include St Pancras Station (1865–71) and the Royal Courts of Justice (1871–82).



5 London fashion set the pattern of taste and consumption for the country as a whole. The mass market in the capital stimulated the rise of large department stores in the 1880s along bustling streets such as Regent Street, shown here.

During the 19th century, small family-run shops began to disappear. They either developed as chain stores, such as J. Sainsbury's, which first opened in Drury Lane in 1869, or they were replaced by large independent department stores.

including the rebuilt Houses of Parliament (1836-67), the Royal Courts (1871-82), the Bank of England (1795-1827) [4] and the great museums in Kensington. Trafalgar Square was completed in the 1840s. Widened streets, notably the Embankment [8], imitated the boulevards of Paris and some of the old slums were cleared to make way for new streets such as Charing Cross Road. Sewerage [8], lighting, paving and water supply were gradually brought under control after the cholera epidemics of the 1830s and 1840s [2]. The establishment of a Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855 was important for unified planning.

Social reforms

The vitality and commercial prosperity of the capital were reflected only slowly in social reforms. As people crowded into the terrace houses thrown up by speculative builders, around gasworks, breweries or warehouses, the parishes of the East End became spawning grounds for crime and disease. General William Booth (1829-1912) who founded the Salvation Army in 1878 to

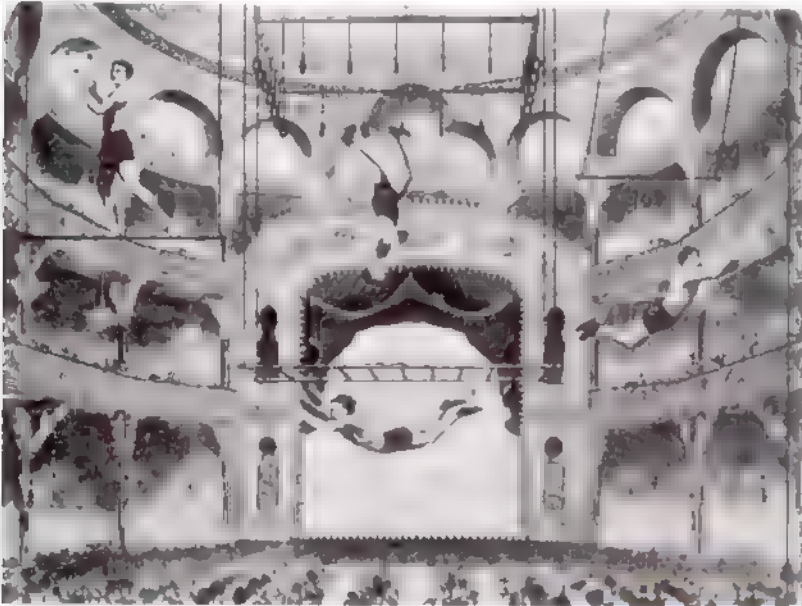
reconvert the slum dwellers called them the people of "darkest England". In that year while many landowners were earning £100,000 a year and paying tax of only 2s in the pound the average labourer's income was £70. Fashionable strollers [5] wore hand-sewn garments created by sweated labour paid at a rate of only 2d an hour.

In 1885, it was estimated that one in four Londoners still lived in abject poverty. Only after 1880, when primary education became compulsory, were the streets cleared of ragged children living on their wits.

Despite the ferocious penalties for even petty crime, an estimated 100,000 in London lived by thieving or swindling in the 1860s and another 80,000 were prostitutes. Sensational stories of crime and capture by the Metropolitan Police Force [3] could be read daily in the "penny dreadfuls". This was the big-headed city of Sweeney Todd the Barber and Jack the Ripper. Violent riots by the unemployed in 1886 and 1887 gave belated vent to the distress that went hand-in-hand with the music halls [6], the palaces and imperial pomp of Victorian London.



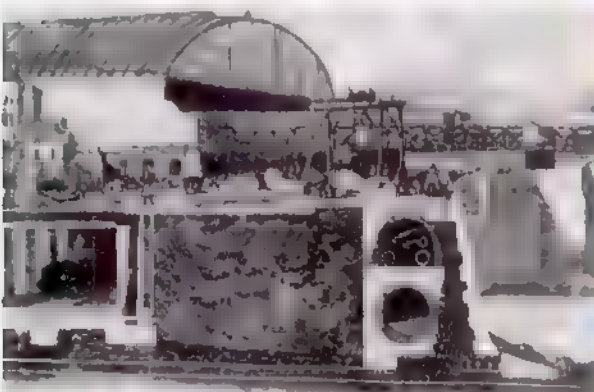
St Paul's Cathedral, erected in more space at days down on the Fleet Street of 1900 when vehicles thronged its streets and had become common. In 1850 there were more than 1,000 horse-drawn buses at work in the capital as well as countless carts and wagons. Congestion was one indication of the need for a new form of urban planning. London was the first national metropolis to have to cope with the problems of public transport on a mass scale. The congestion created by its growth necessitated a dramatic increase in the powers of local government.



6 Music halls became immensely popular in the 19th century. After a Licensing Act in 1843, music halls, until then considered as places where the first commercial halls were the Canterbury in Lambeth (1852)

and the Oxford Music Hall in Oxford Street, 1861. Forty halls were taking in custom in London in 1862, and as the century progressed, music halls came to be more widely accepted as a feature native to the theatre.

7 The East End of London remained notorious for its poverty and bad housing well into this century. Many of the slums were built in the style of the end of continental Europe.



8 Construction of the Embankment, started 1867, with railways, sewerage and other services was a rare example of unified planning for growth. An efficient London system of drainage and sewerage was delayed by a lack of centralized authority.

In 1858, work began on a complete system of sewerage for the capital. This great engineering feat was completed in 1885 and cost £4 million, with 131 km (82 miles) of pipe carrying 1,703 million litres (420 million gallons) of sewage each day.

9 London was the social centre of Britain. The London season attracted wealthy families up from the country to stay in the suburban houses they kept in town. Hyde Park (shown here) was a fashionable place of recreation.



Realist painting in the 19th century

Realism is the term used to describe the most characteristic style that arose in painting, particularly in France, between the end of Neoclassicism and romanticism and the beginnings of Impressionism. It belongs essentially to the years 1840 to 1870, although some paintings with realist tendencies were produced before this date, and the style continued to flourish until almost the end of the century. A significant event was the development, during the same period, of the new art of photography [Kev]

The social context

Photography as the ultimate in pictorial realism was at once a challenge to painting and an echo of, and influence on, it. At first it was chiefly painting that influenced photography (many of the early photographers began their careers as painters) but from about 1860 onwards the influence began to flow the other way [8]

Realism grew as much from social as aesthetic motives, but the reasons for it were not the same in all countries. In Britain, where it began first soon after 1800, it succeeded

chiefly because, in the nineteenth century, art for the first time became really popular with a mass public. The more traditional styles of painting, which depended for their appreciation on an educated few, fell out of favour. They were replaced by a new, more direct art [6] representing (within tasteful limits) things as they were, in a style based on the accepted models of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting and with a strong element of humorous or sentimental narrative which enabled pictures to be "read" like a novel.

The pioneer of popular narrative painting was David Wilkie (1785-1841), who was actually patronized by the aristocracy but whose art reached a wide public through exhibitions and prints. Wilkie was the most popular artist in Britain during the first 40 years of the century, and his approach [1] became the model more or less, for all subsequent British Victorian artists.

The situation in France was different and Realism began there later. It was not a popular style as it was in Britain, rather, it was serious and committed, even subversive. Whereas in Britain Realism developed

within the Academy, the home of official and aristocratic taste, in France it was conceived partly as an attack on the official historical art sponsored by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, then the guardian of academic values.

Influence of Courbet

The leading French Realist was Gustave Courbet (1819-77), whose career ran from the mid-1840s to the early 1870s. He was aggressively bohemian and provincial, a democrat if not a revolutionary, and he founded the doctrine, later a Realist battle-cry, that the artist must be "of his own time". "Painting is an essentially concrete art", he wrote, "and can consist only in representation of real and existing things".

In contrast to British painters, Courbet played down the element of narrative and for virtually the first time, represented ordinary provincial and working-class people in everyday terms. This was thought undignified. A picture such as "The Meeting" [2] which shows the rich bourgeois patron doffing his hat to the journeyman artist (Courbet himself), caused offence not only because of

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 David Wilkie's 'Chelsea Pensioners reading the Gazette announcing the Victory of Waterloo' (1822 detail), is an example of early popular Realism.



2 Gustave Courbet's 'The Meeting' (1854), familiarly known as 'Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet', shows the artist being greeted on the road by his friend and patron Alfred Bruyas.

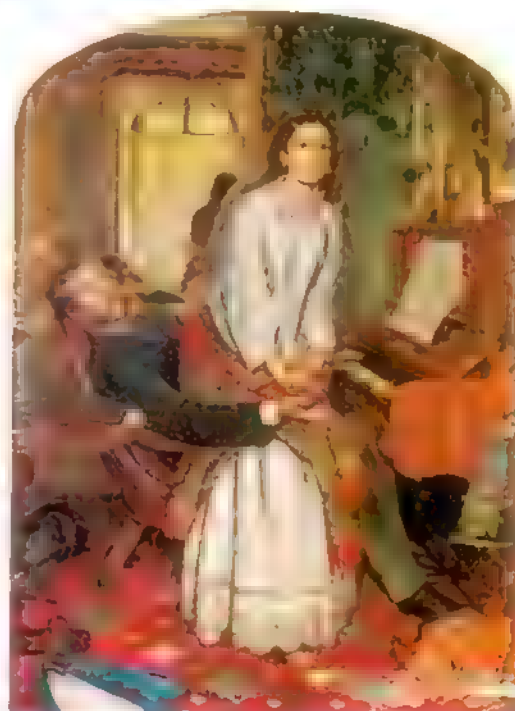
3 The labours of the fields, previously depicted in pastoral scenes, were treated realistically by Jean-François Millet. In 'The Angelus' (c. 1858) he added an element of religious sentimentality which made the picture especially popular at that time.



4 The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, founded in 1848, sought to combine fidelity to nature with the purity of spirit of the Italian painters before Raphael. These qualities are reflected in John Everett Millais' 'Sir Sumner at the Ford' (1857).



5 William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) was a Pre-Raphaelite who in 'The Awakening Conscience' (1853) turned his attention to personal morality, preaching a sermon to his middle-class audience on the evils and pathos of adultery. The girl starts up from her lover's lap on being reminded of her lost innocence by the tune he is playing and by the sunlit garden outside.



its reversal of the normal relationship between artist and patron but also on account of its apparent lack of any interesting subject.

With Courbet, French Realism began to take a class-conscious, political tendency. It identified with grim and sordid matters. It is also noticeable that Realist paintings from this time onwards are normally dark in tone and drab in colour, resembling contemporary photographs. Although Courbet himself does not seem to have intended his work as social propaganda, the way towards this was now open and many painters took it. For instance Jean-François Millet (1814-75) showed the hard life of a depressed peasantry redeemed only by the consolation of religion [3] and later, in England Hubert von Herkomer [9] specialized in painting the industrial working class.

The nineteenth century was the first in which to take work seriously as a subject for art. It is not in some symbolic guise, as had been done by artists in the pastoral tradition, but as a dedicated, often grinding and monotonous activity. Another interesting development was the realistic portrayal

by the American Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) of the working lives and achievements of surgeons and inventors [7].

Morality, mythology and history

While Realism was preoccupied in this period with modern life and dealt with questions of social rather than individual morality, there were exceptions to both these rules, especially in British painting. Pre-Raphaelitism was an English style of the 1840s and 1850s that applied realistic aims to personal moral problems [4], to religious themes [4]. In both cases it produced a sense of shock comparable to Courbet's paintings and for fundamentally the same reason - that art was being used to disturb its audience and not to please it.

Finally, Realism increasingly invaded the realm of historical and mythological painting, reducing that once noble and intellectual genre to the level of a make-believe voyage into past time, as in the lane and reconstructions by Edward Poynter (1836-1919) and others of the daily lives of the ancient Greeks and Romans [10].

The symbol of 19th century Realism

in art is, ironically not a painting but a photograph. Photography, which began to be used in the 1840s, fulfilled the Realist painter's wildest dream: yet did so in a medium that was not his own and by a process which was not his own. In fact the two arts coexisted in an uneasy but mutually beneficial relationship for the rest of the century. The inventor of the first practical and successful photographic process was a Frenchman, Louis Daguerre (1789-1851), shown here in a "daguerreotype" by the English photographer J. W. L. Mayall in 1848.



6 "Derby Day"

1856-8 (detail) by William Powell Frith. This painting shows the energy and vulgarity of the Victorian era and has the content of a modern-day photograph. It is composed with considerable skill.



8 After 1860 cafes

were a popular subject of the Realists and cropping of the image to produce a photograph became common. "Au Café" (1878) by Édouard Manet (1832-83) is an example of this. The painting shows the vivacity and colour of the Parisian scene as the painter's technique moves towards Impressionism.



9 "On Strike"

1891 by Hubert von Herkomer. 1849-1914. enters with vivid realism the world of the industrial working class. Its style reveals the direct influence of photography although this is not evident in the white background. A well-executed painting.



7 The discovery of

anaesthetics and the opportunity for dissections) a possible subject for art.

The opportunity was seized by the artist Samuel Gross (1825-1892).



10 "A Visit to Aesculapius"

1886 by Edward Poynter. shows what the grand style of history painting came to in the late 19th century. the correctness of the drawing, the

intrusion of realism and the triviality of the subject. naked Victorian ladies with imaginary illnesses before a mirror - make the picture embarrassing.



Impressionism

Impressionism was initially a derogatory term. A well-known critic Louis Leroy first used it to write in 1874 that the exhibition by the Impressionist Society (founded in 1874) was lacking in originality (p. 25). The critic's use of the word 'impressionist' as a label for a group of painters who had abandoned traditional form and content in favour of subjective impressions

The Impressionist painters

The father of the impressionist group was Camille Pissarro (1830–1903). Others were Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), and Jean Béraud (1833–1911), and the artist who was the most influential of the race course, theatre and boulevard artists was Edgar Degas (1849–1917), who painted the race course, theatre and boulevard artists. Camille Pissarro (1830–1903) was a contemporary of all Old Masters. Auguste Renoir (1841–1919) was a perfect decorator of the Impressionist period. Alfred Sisley (1839–1899) son of a well-to-do English merchant living in Paris. Berthe Morisot (1841–95) painted sister-in-law of Manet and Armand Guillaumin (1841–92). Edouard Manet (1859–83) leader of the

group and a successful influence on the younger artists. The Salon had refused to accept any of the Impressionist group.

At the end of the 19th century, the Impressionist group was formed. Some of them were painters and some painted the same scenes side by side. Monet, Sisley and Renoir painted the same scene in 1874. Monet and Renoir (1841–1918) and Manet (1839–1906) and Manet (1839–1906) and Manet (1839–1906). These artists also shared the experience of frequent rejection by the Salon, which made it very difficult to see their paintings. Furthermore, with the exception of Degas none of them had ever been to the Salon. They were offered as the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. This freed them from the constraints of the Salon and allowed them to experiment.

Style and subject

The Impressionists related to past historical events and the tradition of J. M. W. Turner or idealized landscapes of the manner of Claude and Poussin. Instead they chose everyday

subjects from the region of Paris and Normandy. Degas painted race courses. [?] Monet views along the Seine or the inside of railway stations and Renoir painted figures in dappled shade. [?] Cézanne [?] was the exception with his landscapes of Provence. These subjects could be directly experienced and immediately recorded on the spot by the artist. recourse to imagination was thus made superfluous, and studied composition was impossible. Their paintings were impressions in the sense that they portrayed not a landscape but a sensation produced by a landscape. This was not a literary innovation. The determined use of everyday subject matter by Courbet (1819–77) was an important precedent. Painting in a location had been practised by French artists of the eighteenth century such as Carole Joseph Verriest and Valenciennes as well as by Carol (1766–1838), Constable (1776–1837), and the nineteenth-century masters of the Barbizon school. The Impressionists differed in that they produced not sketches but finished paintings out of doors.

Traditional artists working in studios

CONNECTIONS

Impressionism was a reaction to the Salon and the Academy. It was a movement that sought to capture the moment and the light. It was a movement that sought to capture the moment and the light. It was a movement that sought to capture the moment and the light.



1 Claude Monet's 'Impression, Sunrise' (1874) is a painting that captures a hazy, atmospheric scene of a harbor at dawn. The painting is characterized by its soft, hazy atmosphere and the use of light and color to create a sense of movement and light.



2 A characteristic painting by Edgar Degas, 'Provincia Racecourse' (1870). The painting shows a horse and carriage in a racecourse setting, with a focus on the movement and light of the scene.



3 Auguste Renoir's 'Dance at the Moulin de la Galette' (1876) shows a Sunday afternoon scene at a park. The painting is characterized by its soft, hazy atmosphere and the use of light and color to create a sense of movement and light.



5 The first big figure composition by Camille Pissarro, 'The first big figure composition' (1886). The painting shows a group of people in a garden setting, with a focus on the movement and light of the scene.

Sketches was 'Women in the Garden' (1886). The painting shows a group of people in a garden setting, with a focus on the movement and light of the scene.

harsh divisions between light and shade betray his early debt to the traditional Monet.

4 A detail from Renoir's 'Dance at the Moulin de la Galette' (1876) shows rapidly applied dabs of bright green, blue, yellow and red. The painting is characterized by its soft, hazy atmosphere and the use of light and color to create a sense of movement and light.



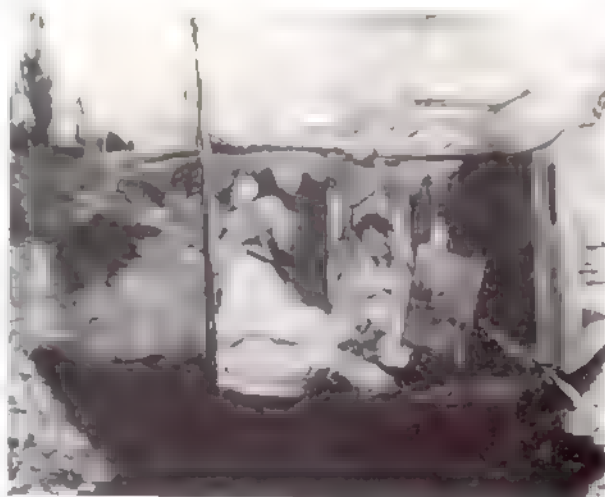
recorded light as tone. The Impressionists, by working out of doors, came to realize that light, whether ephemeral as for Renoir, or enhancing eternal forms as for Cézanne, was composed of colour. In developing this new-found relationship they quickly modified and increased the number of colours on their palettes, they eliminated black from shadow substituting purple, and adopted the system of complementary colours proposed by the physicist Chevreul in the 1830s. Additionally, they lightened the grounds of their canvases, replacing the traditional brown and biscuit tones with the white and beige of the English watercolourists Bonington (1802–28) and Turner (1775–1851).

Latest developments and changes

The Impressionist style took time to mature. During the 1860s, for example, when Monet painted his "Women in the Garden" [5] extensive use of black and broad brushstrokes hindered expression of the movement of light. By the early 1870s, when Monet painted "Impression, Sunrise" and Pissarro "The Entrance to the Village of Voi-

sins" [7], the Impressionist style can be said to have come of age and featured short comma-like brushstrokes, the banishment of black from the shadow and direct confrontation with the subject.

The opening years of the 1880s saw the group's stylistic unity crack. Their early champion, Zola, doubted whether "Nature seen through the temperament" could ever provide the recipe for a masterpiece. Sisley, Guillaumin and Morisot remained stylistically faithful, but Monet sought new subject matter and more intense light on the Côte d'Azur and later embarked on his 'serial paintings' [9]. Cézanne, in Provence, began an intense analysis of the relationship between colour and form. Renoir's lifelong concern with the figure brought him to rediscover the formal qualities of the classical nude. Degas reduced his compositions to exercises in two-dimensional patterning and Pissarro briefly adopted the divisionism of Georges Seurat (1859–91) who painted in small blobs of pure colour and whose scientific analysis of light lay at the centre of Neo-Impressionism [10].



The Impressionists' working method is amply demonstrated in Edouard Manet's *Manet at Argenteuil* (1874) which shows

the spontaneity of his friend's method of work. Monet is sitting with his wife in his improvised studio, work-

ing up a finished picture without any preliminary sketches. Manet's picture was painted in a similar manner.

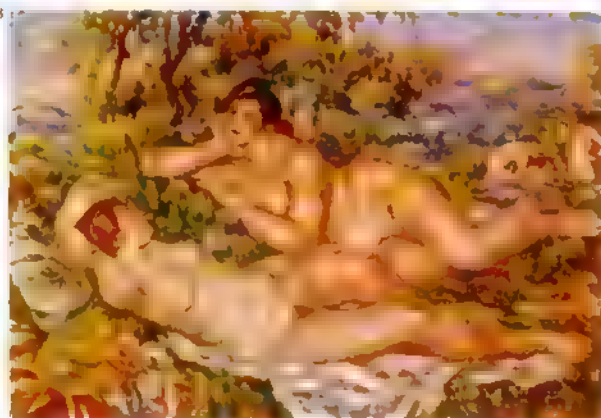


6 Cézanne, like his fellow Impressionists, sought to record his 'powerful sensations in front of Nature' by working directly in front of his subject. In this photograph he is lifting a half-finished canvas of a favourite subject, the Mont Sainte-Victoire outside Aix-en-Provence, onto his easel ready for work.



7 Camille Pissarro, who painted "Entrance to the Village of Voisins" in 1872, had been in self-exile with Monet in London during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71. There he developed an admiration for the landscapists Turner and Constable, who obviously shared our aims of plain air, light and fugitive effects.

9 "Rouen Cathedral – Morning Effect" is one of some 40 similar views painted by Claude Monet by 1895. In February 1892 and March 1893 the artist rented a room overlooking the west porch of the cathedral to observe the façade and make notes and sketches in different weather conditions and at varying times of the day. He worked up the finished paintings afterwards. As in his other series, Monet's choice of a static subject allowed him to turn his attention exclusively to the formal compositions that were created by the translation of light effects into colour.



8 "Nymphs" (1916) is part of a series of monumental nudes that Renoir had begun in the early 1880s. Integrity of form has replaced a preoccupation with the dissolution of form by light. During a visit to Italy, Renoir wrote that he had become dissatisfied with the imprecise 'blotting' technique of Impressionism and that he had discovered the grandeur and simplicity of Ingres and Raphael both masters of the idealized nude.

10 Separate dots of primary colour fuse visually into the muted tones of a misty morning on the Seine in Camille Pissarro's "Ile de la Croix Rouen" (1888). In 1885 Pissarro complained that his Impressionist paintings were "poor – tame grey, monotonous. I am not at all satisfied". His reaction was to adopt the new 'divisionist' technique of Georges Seurat, whom he had met through Paul Signac. Although Pissarro's adherence to the style was short-lived, he did nonetheless produce a number of divisionist pictures.



Opera in the 19th and 20th centuries

About the turn of the nineteenth century the growth of a middle-class concert-going audience encouraged the practice of giving performances in public opera houses. The resulting demand for new repertory allowed many composers to specialize in opera for the first time and the public welcomed entertainment that was in many ways more attractive than the lavish court spectacles.

Serious and comic opera

The traditional streams of serious opera and comic opera remained distinct, but both were at that time seen regularly at the opera house. The naturally dramatic character of the form also began to reflect the political and social situations, however disguised, in which it was produced – *Risorgimento* or the hoped-for reunification of Italy in the works of Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901), the national traditions in the Russian operas of Modest Mussorgsky (1839–81) and Mikhail Glinka (1804–57), or in the works of the Bohemian Bedřich Smetana (1824–84). Eventually a more realistic approach appeared in the *verismo* (realistic) operas of Pietro Mascagni

(1863–1945), Ruggiero Leoncavallo (1858–1919) and Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924) later in the century.

When in 1791, the last year of his life Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91) composed a serious opera in Italian, *La Clemenza di Tito*, and a comic opera or *Singspiel* in German, *The Magic Flute*, it was the latter using elements of mystery and folk like humour as well as the vernacular, which foreshadowed later developments in German opera with its concern for unity of music and drama. Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) in his single opera *Fidelio* (1805) made a rather earnest German contribution, but it remained for the deft touch of Weber (1786–1826) in *Der Freischütz* [1] and *Euryanthe* to shape the inheritance that Wagner would take up [4].

The influence of Rossini

This young German growth among the diverse branches of opera would have to struggle against the traditional dominance of the Italians and in particular against the prevailing fashion for the music of Gioacchino

Rossini (1792–1868) [Key] which had swept through the opera houses of Europe in the early part of the century. *The Barber of Seville*, *The Italian Girl in Algiers* and *Cinderella* among his many comic operas demonstrate the exciting Rossini crescendo in the orchestral writing and brilliant vocal music that was such a crowd-pleaser.

The legendary virtuoso singers of the time, such as Maria Malibran, Luigi Lablanche, Giovanni Rubini and Giulia Grisi encouraged the musicians who followed Rossini, such as Vincenzo Bellini (1801–35) and Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848) to compose in the same vein. Bellini was more Romantic in *La Sonnambula* and *Norma*.

Grand opera and after

While the comic opera tradition in France was greatly weighed down under Rossini's influence, grand opera tradition found expression from 1830 onwards in the works of Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864). In reaction to the eventual bombast of his *Les Huguenots* and *La Prophète*, a lyric opera style emerged in the 1850s, represented by

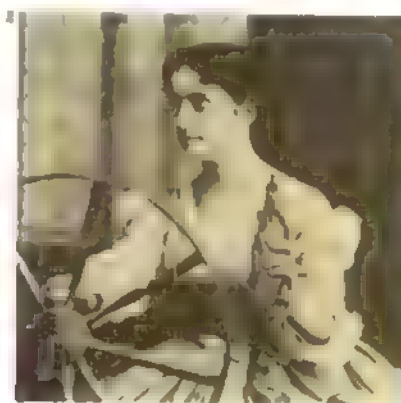
CONNECTIONS

Book 2

1 The casting of the magic bullets in the Wolf's Glen is the most famous scene from Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*. The opera literally 'The Free

shooter' meaning a marksman who uses magic bullets, is regarded as a pioneer work of the Romantic era, and is notable for Weber's orchestral effects, particularly during the

shower scene on the scene depicted in *Der Freischütz*. Weber reinforced the line of German opera leading from Mozart to Wagner.



3 Fyodor Chaliapin (1873–1938) the great Russian bass gained world fame in the title role of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, which he was the first to perform outside Russia. His strong acting per-

formances and resonant voice brought him world premiere roles in Massenet's *Don Quichotte* and Mussorgsky's *Khozhaichina*. His New York success in the 1920s made him as admired as Caruso.



2 Adelina Patti (1843–1919) the celebrated Madrid-born coloratura soprano here in the role of Marguerite in Gounod's *Faust*, enjoyed an operatic career that spanned nearly 60 years. Patti was

acknowledged as 'the last in a great line of prima donnas who were typical of 19th century opera'. She was noted as Rosina in *The Barber of Seville*, and Rossini himself arranged music for her.

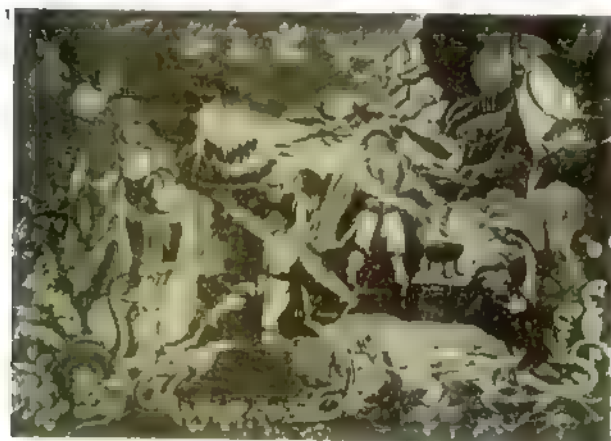


5 *Aida* by Giuseppe Verdi (in a production at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden) represents the full flowering of Italian opera in the 19th

century with its spectacle, colour, dramatic love triangle and tragic ending, all enriched by Verdi's dramatically apt music. The opera was commissioned as

a festival work by the Khedive of Egypt to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal and first performed in Cairo in 1871. Set in ancient Egypt, the

story tells of the Ethiopian slave girl Aida and her love for the Egyptian army officer Radames, who is tricked by her into betraying his country.



4 The knight Lohengrin arrives in a boat drawn by a swan in a scene from the first production of *Lohengrin* by Richard Wagner, given at Weimar in 1850 under Franz Liszt. *Lohengrin* represents a mid-point

in the development of Wagner's music, it is the last in a series of operas with traditional elements from grand opera and set-piece numbers. His later operas – *Tristan and Isolde*, *The Master-singer*, *The Ring of*

the Nibelung cycle and *Parsifal* – would exemplify his ideas of opera as a continuous music drama of endless melody bound together by musical motifs representing characters, objects and ideas.



Charles Gounod (1818-93) and Jules Massenet (1842-1912). Hector Berlioz (1803-69) was simultaneously pursuing an independent course

Meanwhile in Italy, Verdi [5] had *Nabucco* - his first major work - performed in 1842, and became identified with the cause of a united Italy. His operas began to show at the same time an emotional power and psychological insight that were to culminate in the magnificent dramas of *Rigoletto*, *Il Trovatore*, *La Traviata* and many others. His last two operas, *Otello* and *Falstaff* emphasize continuity in the music rather than individual arias, a style that Richard Wagner (1813-83) [8] had developed independently in Germany in his music-dramas.

In Russia, the early emphasis on nationalist opera begun by Glinka now flowered in the works of Alexander Borodin (1834-87), Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908), Mussorgsky and Peter Il'yich Tchaikovsky (1840-93) who wrote ten operas. *Carmen*, by the French composer Georges Bizet (1838-75), was another key work, beginning the trend of realism in

operas. At the same time, another Frenchman, Claude Debussy (1862-1918), in his single operatic work *Pelleas and Melisande* reacted against Wagnerian opera.

After Debussy the twentieth century was to see a wide range of operatic techniques and styles. With the dispersing of the Italian monopoly, operas were to appear in all languages, some, such as those of Richard Strauss (1864-1949), Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) and Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953), followed national trends, others even delved back into the classics, as did Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) for his opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex* in Latin. Presentation ranged from the simple - two characters in *Bluebeard's Castle* by Béla Bartók (1881-1945) - to the representation of a city in the satirical *Mahagonny* by Kurt Weill (1900-50). Benjamin Britten (1913-76) made his mark as an opera composer of the highest international status with his *Peter Grimes* [9]. After some years of composing chamber operas, Britten returned to large-scale works with *Billy Budd* (1951), and *Climax* (1953) written for Elizabeth II's coronation.

KEE



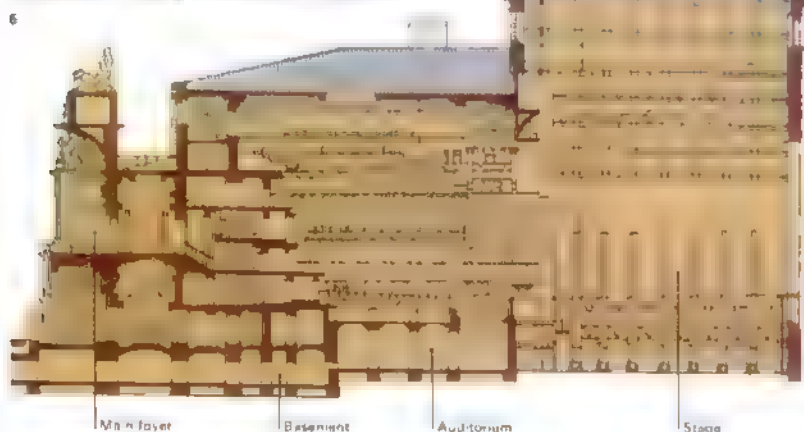
The Barber of Seville is the best-known comic opera by Gioacchino Rossini whose music dominated the world of

opera in the early 19th century. In this characteristic scene from Act II the cheerful barber Figaro shaves the pompous old Dr

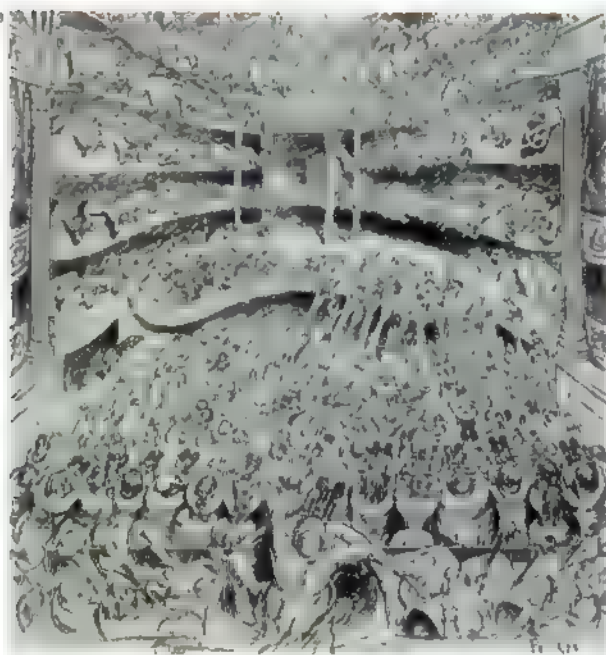
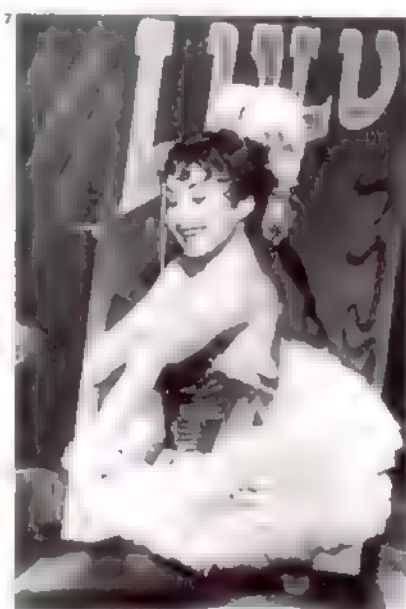
Bartolo, who mistakenly believes he will marry the heroine Rosina, while Figaro is scheming another husband for her.

6 The Dresden Hof theater (opera house) was designed and built between 1871 and 1878 to replace an earlier building that had been destroyed. Many European opera houses built or rebuilt

in the 18th and 19th centuries (La Scala, Milan, 1778; Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, 1856) were modelled on the old Italian plan of tiers of boxes placed around the auditorium.



7 Lulu by Alban Berg (1885-1935) is one of the major operatic works of the 20th century. It tells the story of Lulu, a prostitute who ends up as one of Jack the Ripper's victims in a London street. Written in the 12-tone harmony developed by Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Berg's teacher, *Lulu* was unfinished at Berg's death, with only two out of three acts published. It was performed like that two years later. The opera continues Berg's concern for human beings as victims of persecution - a theme that he first explored in *Wozzeck*, the study of an anti-hero - and is dramatically suited by the often harsh music.



8 Wagner was never loath to draw attention to himself, as this contemporary French caricature of a performance of one of his operas in the composer's presence clearly indicates. Paradoxically, while he may have worn red velvet and called

himself the apostle of a new religion (his music), he was the first to insist on dimming the lights and making late comers wait so as not to disturb the audience. His opera house at Bayreuth remains a model of theatre planning.

9 Peter Grimes, by Benjamin Britten, scored a resounding success throughout Europe and America from its first performance in 1945 and started a new interest in British opera. Based on a poem by George Crabbe, its central

character is the fisherman Peter Grimes, seen here with Bastard, a retired skipper. Grimes is an alienated figure in his own community and the situation is clearly reflected in Britten's spare yet attractively lyrical music.

European architecture in the 19th century

Industrial progress was the touchstone of the nineteenth century. With it came growth in population and prosperity, factors that created a boom in building. More buildings were constructed in this century than in any previous century, modern building types were born and new materials employed. Several styles and architectural theories jostled for supremacy. Likewise, a new professional man emerged: the architect.

In the eighteenth century the cataloguing of architectural styles began, with the careful recording of Greek and Roman remains. This was extended into the nineteenth century to cover Gothic, Italian Renaissance, Northern Renaissance and Byzantine buildings. Thus George Gilbert Scott could in 1857 change his Gothic design for the Foreign Office building, London [1], to an Italian Renaissance building more to the taste of the foreign minister, Lord Palmerston.

The selection of a style was by no means only a matter of individual taste: styles had associations. Commercial buildings were often of Italian Renaissance style to recall the wealth of such families as the Medici. The

Houses of Parliament, London, designed by Charles Barry (1795–1860) and Augustus Welby Pugin (1812–52), were built in Perpendicular Gothic to reflect the period when the institution began to assume some importance.

Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), the French architect, Gothic renovator and theorist, declared that “to believe that one can create Beauty by lying is a heresy. The moral connection made between beautiful architecture and truthful architecture was one that was enunciated by Pugin and by John Ruskin (1819–1900).

Truth and honesty

For Viollet-le-Duc, truthful architecture lay in the honest use of materials: stone must really look like stone, iron like iron, wood like wood”; hence iron pillars must not be clad in stone, but left exposed and incorporated into the design, a point illustrated by his project for a market hall [3] and later by Hector Guimard (1867–1943) in his *Sacré Coeur* School, Paris (1895). Ruskin argued that “good” (that is, beautiful and moral)

architecture could be produced only by a “good” architect who reflected in his work a “good” society. The material expressions of this abstract principle can be seen in the extensive building programme of High Gothic churches such as George Edmund Street’s St Paul’s, Rome [7], and in the University Museum, Oxford (1855–9).

Finally, it was good, honest design that played an important part in liberating the plan and elevation of the house – pioneered in Great Britain by Norman Shaw (1831–1912), Philip Webb (1831–1915) and Charles Voysey (1857–1941). The ideal of domesticity was allowed free expression in asymmetrical ground plans and unostentatious elevations, such as that seen at Broadleys, Lake Windermere, England [10].

New building materials

Industrialization not only provoked concern about the quality of society and its architecture. It also introduced new building materials such as cast and wrought iron, steel, plate glass and lightweight, fireproof, caustic bricks. These innovations not only permitted

CONNECTIONS

See also

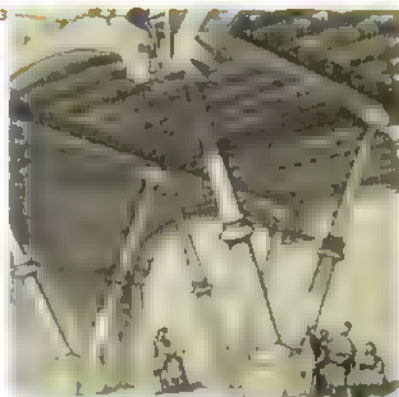


1 Britain's growing prestige in the area of foreign affairs in the 19th century made the need for a new departmental building imperative. In the architectural competition held in 1857 George Gilbert Scott (1811–78) won with the Gothic design, later changed to an Italian Renaissance style.



2 New wealth from iron ore financed the building of Harlaxton Manor in Lincolnshire, England. Started by Anthony Salvin (1799–1881) and finished by William Burn (1789–1870), its size was dictated in part by the client's expanding art collection. The mainly Jacobean style was mixed with Elizabethan features.

3 Viollet-le-Duc's project for a market hall was published in his *Entretiens sur l'Architecture* (1863–72). There he advocated the use of exposed cast iron for pillars and roof supports.



4 Exposed cast iron was used by Karl Eitel in the Dianabad Vienna (1841–3) to achieve the barrel vaulted ceiling of the German “round arch”. The design of the balcony supports echoes the main vault.



5 James Bogardus (1800–74) was neither an architect nor an engineer but rather a builder and inventor. In New York in 1848 he built a four-storey factory for his own use, made of cast iron which was screwed together on site. This was followed by a five-storey chemist shop and the Living Stores, which is shown here. Although this building took but two months to erect, it displayed no trace of shabby prefabrication. Cast iron could adapt to different styles such as Gothic, Renaissance or Grecian with great ease and when painted the material could give the impression of stone. Bogardus pioneered the idea of bearing roads on cast iron columns rather than on walls.

the construction of "engineering" monuments such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel's (1806-59) Clifton Suspension Bridge Bristol (1830-64), John A. Roebling's Brooklyn Bridge, New York (1869-83) and Victor Baltard's Les Halles, Paris (1853-8, now demolished), but also the construction of such "architectural" structures as Karl Etzel's Dianabad, Vienna (1841-3) [4] and H. P. F. Labrousse's Reading Room in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (1862-8). Iron also lent itself to prefabrication. Buildings such as James Bogardus' Laying Stores, New York (1849) [5] were precast and screwed together on site, as was Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, London (1850-51).

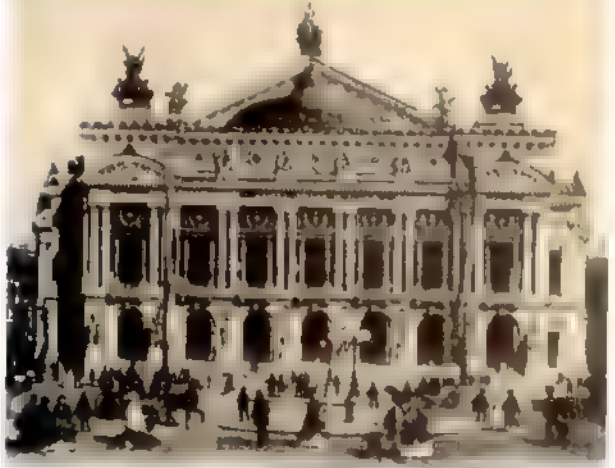
Changes in society also brought aggrandizement, extension and specialization of traditional building types. With the increasing complexity and importance of central and local governments, government offices and town halls became monuments on a grand scale. Visconti and Lefuel extended the Louvre, Paris, in an ebullient neo-Baroque style in 1852-7, while across the Atlantic Alfred B. Mullet was adorning

Washington, DC, with his neo-Roman State War and Navy Department Building (1871-5). Growing public services required new buildings and many of them were gigantic, such as Giuseppe Calderini's Palazzo di Giustizia, Rome (1888-1910) [9]. Most were built after careful investigation of specialized requirements, as in P. J. H. Cuypers' Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam [6].

Railway stations

Most significant of all was the arrival of the railway. Railway stations, the symbols of the new industrial age, sprang up across the world. In some instances the station would be no more than a dominant engineer-designed shed with subordinate forecourt buildings, such as King's Cross, London (Lewis Cubitt, 1850-52), and F. A. Duquesney's Gare de l'Est, Paris (1847-52). In others the shed was masked by the forecourt structure, which often doubled as a grand hotel. Such was George Gilbert Scott's Midland Grand Hotel and St Pancras Station, London (1868-73) [8], which also set new standards in comfort, sanitation and mechanical innovation.

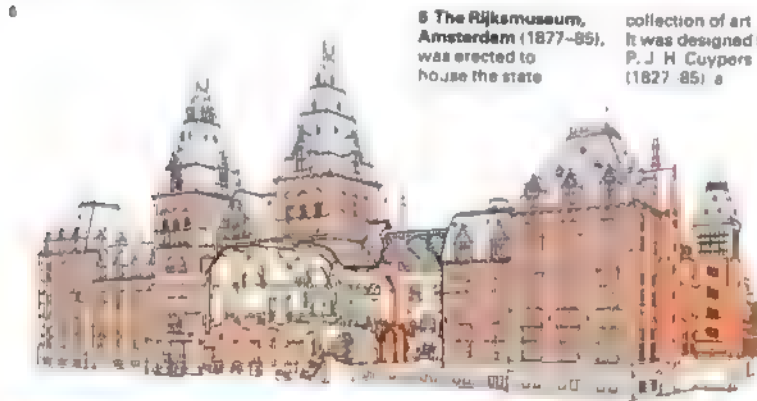
KEY



Charles Garnier (1825-98) built the Paris Opéra, at the end of the Avenue de l'Opéra, between

1861 and 1874. It is neo-Baroque in style and is one of many examples of wholesale urban im-

provement carried out in 19th century Europe as the result of the growth of central government.



6 The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (1877-85), was erected to house the state collection of art. It was designed by P. J. H. Cuypers (1827-85) as

leader of the Dutch Arts and Crafts reform movement in the 19th century.

7 St Paul's American Church, Rome (1872-8), was built by George Edmund Street (1824-81) to serve the religious needs of the American community. Its Italian Gothic style both shows a sensitivity to location and accords with the Ruskinian doctrine that Gothic was the most suitable style for church-building.



8 Architectural contests held for major 19th-century building projects reflected a faith in excellence that emerged from the workings of a free market economy, a desire for public accountability and a new professionalism in most careers.

In May 1865 architects were invited by the Midland Railway Company to submit plans for a Grand Midland Hotel and station offices at St Pancras Station, London. A complex brief involved designing a building that would entirely

mask a train shed erected two years earlier and also the planning of a type of building that had only recently been created - the grand hotel. George Gilbert Scott won the contest in January 1866 with a grandiose design (shown here in the

background) even though it added two storeys and involved the most expensive tender. Evidently the company wanted to advertise its services by making use of the prestige of Scott and the romance of his architectural conception.



9 A new national style emerged in Italy after Rome was established as the capital of a unified nation and new gov-

ernment buildings were needed. Their designs tended to be derived from the Renaissance or else the Baroque, a style

that was the basis of Giuseppe Calderini's design for Rome's High Court buildings prominently sited above the Tiber.



10 Broadleys, Windsor, England (1898), exemplifies a style of rural domestic architecture evolved by C. F. A. Voysey, who sought to create an organic relationship between his houses and their natural surroundings. At Broadleys the scale is comfortable, with windows along the southwest facade designed for maximum sunlight and view. The service wing of the house is neatly tucked away.

Colonizing Oceania and Australasia

The voyage of Ferdinand Magellan across the "Peaceful Sea" in 1520 brought the Pacific Ocean to the attention of Europe. But it was 1565 before the Spaniard López de Legaspi (died 1572), sailing west from the New World, settled the Philippines, where Magellan had died [1]. Spanish rule, although challenged, was uninterrupted until the Spanish-American War of 1898, when the Philippines were ceded to the United States.

The Indies and Australia

Meanwhile to the southeast, as Portuguese power declined, the ships of the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, routed the pirates of the Malay Archipelago, seized control of the lucrative spice trade and paved the way for a Dutch colonial empire extending from Sumatra, Java and Borneo to Celebes, the Moluccas and western New Guinea [9]. The prosperity of the new colonies, largely derived from cloves, nutmeg, pepper and coffee, was set against a background of repression and bloodshed. In Borneo, where gold and diamond mining attracted Chinese immigration, Dutch rule was precarious, and

not until 1701 did the British East India Company, formed in 1600, establish a factory or trading post in what later became a permanently divided island.

Commissioned by East Indies Governor Anthony van Diemen (1593-1645) to chart the western and southern shores of New Holland (Australia), Abel Tasman [2] in 1642-3 discovered Van Diemen's Land (later Tasmania), skirted New Zealand and later sailed along the southern coast of New Guinea into the Gulf of Carpentaria. More than a century passed before the British Admiralty dispatched James Cook (1728-79) [5] to take possession of any land in the south in the course of a scientific expedition to the South Seas. By sailing during 1768-71 from Cape Horn to New Zealand (which he charted as two islands) Cook finally exploded the theory that a great southern continent balanced the land mass of the Northern Hemisphere. He sailed up the east coast of Australia, claiming it for Britain, showed that New Guinea was a separate island and, in two later voyages, made other significant Pacific discoveries.

Britain was left to colonize the vast

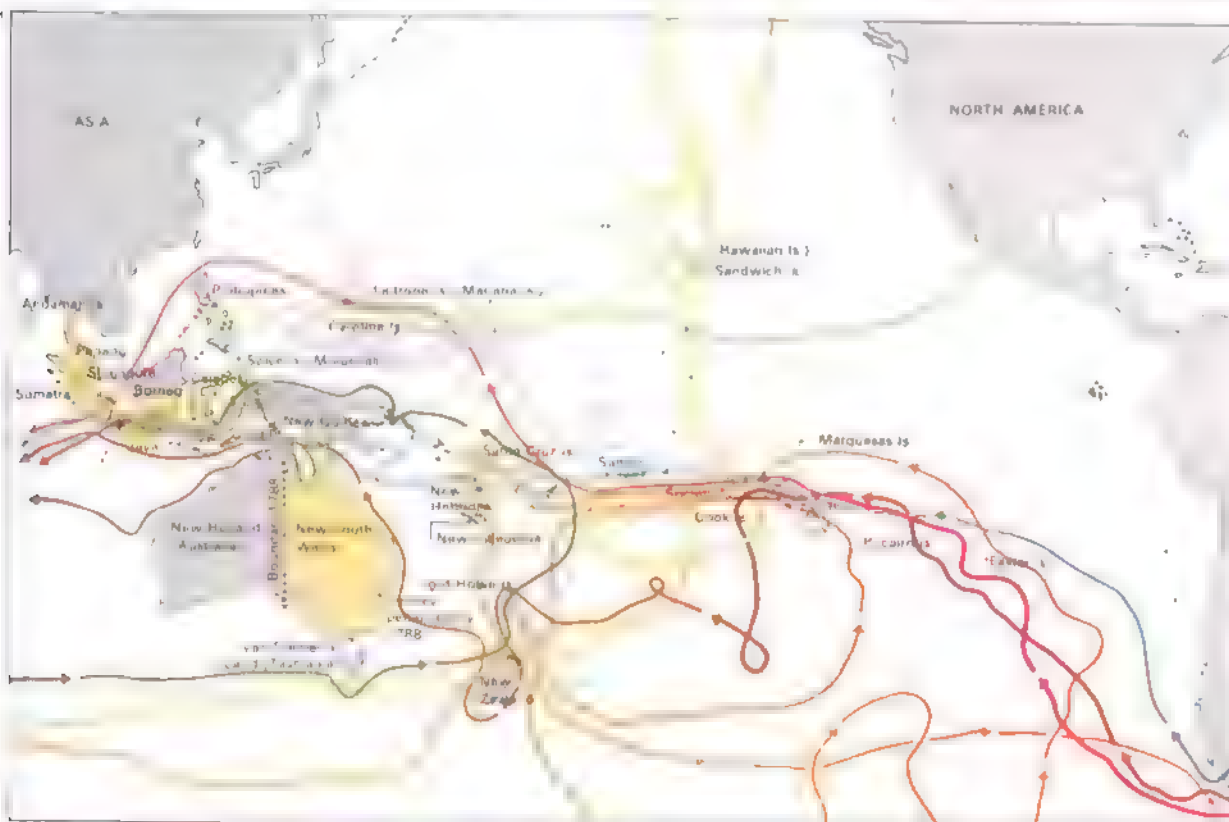
subcontinent of Australia in 1787, first as a penal settlement, later as rich sheep and cattle country. Population was concentrated in the east and south where Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide were founded. Sparse settlement spread out as explorers trekked across the vast deserts of the interior [6]. The principal victims of white expansion were the nomadic Aborigines, their Stone Age culture based entirely on hunting, their clubs, spears and boomerangs ineffectual against firearms. Introduced diseases had an even more devastating impact. Guns and epidemics wiped out the native population of Tasmania and sharply reduced that of the mainland. The Aborigines were to have no share in new Australian prosperity accelerated by later gold rushes [7].

New Guinea and New Zealand

Rumours of gold also drew prospectors to the great island of New Guinea in the mid nineteenth century. Mineral resources proved negligible but traders and speculators stripped coastal forests of timber. In the mountainous interior, inhabited by plumed

CONNECTIONS

See also
Australia and New



- 1 Legaspi 1564 5
- 2 Tasman 1642 4
- 3 Bougainville 1768 9
- 4 Cook 1769
- 5 Cook 1776 71
- 6 Cook 1772 6
- 7 Wallis 1770 9
- 8 British possessions 18th cent
- 9 Dutch possessions 18th cent
- 10 Spanish possessions 18th cent
- 11 Batavia headquarters of the Dutch East India Co

1 Imperial ambition, commercial rivalry and the search for a legendary southern continent motivated navigators of the great European maritime nations: Spain, Portugal, Holland, England and France. To explore the Pacific between the 16th and 18th centuries they included Legaspi, who conquered the Philippines, Tasman, the discoverer of Tasmania and New Zealand, Bougainville, the first Frenchman to sail round the world, Wallis, the English discoverer of Tahiti, and Cook, whose three voyages opened up most of the Pacific.



2 Governor General In 1686 the island was renamed Tasmania. He was deterred from landing in New Zealand by war like Maoris. After a covering Tonga and the Fiji Islands he returned to Batavia where he was rebuked for "having been negligent in investigating the situation, conformation and nature of the lands and peoples discovered". An equally frosty reception greeted his second voyage along the south coast of New Guinea and north Australia.

2 Abel Tasman 1603-1659 an employee of the Dutch East India Company, touched on the southern shore of an island he named Van Diemen's Land after the Indies.



3 William Dampier (1652-1715) formerly an English buccaneer, explored the coasts of Australia, New Guinea and New Britain vividly describing lands and people.

4 Louis de Bougainville (1729-1811) set out on a round the world voyage of discovery in November 1768 in the frigate *La Boudeuse*. He sailed through the Straits of Magellan to the Tuamotus and Tahiti, which he claimed for France, unaware that Samuel Wallis (1728-95), had found it ten months earlier. He sighted and named islands in the Samoa and New Hebrides groups and would have reached the unknown east coast of Australia had he not been diverted by the



Great Barrier Reef Despite starvation and scurvy he had lost only seven men by the time he returned home in 1769. He also founded a settlement in the Falkland Islands.

6 The voyages of Captain James Cook were supplemented by careful and perceptive accounts of lands he visited and by scientific observations of great practical value. During his first voyage in *Endeavour* in 1768-71 he circumnavigated the two main islands of New Zealand, charted and claimed the east coast of Australia and returned home through the Torres Strait. In the second voyage he took *Resolution* to the Antarctic and discovered or rediscovered many



Pacific islands. Finally, he visited Australia and New Zealand again in *Resolution* and discovered Hawaii where he was killed in 1779.

and painted head-hunters, civilizations made little impact even when Holland, Germany and Britain annexed the island in 1884-5.

In New Zealand the Maoris, more advanced socially and culturally, were treated with more respect by European settlers. Whalers [10] and sealers were initially welcomed by the local population although disease took a terrible toll. The early nineteenth-century arrival of traders and missionaries in the North Island was followed by British annexation with Maori agreement in 1840 and rapid settlement of both islands. But misunderstandings over tribal rights to sell land to the colonists led to disputes as the Maoris realized the threat to their lands. They resisted in a series of fierce wars, particularly in the 1860s [8] but were defeated, lost most of their land despite nominal consultation and thus faced the future with a great deal of misgiving.

The Maoris had left their original home lands in Polynesia several centuries earlier. Other peoples - Micronesians, Melanesians and Polynesians - still inhabited the island groups of Oceania that were sighted (and

often colonized) by Europeans between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries [3, 4]. Dried coconut (copra), used for animal feeding and later for the extraction of edible oil, was the staple export crop. A few islands were commercially more rewarding - notably British Fiji with its forests of sandalwood, French New Caledonia, where nickel was found, and Hawaii, where a combination of American missionary work and enlightened local rule led to independence as early as 1843, a prosperous economy based on sugar and pineapples thereafter developed.

Cultural impact

Elsewhere, repression, missionary conversion, disease and "blackbirding" - the forced transport of native labour to work in the sugar and cotton plantations of Fiji and Queensland - all helped to destroy local cultures and tribal structures as white civilization spread. Colonialism also put a stop to more savage rituals - cannibalism, head-hunting and blood feuds - with a promise of improved education and a share in economic wealth and political power.

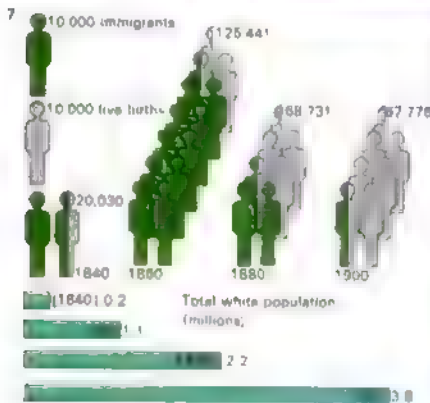
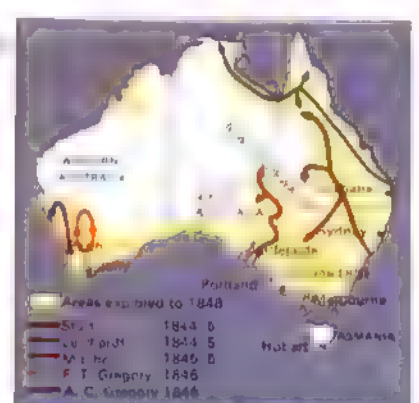
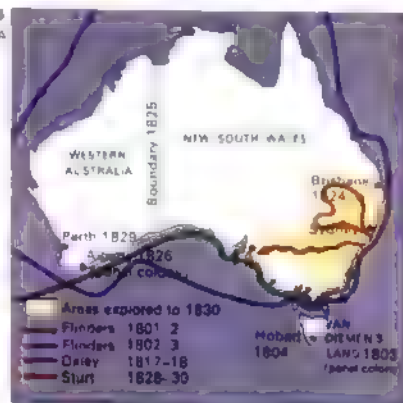


The Maoris of New Zealand, whose Polynesian ancestors paddled some 3 300 kilometres (2 000 miles) across the Pacific in about the 13th century, were

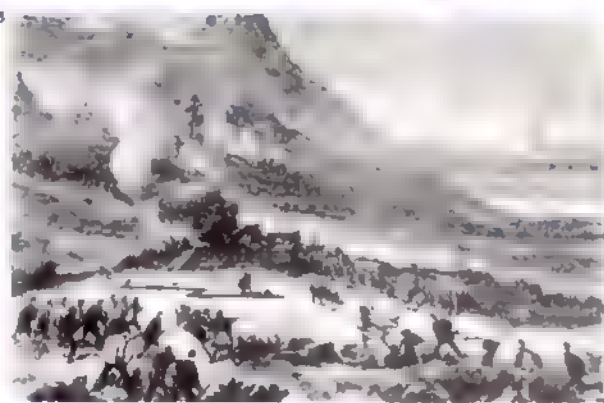
unrivalled crafts men of dugout canoes of which a model is shown here. Their war canoes, carrying up to 100 men, were elaborately carved by sculptors who

also taught their pupils the magical and religious ritual associated with the craft. Paddled at full speed they could overtake European sailing ships.

6 Explorers during the first half of the 19th century sailed round the uncharted coasts of Australia and probed the interior from settled areas in the southeast. They journeyed up the great rivers and across mountains and deserts in search of fertile land and an inland sea which they believed to exist. Later explorers, mostly from Europe, established that the heart of the Australian continent was barren.



7 Australia relied initially on immigration to build up its population. An assisted immigration scheme was introduced in 1829 and up to 1860 immigrants accounted for over three quarters of the population growth. The gold rushes of 1851-6 brought an even greater immigrant surge. Thereafter, the Australian birth-rate began to rise and overshadow a reduced flow of immigrants.



8 Maori gallantry against superior weaponry marked many battles during the 1860s when Crown attempts to satisfy the land hunger of New Zealand settlers without disrupting Maori tribal rights broke down in bitter disputes over land sales. Maori defiance found redoubts such as this one above the Katikara Stream near Mt Egmont. In 1863 the fort was battered by naval guns and 350 troops routed 600 Maoris.

9 The fortress port of Batavia was the trade centre of the Indies in the 17th century when Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91) painted "The Return Fleet of the East India Company on the Roads of Batavia". Dutch naval supremacy and commercial enterprise, backed when necessary by guns, led to the establishment of a colonial empire that lasted 300 years. Batavia eventually reverted to its former name of Jakarta as the capital of the independent nation of Indonesia.



10 Whalers, along with traders and blackbirders, brought guns and disease to many Pacific islands in the 19th century. The profitability of whaling meant that

fishing grounds were rapidly depleted although the industry survived for many years. This somewhat fanciful print entitled 'The North Cape New Zealand and

Sperm Whale Fishery' may exaggerate the density of the whale population but typifies the old style shore whaling practices which led to many coastal settlements.

Australia & New Zealand to 1918

Australia began as a penal colony for the overflow from British gaols, after the American War of Independence had closed off the main area for convict transportation. The First Fleet, under Captain Arthur Phillip (1738–1814) [1], arrived in Botany Bay on the eastern Australian coast on 18 January 1788, but the settlement soon shifted to a much better anchorage in nearby Port Jackson. There, at Sydney Cove, the colony of New South Wales was established on 26 January, which was subsequently commemorated as Australia Day.

The early colonies

Convicts provided the initial labour force for erecting a settlement and scratching a living from the poor soil in and around Sydney, but by 1815 a way had been found through the Blue Mountains to the fertile plains in the west. Free settlers, capital accumulated from shrewd trading or imported from England, illegal squatting on Crown lands, and merino sheep all contributed to a developing wool export industry. Wool and wheat exports paid for the necessary manufactured goods

and, with land sales, helped to subsidize the passage of new settlers.

New settlements were established partly to pre-empt the French, partly by adventurers without authority, at points along the coast, on Norfolk Island, and in Van Diemen's Land (renamed Tasmania in 1853). The vast distances involved required colonial administrations separate from Sydney. These were set up in Van Diemen's Land in 1825, Western Australia in 1829, South Australia in 1836, Victoria in 1851 and Queensland in 1859.

New Zealand lies 1,920 km (1,200 miles) southeast of Australia. Its fertile, well-watered land had been occupied by Maori Polynesian tribes for more than 400 years by the time the colony was established at Sydney. Sealers, whalers, freebooters and missionaries soon made their way across the Tasman Sea, establishing coastal trading settlements among a warlike people numbering perhaps 200,000. Apart from the inroads of European diseases, the sale of muskets had a devastating impact on the Maoris, intensifying fierce inter-tribal wars in the 1820s.

Britain annexed New Zealand in 1840 with the assent of most North Island chiefs at the Treaty of Waitangi [3] and made it a separate colony from New South Wales in 1841. Systematic settlement followed, inspired by the evangelical ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield [2]. Disputed land titles impeded initial development until Governor (later Sir) George Grey (1812–98) established order, although in the North Island the way was cleared for massive settler purchases only after Maori chiefs hostile to sales were crushed (1860–65). In the emptier South Island, pastoral settlement increased, boosted by a gold rush to Otago in 1861. Six provincial councils set up in 1852 gave way to centralized administration by a general assembly in Wellington, which replaced Auckland as the capital in 1865.

Expanding economies

In Australia, the discovery of gold [5], especially in Victoria in 1851, brought an influx of migrants, expanded domestic capital and investment, assisted social mobility and created problems of law and order [6]. It also

CONNECTIONS

See also

1800–1850
1850–1900
1900–1950
1950–2000
2000–present

The British colony of New South Wales

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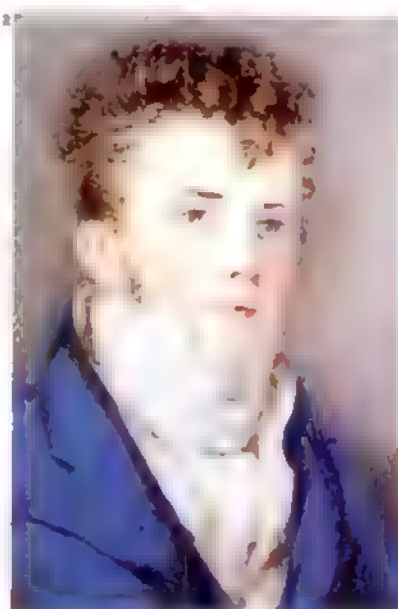
The British colony of New South Wales

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The British colony of New South Wales



1 Captain Arthur Phillip was the first governor of the colony of New South Wales (1788–92). He had to deal with the drags of humanity sent to him from overcrowded British prisons: long, uncertain supply lines, and sandy soil unsuitable for crops. With such unpromising material he managed to set the fledgling colony on its feet. In spite of his repeated appeals for free settlers, Britain still sent more convicts.



2 Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862) developed in England a theory of colonization that was subsequently applied, with varying success, in New South Wales and Port Phillip district (1832–42), South

Australia (after 1836) and New Zealand (after 1839). Crown lands were sold for agriculture to young people of good character representing a cross-section of British society, from the nobility to labourers.

3 The Treaty of Waitangi, concluded on 6 February 1840 between Captain William Hobson RN (1793–1842) and Maori chiefs of New Zealand's North Island, gave Britain formal possession of both

major and off shore islands, while recognizing Maori land rights. Britain had been reluctant to declare sovereignty but by 1838 accepted the need for orderly relationships between Maoris and settlers.



4 A proclamation to the Aboriginal Aborigines, dated 1816, asserted equal rights and punishments for black and white. But in general the

aboriginal population of Australia suffered from the advent of the Europeans. Not only did they suffer hitherto unknown diseases, but encroach-

ment of farming and mining on to their old hunting lands went unchecked. By 1900 Aborigine numbers had been dramatically reduced.



5 The discovery of gold in Australia in the 1850s brought a rush of immigrants, many of whom came from California after the end of its gold rush. And during the next 100 years Australia was one of the world's major gold producers. In the decade after the first important discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria in 1851, output, at nearly 25 million ounces, was 39% of the world total. Gold is found in all states, the largest producers being Victoria and Western Australia.

South Africa to 1910

Southern Africa is historically a convenient term for the countries lying south of Zaire and Tanzania, and it is not a separate entity from the rest of the African continent. Many of its peoples stem ultimately from Cameroon filtering through Angola and Zaire. There, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a number of kingdoms began to coalesce. And as populations increased and land grew scarcer, so a steady trickle of migrants set up new national groups from west to east right across Africa.

Early trade and commerce

In many areas the people mined copper and iron, and today Rhodesia and Transvaal are pitted with old workings. The Karanga Empire of the Monomotapa in present day Rhodesia was especially favoured, by the twelfth century that region had begun to export gold - chiefly to Arabia and India - in return for cloth, beads, pottery and porcelain [4]. Slavery existed among Africans as it did among other peoples, but there was no extensive trade until slaves began to be exported in numbers by the Portuguese from

Angola in the sixteenth century, despite frequent bans by the papacy. Although the Mani Kongo (King of Kongo) protested by about 1530 some four or five thousand slaves were being shipped annually.

The Portuguese had established a fort at Solala, Mozambique in 1505 to control their gold trade. In 1507 they built a hospital, church, factory, warehouse and fort on Mozambique Island to serve primarily as a stop-over station for ships and their crews in the way to India.

Europeans did not occupy the Cape until the Dutch took it in 1652 to serve as a provisioning station on the route to the East Indies. The British occupied the Cape on behalf of the exiled Prince of Orange from 1795 to prevent the Cape, like Holland, from falling into French hands. In 1802, the Cape was restored to The Netherlands under the Peace of Amiens. But the British returned in 1806, this time making their occupation effective.

It was at that time that Britons migrating to the Cape began an uneasy co-existence with the Afrikaners who had also

absorbed Huguenot refugees in 1688 and 1689. Reaction to British rule took shape in the Great Trek of 1835, with Boer republics being set up beyond the frontiers. In 1843 Natal was annexed by the British, and in 1852 the independent Transvaal was set up; this was followed in 1854 by the establishment of the Orange Free State.

European exploitation

The real turning-point was reached with the gold and diamond rushes of 1869, out of which Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) and his friends soon developed powerful controlling companies. De Beers and Consolidated Gold Fields. Rhodes was prime minister of Cape Colony 1890-96. Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877 and also fought a series of small wars with Bantu peoples, of which the Zulu War (1879) was the hardest [6]. The annexation of the Transvaal led to war with the Boers in 1881, following which Britain recognized the republic. Shortly after in 1883, Germany set up a post at Luderitz Bay, and in 1884 annexed the whole of South West Africa.

CONNECTIONS

See also

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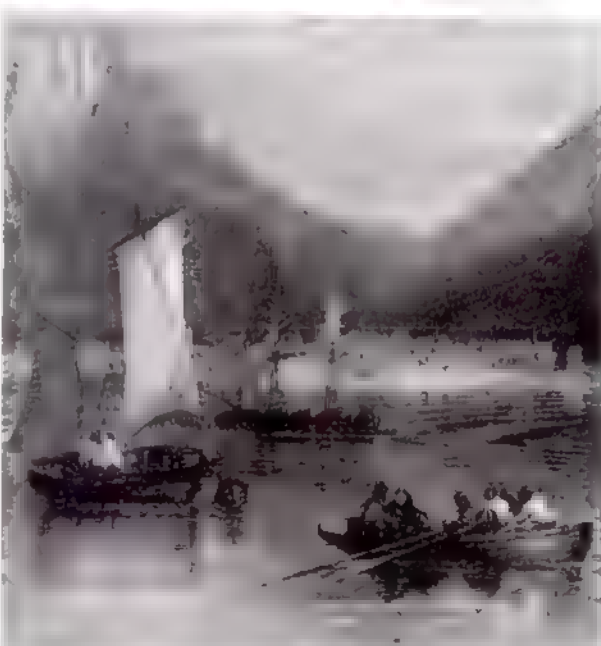
2 Jan Anthonisz van
Riebeeck (1619-77)

The first governor of the Cape landed in Table Bay with about 90 men on 7 April 1652. The first winter months were testing ones for the little band. Illnesses slowed about half the work force and there were many deaths. Also food was extremely scarce for some time. In spite of setbacks, the first permanent fort was soon planned and 100 men were engaged in its building. By 1662 when Van Riebeeck finally departed, the Cape had not only a fort but also a hospital, workshops, a mill, a granary, houses and fertile land under cultivation. Van Riebeeck and his companions are justly regarded as the founders of the Afrikaner nation.



3 The river systems in southern Africa played an important part in the movement of early migrants. As early as the 10th century, Swahili settlements already existed on the east coast. In the 14th century fresh waves of immigrants set up a series of kingdoms in the region of the present-day republics of the Congo and Zaïre and in northern Angola, which gradually extended from the west coast to the shores of the Indian Ocean.

4 Cape Town had a purely Dutch appearance until the mid 19th century. This picture dates from about 1855: the stucco-fronted brick houses were massively dominated by Table Mountain, 3.2km (2 miles) long and 1,070m (3,500ft) high.



The "scramble for Africa" was now at its height. There were minor British annexations in 1884. In 1885 Bechuanaland (now Botswana) was proclaimed a Crown colony, and part of Zululand was annexed in 1886. The Nyasaland Protectorate (now Malawi) was proclaimed in 1889, the flag was raised in what is now Rhodesia in 1890. Swaziland was annexed to Transvaal in 1893. Britain claimed Pondoland in 1894, and took over what was later Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia in 1895.

The Boer Wars and after

None of this took place without African resistance nor friction between Boer and Briton and war broke out in 1899. Fewer in numbers and less well-equipped, the Boers showed themselves masters of guerrilla warfare, and only by resorting to a scorched earth policy was Lord Kitchener (1850-1916) able to overcome them in 1901. The Peace of Vereeniging (31 May 1902) marked the end of the Boer Wars.

The Boers accepted British sovereignty and Britain promised them representative

government and £3 million for restocking their farms. In the meantime, the British took over the valuable resources in gold and diamonds. An enlightened policy aimed at the conciliation of the Boers led to self-government in Transvaal and the Orange River Colony in 1906.

On 31 May 1910 the Union of South Africa came into being as a federal state [9] and was given the status of a self-governing dominion on 1 July. The first parliamentary elections were won by the South African Party, and Louis Botha (1862-1919), a prominent Boer general, took office as the first prime minister.

Of the countries of southern Africa, the Union of South Africa stood alone with its wealth in gold and diamonds and in the wetter regions near the Cape a flourishing agriculture. By comparison, the Portuguese establishments in Angola and Mozambique were primitive and backward and the British establishments in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and in Malawi, together with Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland were at a pioneering stage.



The earliest inhabitants encountered by Europeans at the Cape were Khoisan.

Hottentot cattle herds men who moved in search of grazing to gather with groups of

San (Bushmen) hunters under their protection. Both adapted to African penitence.



5 Fort St Sebastian, on Mozambique is and was begun by the Portuguese in 1558 and completed by them after 1595. Beyond the ramparts is the Church of Our Lady of the Bu-wark, which was built about 1505.

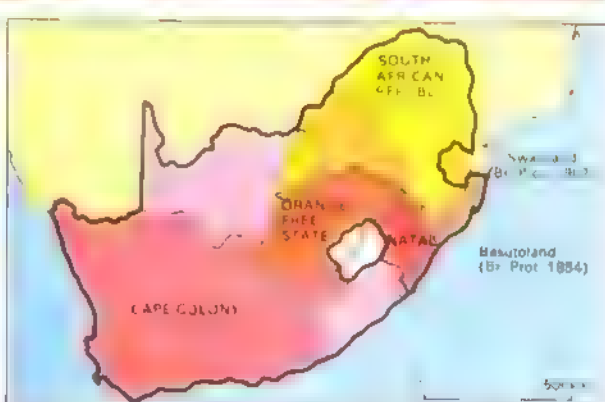
6 British forces were crushed at Isandlwana, Natal, during the Zulu War. In January 1879 a mixed British and African contingent was overwhelmed by 24,000 Zulus. Almost all the 800 Europeans were

killed. The next day about 4,000 Zulus attacked some 110 men of the 24th Regiment at nearby Rorke's Drift. The Zulus were heroically beaten off with 350 dead; the British lost only 17 men in the day's battle.



7 Johannesburg, by about 1900, was already a handsome city. First surveyed in 1886, the site was rocky, lacking in water and unhabited. But following the discovery of gold, it developed rapidly. By 1905 it had some 23,000 municipal voters.

8 Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (1825-1904) was elected President of the Transvaal in 1893 and served until 1900. He was a consistently uncompromising fighter for Boer independence and a lifelong and bitter opponent of the British.



9 The growth of South Africa can be traced on this map from its beginnings in Cape Colony under the Dutch East India Company to when it became the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910 — a country with a parliament subject only to Westminster.

The South African Republic of the Transvaal that had been set up after the Great Trek was ruled by a Boer patriarchy hostile to the British. Cecil Rhodes tried to merge the two into a more amicable regime by supporting the abortive Jameson raid of 1895.

Map of South Africa showing the growth of the country from its beginnings in Cape Colony under the Dutch East India Company to when it became the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910. The map is color-coded: Cape Colony (pink), Orange Free State (yellow), Natal (red), Transvaal (light blue), and Basutoland (dark blue). The map also shows the borders of the British Empire and the location of the Great Trek.

Imperialism in the 19th century

The nineteenth century saw a major expansion in European control and influence over the rest of the world. Earlier, important empires had existed in the ancient world and the Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese had established extensive trading empires in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the nineteenth century was the period of Europe's greatest overseas expansion when European influence was introduced for the first time to a wide variety of races and peoples [Key]. By 1914, more than 500 million people lived under imperial rule [1]

The rise of Britain

In the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the older empires of Spain, Portugal and Holland entered a decline. A series of revolts freed the Latin American republics from Spanish domination and virtually ended the economic importance of the Spanish Empire. After a sequence of wars in the eighteenth century, culminating in 1815 with the defeat of Napoleonic France, Britain emerged as the strongest maritime nation with substantial

colonies and many island possessions.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, colonial expansion was relatively limited; Britain concentrated on consolidating her hold upon the colonies she already possessed, partly by conceding self-government to the most developed and responsible, such as Canada, and also by military force [7], as in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–8. During this period Britain pursued a policy of "informal control", attempting to limit her commitments to those essential to the maintenance of trade, while avoiding large-scale involvements in governing new territories. Thus characteristic British acquisitions of the mid-nineteenth century were positions of strategic or commercial significance, such as trading rights in Singapore, purchased in 1819 from the sultan of Johore, and trade settlements on the African Gold Coast, bought from Denmark in 1850. The British attitude to India was somewhat anomalous. Although many Englishmen were prepared to contemplate the eventual secession of most of her white colonies, the prospect of

India's becoming independent was never actively supported. After the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, the maintenance of India as a vital part of Britain's overseas interests became the lynch-pin of imperial policy.

The scramble for Africa

By 1870, there were stirrings in several parts of the world that had remained beyond European influence. Africa was being opened by the journeys of the great missionaries and explorers. Technological developments in weaponry and transport and advances in tropical medicine made it easier to penetrate the "dark continent". Once explorers had charted the routes it was inevitable that further European involvement in Africa would follow. The "scramble for Africa" began when, mainly for strategic reasons of safeguarding the main route to India, Great Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 [6]. Within 20 years almost the whole continent had been divided up between the major powers. Economic incentives, strategic concerns, and diplomatic rivalry all played a part in the expansion of European influence. However,

CONNECTIONS

See also
The British Empire
the 19th century
China from 1683 to
c. 1800
European imperialism
in the 19th century
Latin American

Exploring
Nevada
and
Australia
The
expansion
of
the
British
Empire
in
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19th
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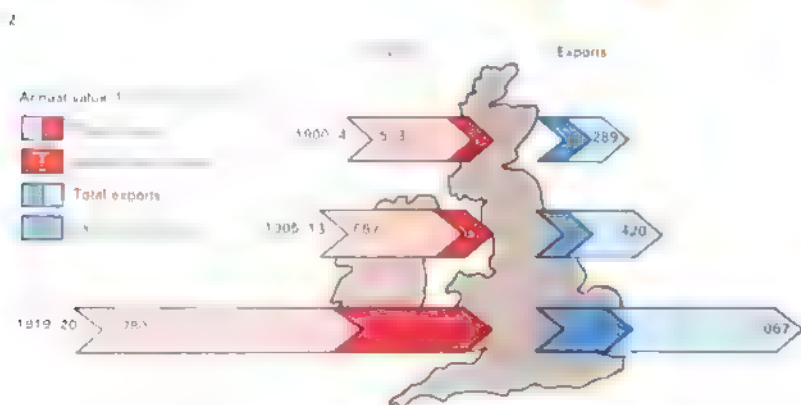
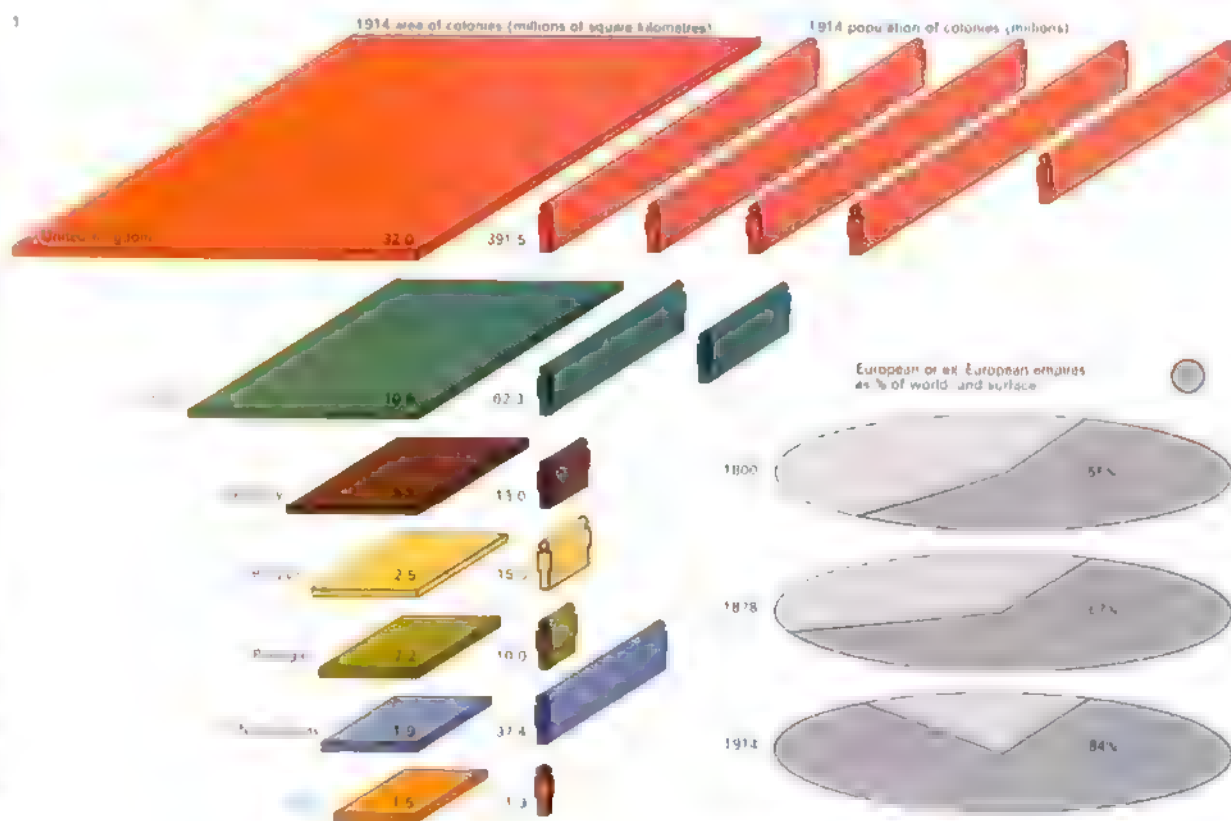
Africa in the 19th
century
Australia and New
Zealand 1818
South Africa to 1910
1818–1910

The impact of
China
Japan, the
New

The impact of
Europe 1818
The Commonwealth

1 The colonial empires of the European powers were rapidly extended between 1800 and 1914. The British Empire already with huge possessions expanded in Africa and South East Asia. France and Germany acquired big territories and Belgium, Italy, Portugal and The Netherlands also joined the scramble. Including the ex colonies in America European influence extended to 84 per cent of the world's land area by 1914.

2 As trading partners colonies were usually more important suppliers of raw materials and food than buyers of imperial goods. Some of the territories acquired after 1870 hardly repaid the cost of running them. But Britain's "white" colonies were significant investment outlets and trading partners particularly after 1900 when the volume of two-way imperial trade rose to more than one-third of Britain's total visible trade.



3 National rivalries for overseas territories, such as depicted in this cartoon of Britain, Germany, Russia, France and Japan dividing China, were often fanned by attitudes at home. In the 1870s the word "jingoism" was coined to describe a belligerent attitude fostered by the rise of mass-circulation papers. British disputes with Russia on the North West Frontier of India and with France over Sudan in 1898 led to popular support for war, although ultimately it was averted.



the degree to which economic motivation accounts for the rapid expansion of the European empires between 1870 and 1914 has often been overstated. In contrast to the earlier phase of European colonialism, trade [2] now tended to follow the flag rather than act as a direct cause of territorial annexation.

Strategic and political considerations

In 1865, a British Parliamentary Committee was prepared to concede influence in the economically important area of West Africa in favour of strategic benefits in the economically poorer East Africa, with its ports on the Indian Ocean. In France, colonial development was largely a preoccupation of the government, a minority of businessmen, the military, and exploration groups, with little active support from the electorate. Similarly in Germany, Bismarck pursued a colonial policy for diplomatic and internal political reasons. As a result, the new territories acquired after 1870 tended to take only a limited part of the export of European capital [4] and population, and provided a relatively small volume of trade, supplying mainly trop-

ical products such as rubber, cocoa and hardwoods.

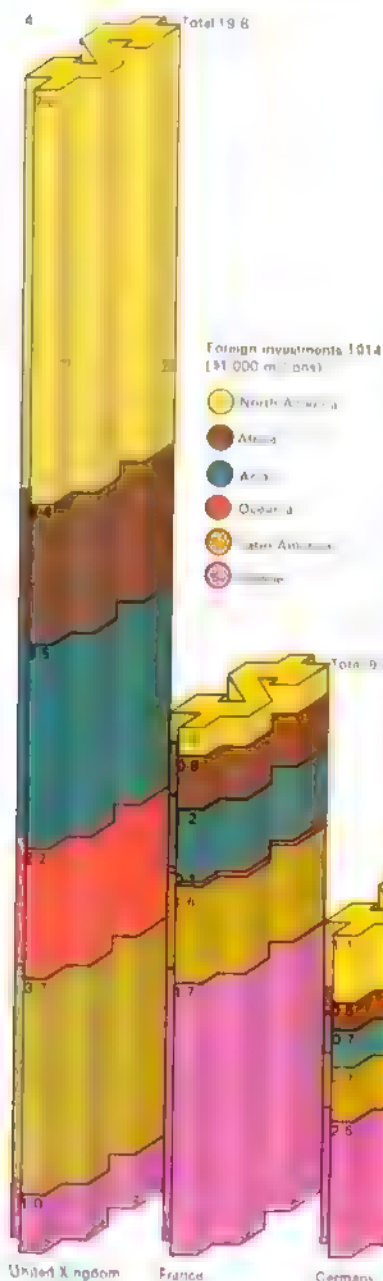
Although the new imperialism was motivated primarily by political and strategic imperatives, it was fostered by a climate of approval for the "civilizing mission" of the European races. The benefits of trade, Christianity and European rule were considered obvious by many educated people in the imperial nations, providing powerful self-justification for the extension of colonial rule over "primitive" peoples. By the late nineteenth century, the glamour of imperial adventure [5] was taken up by the emerging mass-circulation press to foster "jingoism" and bring pressure to bear on politicians to support aggressive imperialism [3]. But until 1914, in spite of periods of acute tension and rivalry, the partition of Africa and expansion elsewhere was conducted without a major conflict between the European powers. A series of agreements and treaties defined areas of control and spheres of influence, leaving Great Britain with the largest overseas empire, followed in size by those of France and Germany.



European supremacy overseas was symbolized by Queen Vic-

toria when she became Empress of India. The greatest imperial

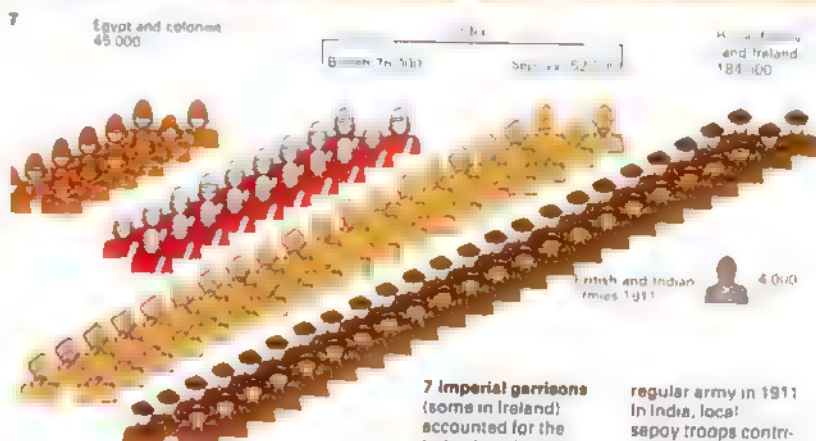
expansion of the 19th century, however, took place in Africa.



4 The growth of European investment overseas was a major aspect of imperialism after 1870. The most important exporters of capital were Britain, France and Germany. By 1914 they had invested over US \$30,000 million dollars in foreign and colonial loans throughout the world. Although some commentators, such as Lenin, saw the search for markets and investment areas as a primary motive for imperial expansion, relatively little European capital went to territories acquired in the period of greatest expansion between 1870 and 1914. France and Germany invested most of their capital outside their colonies, especially in eastern Europe. Half of Britain's overseas capital went to the empire, but it was invested mainly in the "old" empire of the white colonies and India, where it brought in a large revenue which helped pay for Britain's imports of raw materials and food.



5 The Suez Canal provided Britain with a reason to add Egypt to its empire in 1882. Constructed by a Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the canal was opened in 1869, making a short route from Europe to India. Britain acquired the canal shares in 1875, following the bankruptcy of the Egyptian khedive. A nationalist revolt prompted Britain to intervene and take Egypt under effective control to safeguard the canal.



The British Empire in the 19th century

In 1815 Britain was the world's greatest colonial power. Although it had lost the American colonies in the 1700s, it had asserted its claims elsewhere: in British North America, in India, in Southern Africa and in the valuable sugar islands of the Caribbean. Outposts had also been established in Australasia, the New South Wales penal colony began in 1788 and missionaries made contact with New Zealand Maoris in 1814.

The imperial debate

However interested missionaries and merchant traders were in the Empire, government circles and the population as a whole were doubtful of its value. The loss of the American colonies in 1776 and the successful rebellions of Spain's Latin American colonies in the 1820s suggested the notion that as colonies ripened to maturity they fell naturally from the mother tree.

The spectacular growth of trade between the United States and Britain after 1783 demonstrated that trade did not have to follow the flag. From 1815 until the 1870s, it was orthodox opinion that Whitehall should

not impede the gradual devolution of the empire, and only in the last decades of the nineteenth century did Britain once more become a self-consciously imperialist power.

Lord Durham's epoch-making report of 1839, advocating a measure of self-government for Canada [2], set the tone of the early Victorian colonial debate. That debate was conducted not between imperialists and anti-imperialists, but between those who argued for an active policy of dismemberment and those who preferred to leave matters to the course of time. Even Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), who in the 1870s was to sound the note of the new imperialism, in 1849 described the colonies as a millstone around the mother country's neck.

Between 1815 and 1870 only one sixth of the £1,000 million in credit accumulated abroad was in the colonies. The cost of their defence lay heavily on the Exchequer, and the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and of slavery in 1833 ended the triangular trade between Britain, Africa and the New World which had proved so lucrative in the eighteenth century. After the repeal of the Corn

Laws in 1846, therefore, and the decline of protectionism, the old mercantilist system was dismantled.

In other ways, too, colonial ties were weakened. In 1852 New Zealand was granted a self-governing constitution and the Church establishment there was abolished. In Canada, a year later, the lands set aside for the support of the Church were given over to the disposal of the colonial assembly. In 1867 the four provinces of British North America became the united, self-governing confederation of Canada. In South Africa, responsible government was granted to Cape Colony in 1872 and to Natal in 1893.

India and the new colonies

The exception to this process of relaxation was India. After the Mutiny of 1857, the East India Company lost its share in the government of India, which was placed directly under the Crown department, the Board of Control. Indeed, there was everywhere a sharp distinction drawn between the white settlement colonies, extensions of British stock [3], and the coloured colonies, acquired

CONNECTIONS

See also

1815, 1846, 1852, 1857, 1867, 1872, 1893, 1898, 1901, 1904, 1907, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 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by conquest and attracting few permanent emigrants [6]

There was also a distinction between the "formal" empire built up in the eighteenth century and the "informal" empire of the nineteenth century. Missionaries, traders and explorers went into Asia and Africa [Key] and governments were drawn, usually reluctantly, to follow them. The necessity of protecting British commercial interests lay behind the acquisition of Egypt, British New Guinea and North Borneo in the 1880s.

By the 1880s the private companies that carried British influence into the tropical zone had a semi-official sanction. Imperial administration then followed in the wake of commercial penetration. It was the financial empires of men such as Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) [4] that drew Britain deeper into the whirlpool of southern Africa. The area west of the Transvaal became British in 1885, and the territories that became Southern and Northern Rhodesia were taken over. Kenya and Uganda became British protectorates in the 1890s.

Much of the impetus for this new era of

expansion derived from the threat posed to Britain's former trading supremacy by the industrial competition from Germany, France, Belgium and America. Moreover, surplus industrial capital brought a quicker return in Africa than in Britain.

Consolidation and evolution

The imperial revival, sounded by Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) [5] and cloaked in the language of civilizing mission, was not an issue that sharply divided the political parties. Voices were raised to argue that the trend of self-government in the white settlement colonies should be halted and the old empire consolidated as a bulwark against foreign competition. Proposals for a permanent imperial council and a revived scheme of colonial preferential tariffs came to nought. Six colonial conferences held between 1887 and 1911 marked the beginning of the general evolution of the Empire [8] into a commonwealth of self-governing states. The value of the conferences was shown by the speed with which the Dominions entered the war on behalf of the Empire in 1914.



The Empire-building of the 19th century was the product of a complex mixture of motives. It was often the work of private individuals: traders, business investors and missionaries, such

as this one in Africa who induced political control to follow in the wake of quarrels between missionaries who tended to defend native interests, the less selfless traders and the local populace.

drew the government into official supervision of places such as Guinea and Bechuanaland which they would rather have left alone. Imperial ideas at home were very different from those of the overseas.



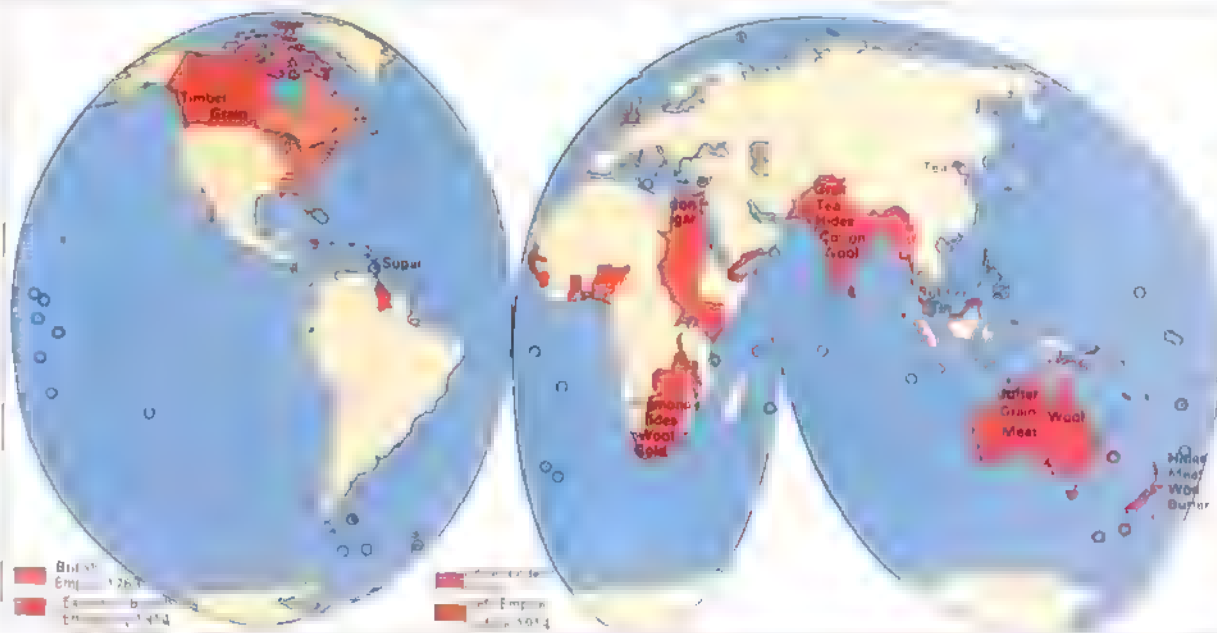
5 The British Empire at its greatest extent in 1914 was the largest empire in the history of the world. Although many of the smaller colonies were of little financial benefit to Britain, the larger colonies, especially the "white" ones, were important sources of cheap raw materials for the mother country. There were therefore many vital sea routes to be protected, many of the small islands and African coastal territories acquired in the course of the century had this strategic importance. The most important of these routes was the Suez route to India, which became central to British imperial strategies after Disraeli bought a controlling interest in the Canal for the country in 1875.



6 Malay House. photographed in the 1880s, gave governors a residence in the native style. British interest in Malaya began with the East India Company's acquisition of Penang Island in 1786 in

search of goods to trade with China. In 1819 Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781 - 1826) set up a settlement in Singapore. This finally came under the official control of the Colonial Office in 1867.

7 The white colonies
assisted Britain in
the South African
(Boer) War of 1899
1902 Australia be-
came federated and
self governing in 1901
Its states are shown
here in cubes support-
ing the British lion



The story of the West Indies

During the four voyages of Christopher Columbus (c. 1481-1506) to the Caribbean (1492-1504) Spain asserted its sole right to colonize the region. At first this monopoly sanctioned by the pope, went unchallenged. Spain settled Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic). By the 1530s, French, Dutch and English seamen questioned the notion of the Caribbean as a Spanish domain. They began to trade illegally and attacked Spanish shipping and settlements.

Piracy and colonization

Prominent among the English interlopers were Sir John Hawkins (1532-95), who made three West Indian voyages (1562-8) with African slaves to begin England's involvement in the slave trade, and Sir Francis Drake (c. 1540-96), the most successful ruler of all, who sacked Nombre de Dios in Panama (1572) and Santo Domingo in Hispaniola (1585). No attack, however annoying, seriously threatened to undermine Spanish hegemony, but they left a legacy of piracy and buccaneering [2].

Early seventeenth-century treaties with a war-weary Spain gave her confident rivals, so they believed, the right to colonize unoccupied islands without fear of molestation by Spain. These islands were in the eastern Caribbean and their fierce Carib inhabitants did not deter the new colonizers. The English settled in St Kitts in 1624 (sharing it with the French until 1713), Barbados (1627), Nevis (1628), Antigua and Montserrat (1632). The French took Martinique and Guadeloupe (1635), the Dutch, Danes and Brandenburgians settled elsewhere.

These islands had to provide tropical produce for the mother country, a duty they kept until independence. Originally they grew tobacco, cotton and indigo on small holdings worked by a farmer with a few white indentured servants, often Irishmen. But society changed drastically when Dutch entrepreneurs introduced the colonists to Brazilian techniques of large-scale sugar production using slave labour. By the 1660s lucrative plantation slavery [3] was ousting the small farmer and his indentured servants many of whom emigrated to North

America; the West Indian population became predominantly African and the islands were bound to the fortunes of a single crop.

European exploitation

England's capture of Jamaica (1655) [1] attracted capital and planters to this largest British possession in the West Indies. At the same time the French were infiltrating western Hispaniola. Their new colony, St Dominique, became the world's largest sugar producer until its downfall in the Haitian revolution (1791-1803). These sugar colonies became the most prized imperial possessions in the eighteenth century. The remaining Windward Islands were settled in that period: Dominica, Grenada and St Vincent by Britain, St Lucia by France. By 1815 Britain had gained St Lucia, Spanish Trinidad and the mainland Dutch colonies of Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo - the last-named becoming British Guiana (now Guyana) in 1831.

Plantation life was remarkably similar in all sugar colonies. A planter or his deputy supported by a few white or black overseers

CONNECTIONS

See also

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3 The plantation or great house where the proprietor or his deputy, the attorney, lived was usually the only substantial building on an estate, apart from the mill. The plantation houses

that were built in the 18th century at the height of West Indian prosperity were often elegant mansions, noted for their ostentatious and flamboyant hospitality. They were staffed by

numerous house slaves. At a discreet distance from the planter's mansion and hidden from view were the crude huts and barracks that the field slaves retired to at the end of a gruelling day's toil.

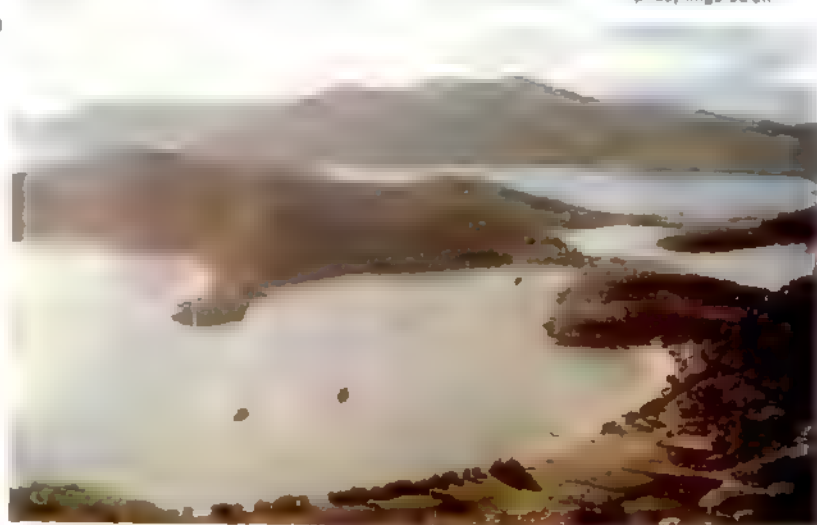
1 The British captured Jamaica with ease in 1655. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) had begun a policy of open aggression against Spanish possessions in the Caribbean for the first time since Drake. He first sent a force to attack Santo Domingo, capital of Hispaniola, but the expedition became a fiasco and ended in defeat. To avenge their crushing defeat the commanders decided to attack Jamaica, the most weakly garrisoned Spanish island. A week after they landed a capitulation was signed. The Spanish troops retreated to the mountains and in alliance with the Maroons, bands of escaped slaves, kept up guerrilla warfare against the English until 1660.



2 Pirates and buccaneers terrorized Caribbean shipping in the 17th century. Pirates preyed on any ship but buccaneers usually attacked only Spanish vessels. The buccaneers waged unofficial war even

in peacetime as well as enriching themselves for England and France and The Netherlands who supplied their manpower. Henry Morgan (c. 1635-88) one of the most notorious British buccaneers, looted and burnt

Spanish-controlled Panama City in 1671. Three years later he was made Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica. Around the year 1700 policies changed: the buccaneers were suppressed although piracy lingered on.



4 The English Harbour, Antigua, was the largest of the two English naval bases in the West Indies in the 18th century.

With Port Royal, Jamaica, it provided an important base for repairs and taking on fresh supplies that the French fleet lacked.

This proved a serious handicap in the many wars that England and France fought over the sugar islands and trade in the 18th

century. Many islands changed hands several times and nearly all of them were attacked by raiding forces in the bitter fighting.

ruled despotically over an enslaved work force. There were field slaves, house slaves and craftsmen. Some arrived directly from Africa but an increasing proportion were 'Creoles', born in the Caribbean. Uneasily in the middle were mulattos (the offspring of one white parent and one black).

Periods of adjustment

Humanitarian pressure [5] by reformers such as William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and, perhaps, more profitable opportunities elsewhere for British capital led to the ending of the British slave trade in 1807 and of slavery itself in 1833. There was stiff opposition from planters, who already faced competition from Brazil and Cuba and a new and efficient rival, European beet sugar. The planters sought a new source of labour [6] and finally found it in India. Between 1845 and 1917 380 000 East Indians as they are called, went as indentured labour to British Guiana and Trinidad. By 1970 they accounted for 51 per cent of the Guyanese population and 48 per cent of Trinidad's.

In the late nineteenth century, popula-

tion pressure mounted as public health measures improved. West Indians began to emigrate. They went to Panama to build the canal and railways, to the plantations of Central America and Cuba, to the oilfields of Venezuela and to the USA.

Persistent poverty in the 1930s, made worse by world depression, led to rioting throughout the British West Indies and stimulated nationalist movements [9]. After World War II and the granting of universal suffrage the territories moved towards independence. A short-lived federation (1958-62) broke up through internal rivalries and countries became independent on their own: Jamaica and Trinidad (1962), Barbados and Guyana (1966), and Grenada (1974). The rest are self-governing with some powers still reserved to Britain.

Meanwhile the former British colonies, now members of the Commonwealth, have been re-defining their political positions. The sugar-producing nations were members of a cartel formed to guarantee crop prices. Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana are also members of the non-aligned nations.

KEY



Sugar production is both an agriculture and an industrial process. Because of its huge scale, the sugar cane must be harvested rapidly.

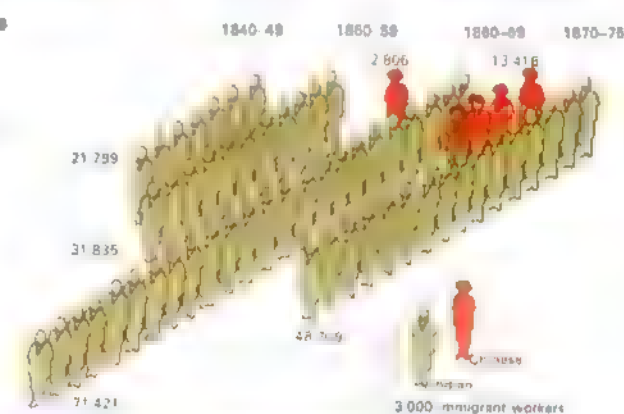
Sugar cane must be processed without delay. A sugar mill is usually located on the estate or near by. The molasses is

separated and used in the manufacture of rum. Today, as in the past, molasses is the major crop in the Caribbean.



5 The Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1823, brought order and discipline to the efforts of religious sects and humanitarian reformers, who led the early campaign against slavery. The society was one of the first pressure groups to be formed and more than 200 branches were set up. The society produced a lively magazine and organized lecture tours by fiery campaigners and returned missionaries kept enthusiasm alight.

7 About 115,000 West Indians arrived in Britain in the 1950s. After World War II the West Indies had too few jobs for its expanding population. It became increasingly difficult to migrate as earlier generations had done to foreign Caribbean islands or the United States because of new restrictions there. But from the mid-1960s West Indian immigration was reduced by restrictions introduced by the British government.



8 Immigrants came from a variety of places to take up jobs in the West Indies after the abolition of slavery led to a shortage of labour. East Indians were the most numerous, but there

were also Africans liberated by the Royal Navy from ships smuggling slaves to Cuba and Brazil. Portuguese from Madeira, Chinese and freed blacks from the United States and West Indians from

overcrowded Barbados and the small islands. The Chinese and Madeirans soon moved from the estates mostly into commerce while the Africans merged with the Creole population after about a generation.



9 Tourism was seen by West Indian economists and politicians as a way of providing jobs and foreign exchange in the 1950s and 1960s. Their task seemed easier when the Cuban revolution of 1959 barred Havana, the traditional Caribbean playground to North Americans. Since then, beach hotels, usually owned by foreigners, have sprung up all over the islands and families have been extended to cater for package holiday tourists. As a result, the islands have become a major source of foreign exchange for the West Indies.



9 Norman Manley, (1891-1969) typified a generation of nationalists who helped their countries to gain independence. Like Eric Williams (1911-) of Trinidad and Forbes Burnham (1923-) of Guyana, he was educated at an English university. He returned as a barrister to Jamaica where the unrest of the 1930s encouraged him to enter politics. In 1938 he formed the People's National Party, based on Fabian Socialism, while a co-founder. Burnham founded the Jamaican Labour Party. Since then these parties have been the main forces in Jamaican politics. Manley's son Michael (1923-) followed him into politics and became Prime Minister of Jamaica in 1972.

The story of Canada

Indians and Eskimos inhabited Canada for thousands of years before the first Europeans set foot on its soil. The Indians, migrant from Asia perhaps 20,000 years ago, hunted and fished the vastness of the continent. In the Arctic region the life of the Eskimos, a branch of the same stock, revolved around seals, from which they obtain food, clothing, light and heat. These were the first human inhabitants, and the name of Canada itself comes from the Huron-Iroquois word *Kanata* which Jacques Cartier (1492-1557) noted during his explorations of 1534-5 [1]

The French influence

About AD 1000 the Vikings became the first Europeans to land in Canada. Little is known about these forays and some 500 years elapsed before details of frequent European contact began to be recorded. In 1497 John Cabot (c. 1450-c. 1500) under English patronage explored Newfoundland's coastline. He was followed by Cartier who explored the mouth of the St Lawrence River in 1534 and set up the first French settlements, but it was not until after 1600 that permanent bases

were established. Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635) founded a base at Port Royal (present-day Annapolis, Nova Scotia) in 1605 and built a fort at Quebec three years later, thus laying the foundations for French settlement of what was known as New France. The new colony, however, was troubled by Indians and British settlers.

The rivalry between Britain and France in Europe and the Caribbean was also evident in North America, where both had colonies and trading posts [2]. The contest came to a head during the Seven Years War (1756-63). The British wrested Quebec [3] and then Montreal from the French whose position in the continent rapidly worsened. The Peace of Paris (1763) ratified the cession of all France's North American possessions east of the Mississippi, except for Louisiana.

Although the former French colonies now became British possessions, the French-speaking people of Quebec were allowed to keep their Roman Catholic religion and French civil law. British loyalists had flooded northwards during the American Revolution (1776-83) and in an attempt to avoid further

friction between the two communities the British in 1791 created Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) and Lower Canada (present-day Quebec). Upper Canada was predominantly British, Lower Canada predominantly French.

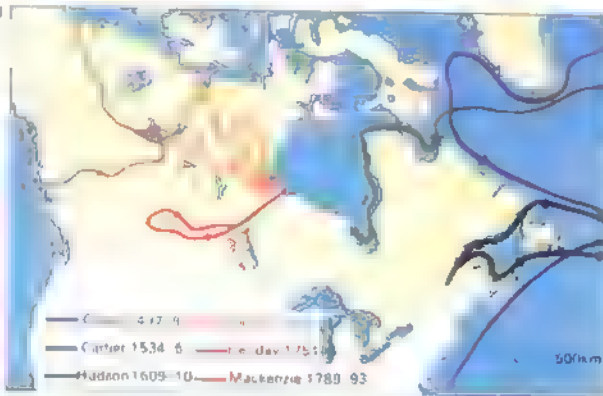
The road to federation

Politically Canada resulted from a shotgun marriage of English-speaking and French-speaking settlers, but the English were more numerous and had the ear of the British governors. Furthermore, the nineteenth century saw a great influx of immigrants, most of whom came from Britain and the United States, few came from France.

Uprisings in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837 reflected social tension and growing frustration at the restrictions imposed by a system of government with officials appointed for life. Chosen to investigate, Lord Durham (1792-1840) recommended the granting of self-government in local matters and that Upper and Lower Canada be reunited, a union effected in 1840. Eventually, in 1867 the British North American Act

CONNECTIONS

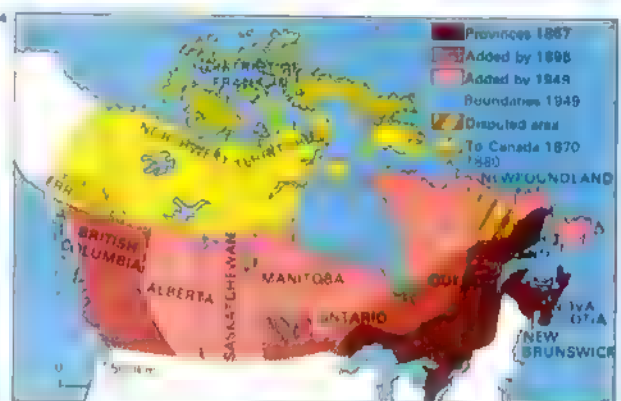
1 Recorded European exploration of Canada began with Cabot exploring the eastern coast and Cartier the St Lawrence River. Henry Hudson (d. 1611) in 1610 entered the great bay that bears his name. Samuel Hearne (1745-92) was the first white man to go over land from Hudson Bay to the Arctic Ocean. Anthony Henday reached the Rocky Mountains and Alexander Mackenzie (1755-1820) crossed to the Pacific coast in 1793.



2 Hudson Bay was the first site of the company that dominated the early economy of Canada. Founded in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company had a charter from King Charles II (r. 1660-85) to seek a northwest passage to Asia, occupy land around the bay and trade with Indians. The company made huge profits in furs and also served as an outpost of the British Empire, extending its sway throughout the Canadian northwest.



4 Canada came into being in 1867 with the union of Upper Canada (Ontario), Lower Canada (Quebec), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The western lands, bought from the Hudson's Bay Company, were organized as the North West Territory and governed from Ottawa. Saskatchewan and Alberta were later created out of it. Newfoundland was more attached to Britain than to Canada and stayed separate until 1949.



3 The capture of Quebec in 1759 by Major-General James Wolfe (1727-59) led to the defeat of France and bolstered the British position in North America. Wolfe was only 32 when given command of an expedition to attack Quebec from

the St Lawrence and gain it for Britain. He laid siege to the town in June but an assault in July failed. Yet on the night of September 12, British boats eluded the notice of the French sentries and more than 4,000 of Wolfe's men were

able to scale the bluff overlooking the river to meet the French in battle next day on the Plains of Abraham. The contest was short and savage and both Wolfe and the French commander General Louis Montcalm (1712-59), were mortally wounded.



5 John A. Macdonald (1815-91) first prime minister of federal Canada is regarded as its architect. Born in Scotland, he combined a strong sense of nationhood with political opportunism. He survived a major scandal over receiving campaign funds from a railway contractor to win the 1878 election. He campaigned for a "national policy" of protection for industry by imposing high tariffs, a transcontinental railway and systematic development of the Canadian west.

set up a federal structure for the new nation [4] that was to enjoy a large measure of self-government and dominion status

The growth of nationhood

In the twentieth century Canada has come to take an independent stance in international affairs. Recurrent fears of annexation by the United States had been an early spur to the evolution of a distinctive identity. The policies of such prime ministers as Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919), Robert L. Borden (1854-1937), William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950), Louis St Laurent (1882-1973) and Lester Pearson (1897-1972) were in sympathy with this development.

Canada was the first of the British colonies to assert its claim to full independence this century. In 1919 Canadians were forbidden to accept British titles; in the 1920s Canada opened its first diplomatic post abroad; when asked by Britain to send troops to Chanak in 1922, Mackenzie King refused to do so without first consulting parliament. Canada delayed its entry into World War II to stress the independent nature of the de-

cision, and appeals to the Privy Council in Britain were brought to an end in the 1940s.

There has been a positive dimension to Canada's participation in world affairs. Canada was a founder member of the United Nations (1945) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949), and Prime Minister Pearson inspired the idea of a UN peacekeeping force in Suez in the mid 1950s. Canada established diplomatic links with communist China in 1971, before most nations, and in July 1976 became the wealthiest non-member country to sign a trade agreement with the European Economic Community.

Domestically Indian agitation since 1945 for social and political recognition has led to a number of much-needed reforms including granting the vote to all Indians in 1960. In 1976 the victory of the Parti Québécois in Quebec's provincial elections brought to power a party with an avowedly separatist leadership. The possibility that Quebec may yet secede presents the most significant constitutional challenge to the federation since it was formed a century ago.

KEY



Pierre Trudeau (1918-) (right) addressed Congress during his visit to the United States in February 1977. It was an historic occasion never before had a Canadian Prime Minister been invited to speak before both

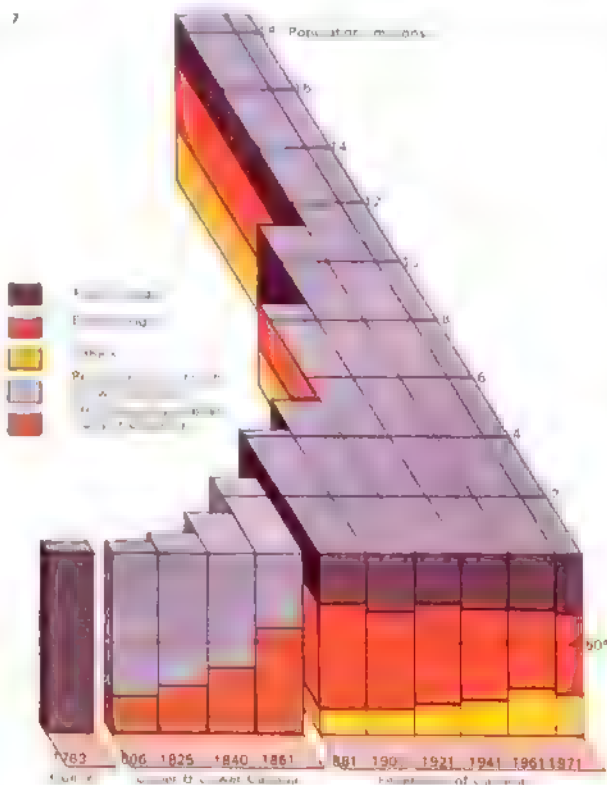
houses of Congress in assembly. Trudeau was able to assure his audience that he was implacably opposed to Quebec's secession, and that as long as the Canadian people desired it, the unity of the confederation would

remain unimpaired. Trudeau's trip took place just one month after the inauguration of US President Jimmy Carter (1924-) (left) and the leaders discussed Canadian American matters and broader world issues.

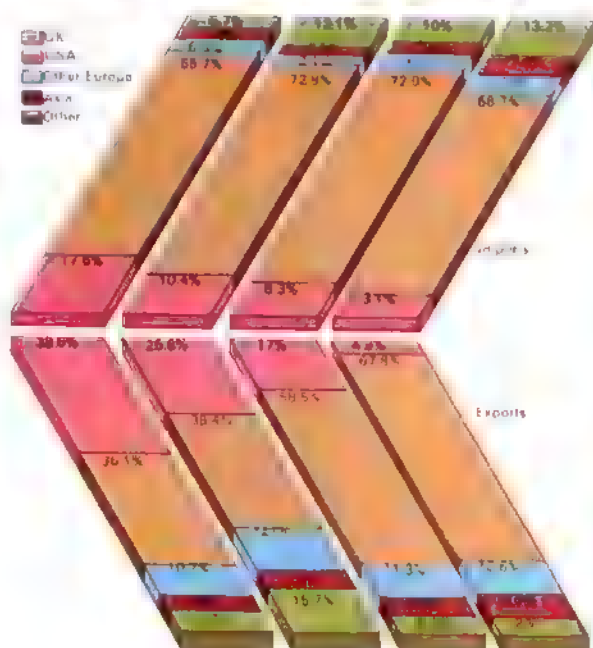


6 The Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1885, linked Montreal and Vancouver, quickened settlement and development in the west and helped to instil a spirit of national unity. A stupendous feat by any standards, the line was built by a private firm aided by bank loans and government land grants.

7 Fewer than 500,000 people lived in the British North American colonies in 1815, yet by 1850 the population, boosted by immigrants, topped 2 million. By 1901 it was 5 million. By 1971 it had reached 21.5 million, of which 18.2 million were Canadian born, including 270,000 Indians, 17,500 Eskimos. Those born in Britain numbered 933,000.



8 Canada was the sixth largest trading nation in the world in 1971 but her pattern of trade has changed dramatically during the century. In 1800 more than 50 per cent of exports went to Britain and only 38 per cent to the United States. By the mid 1970s 70 per cent went to the United States and 7 per cent to Britain. Japan and other EEC countries took as much as Britain. The United States supplies 70 per cent of Canada's imports; no other nation provides more than 5 per cent. The largest export earners for Canada are newsprint, wheat, lumber, wood pulp, nickel, aluminium, petroleum, iron ore and copper. Major import items include machinery, car parts, electrical goods, cars and tractors.



9



9 A major diplomatic crisis developed when President De Gaulle, 1890-1970, of France raised the issue of separatism with Canada in 1967. On a visit to Montreal he addressed a crowd with the slogan "Vive le Québec libre". This delighted supporters of the separatist parties but the government and many more Canadians were simply affronted. In this satirical view of the separation issue, the Parti Québécois leader, René Lévesque, is depicted as cutting through Canada.

The expansion of Christianity

The spread of Christianity across the world has taken place in stages. The first saw the new religion spread from its birthplace in Palestine into the wider Roman world during the first few centuries of its existence. The second was the early medieval period when the faith survived the tumuli of the Dark Ages and most of Europe became Christian. The third stage began in the fifteenth century when European civilization and Christianity turned to the oceans and the lands beyond Islam in the Near East.

The instrument of conquest

The founding of the Portuguese and Spanish empires in the Americas in the fifteenth century, and along the coastline of Africa, the Indies and the Pacific, gave an immense impetus to the advance of Roman Catholicism. The world was divided by a papal bull in 1493 into spheres of influence for the Catholic crowns of Portugal and Spain and the Church itself became an instrument of conquest and colonization.

In some instances whole populations in the newly discovered lands were forcibly con-

verted and there were other abuses of colonial power. Often the Catholic missions were outspoken critics of these abuses, none more so than the Protector General of the Spanish Caribbean, Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566). Catholic advances were not, however, confined to territories formally ruled by Spanish or Portuguese governors.

The foremost Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier (1506-52), was Papal Nuncio over the Portuguese Indian settlements. He went on to found a mission in Japan and died near Macao, in China. Another Jesuit, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), was responsible for bringing Catholicism to China, where for a time it enjoyed the protection of the emperors and made many converts. Only in the eighteenth century did squabbles within the Church bring it into disrepute, so that Catholicism was repressed and by the end of the century the numbers of Catholics in China had become much reduced.

The success of the mission to Japan was less impressive. For 30 years from 1587 the Church was severely persecuted and few Christians survived.

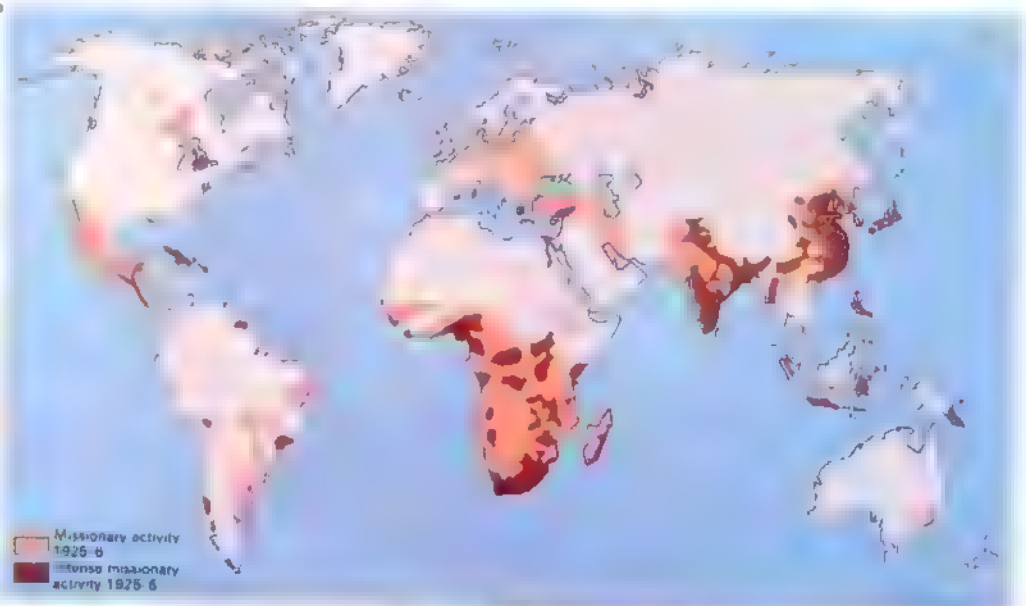
Protestant forms of Christianity were taken to those parts of the world where large numbers of Europeans settled - notably North America (except in French Canada where the settlers were Catholics), and later South Africa, Australia and New Zealand but the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a time of dormant missionary activity. The main exception to the lack of interest was the work of the Moravian and other German Pietist groups, these were to inspire later Protestant missionaries.

Christianity and colonial activity

The second great spurt of missionary activity took place at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, and was closely connected with the Protestant revival in northwestern Europe. The new Christian advance coincided with the increase of European colonial activity in the generally densely populated, tropical parts of the world, notably India and Africa, and with the ferment of the French and Industrial Revolutions. A spate of well-organized and often financially powerful societies were formed - the British

CONNECTIONS

1	Christian missionary work greatly expanded from 1815 into the 20th century. As well as a revival of Roman Catholic missions there was an upsurge of Protestant activity characterized by a notable degree of co-operation. This culminated in the International Missionary Council set up in 1921 which assisted and stimulated missionary
2	activity throughout the world until it merged with the World Council of Churches in 1961. In a map shows its activity in the mid 1920s. More than 1 000 million people were claimed to be Christians, in 1965 divided as follows: North America, 226 million; South America, 200 million; Europe, 516 million; Asia, 90 million; Africa, 90 million; Oceania, 7 million.



2 The Church in Brazil, as in the Spanish colonies was closely linked to the state despite Rome's influence over the Jesuits. Portuguese churches such as this one in Salvador tended to be 'as opulent than those built by the Spaniards'.

3 This roadside shrine in Otavalo, Ecuador, symbolizes the assimilation of religion at grass roots level. The Church, although concerned with Indian welfare, added their cultural decline by supporting the employment in the mines.

4 Christianity in Japan arrived with the Portuguese in the mid 16th century, but its presence became a source of suspicion within a few decades. In 1637 many thousands of Christian converts were massacred.

The succeeding isolation of Japan was finally broken in 1858 and missionary work resumed, making notable contributions to education. Hugh Foss, one of the first missionaries, became Bishop of Osaka in 1899. He is seen here (left) with native clergy.

Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, which sent missionaries to India, the Nonconformist London Missionary Society in 1795, the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1797; the Church of England Church Missionary Society in 1799, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1813 (various Scottish Presbyterian societies came together about the same time). The interdenominational Basel Missionary Society, with support from Germany and Switzerland, was founded in 1815. Some of the great names associated with these Protestant missionary societies in Britain were the Baptist William Carey (1761–1834), William Wilberforce (1759–1833), who was also leader in the successful campaign for the abolition of slavery, and David Livingstone (1813–73).

Catholic revival in the nineteenth century

By the end of the nineteenth century, more than 300 such societies or boards existed. Catholic missionary activity, at first slow to revive, produced an effect as large as that of

the Protestants – perhaps, in terms of numbers of converts, even larger. One of the foremost Catholic missionary societies was the mainly French White Fathers.

The result of all these remarkable missionary efforts, which continued from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, was the spread of Christianity over much of the tropical world. It did not make great advances in areas where the local religions were strong. Indeed, at the same time as the spurt of Christian missionary activity at the end of the 1700s there was a revival of Islam, which made gains on the periphery of the older heartlands of the religion, especially in Indonesia and Africa [4].

Although most of the nineteenth-century missionary societies were rivals, the decline of European imperialism after World War I brought a wider, more international approach. These resulted in the formation of the World Council of Churches in 1948. This body did not include the Roman Catholic Church but ties between it and the other Council have grown increasingly close.

The Ibo of southeast
Nigeria, like a
number of other
groups in Africa
were receptive to
Christianity and edu-
cation under British
rule and mis-
sionary influence in the
19th century. The
Christian faith was
often blended with
existing beliefs, which
were not always
completely rejected.
The mask illustrated
reflects this syncretism.
It depicts Christ
on the cross
flanked by angels.
The Ibo mask is the
basis of a legend
in which the
deities and spirits
employed in various
dramas such as the
Ibo mask dance
are said to be
Christ and his
angels.



5 A mosque in Malawi

A stands in stark
contrast to the
Christian counter-
part. It is a point where
Islam and Christianity
competed for the
souls of inhabitants
in central Africa.

The church built
by the Church of
Scotland mission in
Blantyre, Malawi, in
the late 19th century
symbolizes the per-
sistent work
in the old British
central Africa.



6 Christian spires dominate the water- front of Canton, in southern China. It

was here that Jesuits
arrived in 16th
century China after
the successful pro-

neering work of
Matteo Ricci. Canton
became an important
port of entry into

China for later mis-
sionaries, who were able
to establish colleges
and hospitals there.



7 British dominions in India were the focus of

Christianity in the
19th century. The
work of the
doctors, Alexander
Duff (1806–78) in
Calcutta in the
1830s. Christianity
became a central
force in the educa-
tion system estab-
lished by the British.
But it failed to
make large inroads
into the native
religions, especially
after the mutiny of
1857–8 led to a
renewed emphasis
on the importance
of indigenous culture.
Here St Thomas's
Church in Madras
reflects the growing
promising appreciation
of Christianity in
the Victorian mould.



India in the 19th century

By the end of the nineteenth century most Englishmen regarded India as being as indissolubly linked to Britain as Yorkshire or Wales. The idea of an independent India was so remote as to be almost unimaginable. The creation of the great Indian Empire was largely accomplished between 1800 and 1860 and many Victorians saw it as Britain's supreme achievement, an essential part of Britain's rise to world power [Key]

British territorial conquests

After 1800 the British deliberately set about enlarging the territorial conquests that Clive had begun in the mid-eighteenth century [1]. By 1820 they had greatly expanded their holdings in south India and secured their position against the revival of native princes such as Tipu Sultan [2]. In the north of India the same process was carried on more slowly but no less relentlessly, culminating in the conquest of the Punjab from the Sikhs in 1849 and the annexation of Oudh in 1856.

These great conquests were not inspired by simple avarice. They seemed to follow logically from the efforts of the East India

Company (which was the instrument of British power in India until the British government's takeover in 1858) to protect itself against the threats to its trade from the decay of the Mogul Empire. New states arose more unstable and less friendly to the company, forcing it to rely not on diplomacy but on its own armed strength. Once this process began it was difficult to stop. Raising armies in India required the company to control more land and more people, and to extract more revenue, the main source of which was the tribute traditionally paid by cultivators to their ruler. Thus each new war led to new annexations of land to pay for the company's armies and to ensure that the defeated rajahs and nawabs would not have another opportunity to attack.

Once India was fully under their control the British used its resources, and above all its army (paid for by the Indian taxpayer), for their own wider purposes in Asia, compelling the Chinese to open their ports to British trade [3]. Possession of India became indispensable to Britain's position as a great power east of Suez. But in India itself the

British had to devise a system that would enable them to govern its vast area and huge population efficiently and cheaply. It was a novel problem nowhere else had they attempted to rule people so different in language, culture and religion. And it had to be accomplished using only a very small number of British administrators [5].

The result was that for all the appearance of despotic power the British relied upon the co-operation of Indians. Village administration was largely delegated to lesser Indian officials while the good will of rural notables

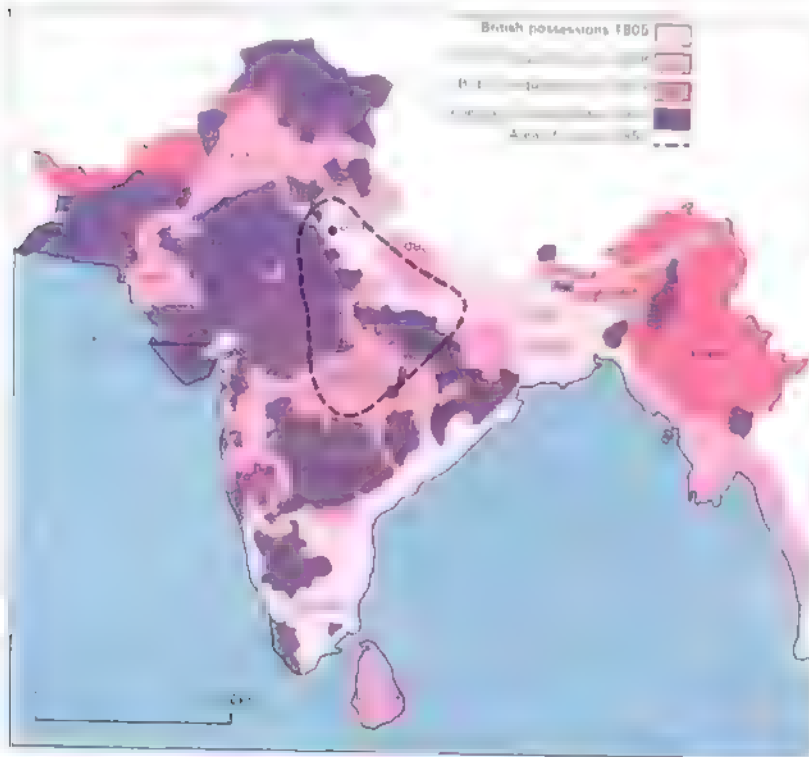
upon whom fell the main burden of keeping order in the countryside – was vital. This meant turning a blind eye to minor irregularities and preserving, where possible, the existing structure of local power.

Indian Mutiny: causes and effects

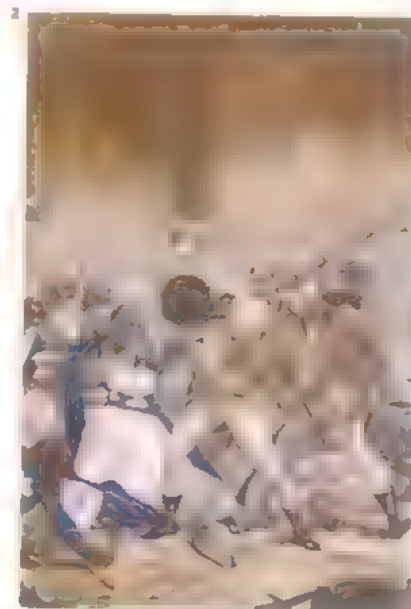
The extension of British control was not accomplished without violent reaction on the part of their Indian subjects, most notably in the mutiny of 1857–8 [4]. Although the mutiny arose initially from the refusal of Indian sepoys (soldiers) to bite open car-

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 British control of India developed from modest beginnings in small coastal trading stations into an empire that made Britain one of the great powers in Asia. Apart from direct administration of the great provinces Britain supervised nearly 600 princely states which were allowed wide autonomy but were carefully prevented from befriending imperial rivals or threatening the basic authority of the British.



2 Tipu Sahib, Sultan of Mysore, was an aggressive, expansionist ruler who was a thorn in the side of the British in south India, even allying himself with Napoleon. He died fighting the British in 1799.



3 Indian opium was bought by the British in exchange for manufactures and sold in China for silks, spices and tea demanded by British consumers.

4 The Indian Mutiny of 1857–8 was marked by several fierce battles before British reinforcements arrived and suppressed the sepoys. Although the rising failed from a lack of concerted leadership it took Britain completely by surprise and left a legacy of distrust as well as denting the complacency of British attitudes towards the Indians.



ridges greased with animal fats forbidden to Muslims and Hindus it swiftly became a much wider rebellion against the side-effects of company dominance heavier taxation displacement of Indian magnates from positions of authority and the introduction of laws that abruptly altered the old systems of landholding rent-paying and tenancy

For a time British authority all over north and central India swayed in the balance Lucknow was overrun and Cawnpore besieged The British restored their authority through the deployment of a large army, the systematic destruction of the hostile sepoy forces and savage punishment for those they considered rebels But they learned their lesson They realized that the mutiny had resulted from too rough a handling of the Indian gentry, from the anxieties that too much rapid change had aroused in the Indian population and from Indian fears that the British were planning to attack religious customs and practices

After the mutiny the British were more careful in administration by the company was replaced by government rule Headlong

changes in law and in the economic character of rural life through new systems of taxation were slowed down or stopped altogether The wholesale demolition of the remaining princely states was halted and the rajahs and princes were promised security in return for their swearing allegiance to Queen Victoria

Stirrings of independence

By the later nineteenth century the whole spirit of British rule in India had changed The British gave up the hope that social change and education would quickly and smoothly turn Indians into "brown Englishmen" and India into a modern society Administrators [7] concentrated on keeping the status quo so as not to risk their power This could not work for long India had been opened up to the outside world and flooded with British goods and British ideas In the big towns, economic change produced Westernized Indians who wanted a say in government In 1885 men such as these founded the Indian National Congress and in 1915 began, unwittingly, the long struggle for independence



Stable British rule in India was underlined when Queen Victoria

became Empress of India in 1876 at Benjamin Disraeli's

suggestion The event was depicted in a contemporary cartoon



5 A British magistrate on tour represented a focal point of authority Great value was attached to keeping in touch with local headmen and other important Indians in rural districts



7 Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India from 1898 to 1905 symbolized the pomp and circumstance of British rule Although an untiring administrator he found the task of governing India frustrating and his autocratic ways were resented

8 Indian economic life continued largely unchanged during British rule Better communications, however, did help to combat the scourge of famine and to stimulate the growth of large cities such as Calcutta and Bombay



9 Simla became the summer capital of the British central administration in India after 1864 Lying in the Himalayan foothills, its bracing climate was a relief from the heat of the plains It became a resort where British admin-

istrators' army officers and their families isolated in their districts for most of the year could enjoy a wider and sometimes disreputable social life The hilly site became a status key senior officials lived higher up

5 British and Indian troops on the North West Frontier were deployed in large numbers in attempts to check the historical incursions of mountain tribesmen into the plains of northern India When

the British became rulers of India they were determined to subdue the unruly hillmen They also feared that their great rivals in central Asia, the Russians, would try to undermine their

power in India using Afghanistan as a ally Desperate rear guard actions, such as that depicted in W B Wollen's painting "Last Stand of the 44th Foot at Gendarmuk" followed some Afghan campaigns



Africa in the 19th century

The nineteenth century was a period of great and often rapid change for much of Africa set in motion either by Africans themselves or by outsiders, especially Europeans. The partition of almost the whole continent among seven European states took place in the last 20 years of the century. The previous 80 years saw largely a continuation of trends already long established. Tiny trading 'factories' (or castles) set up by European slave traders dotted the west coast of Africa, from Cape Verde to the Congo estuary [1]. On the southern tip of the continent, Britain had taken over the settlement of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape.

Foretaste of expansionism

The extension of European influence was gradual. In 1820–22 Egypt, technically an Ottoman dependency, conquered the Nilotic Sudan, in 1830 the French invaded the Ottoman dependency of Algiers and began the long, costly process of conquering it and in the late 1830s Dutch farmers known as Boers trekked deep into the interior of southern Africa, away from British control.

With the abolition of the slave trade by most European countries late in the 1800s, trade in palm – and other tropical products – largely replaced it in West Africa. Only the French on the River Senegal expanded fairly deep into the interior, but missionaries were active, especially in areas settled by freed slaves, such as Sierra Leone [7].

Islam had so long penetrated what is known as the Sudanic belt of Africa that by the beginning of the nineteenth century it was thoroughly 'Africanized'. Much of this region was swept, from the eighteenth century on, by a wave of religious revival spearheaded by holy wars, *phads*, waged against black Muslims as much as against pagans. A *phad* in 1804 rapidly conquered all the old Hausa city states (such as Kano) and beyond and led to the establishment of a huge new empire, the Sokoto caliphate, which survived until taken over by the British in northern Nigeria in 1903. Other Muslim empires were created on the middle Niger and in what is now Guinea and the Ivory Coast, where prolonged opposition was encountered by French invaders in the

1880s. South of the Sudanic belt, several great kingdoms, such as Ashanti and Dahomey, continued to expand and prosper (and offered vigorous resistance to the British and French respectively), while others began to disintegrate.

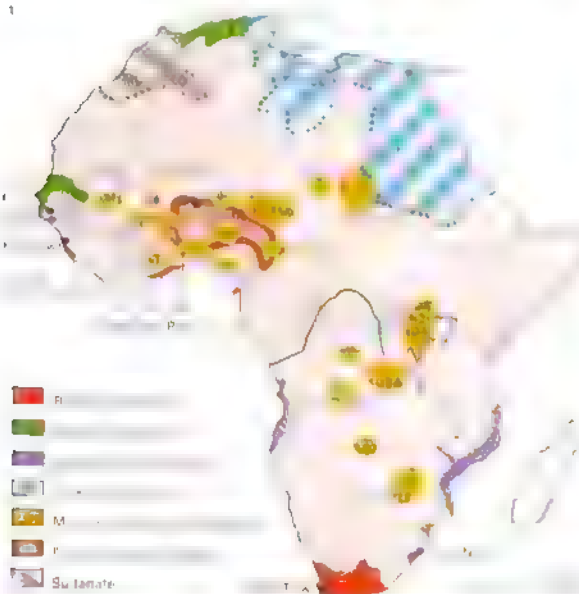
Rise of Ethiopia and the Zulus

In Ethiopia, the ancient Christian Amhara Empire, after a period of prolonged feebleness, slowly and painfully recovered during the reigns of three forceful emperors – Theodore (reigned 1855–68), Johannes IV (reigned 1868–89) and Menelik (reigned 1889–1911). These rulers asserted their power against that of the mighty landed aristocracy and the Coptic Church. Menelik [5] not only maintained his position against the powerful northern barons and greatly expanded the boundaries of Ethiopia in the south, but beat off an Italian attempt to conquer his state, at the Battle of Adowa (1896).

In 1818 in southern Africa, Shaka (c. 1787–1828) became king of a small group known as the Zulu and, by revolutionizing the military and social structure of his people

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 European possessions in Africa in 1830 were few. France had invaded Algeria (1830) and some Boer (Dutch) settlers were trekking out of the British Cape Colony into the hinterland of South Africa. Britain and France had a few tiny colonies in West Africa – Senegal, Sierra Leone and Gold Coast. Apart from Europeans on trading posts, only the Portuguese had old established colonies. In coastal parts of Angola and up the Zambezi valley of Mozambique. Although the Egyptians had conquered the Nilotic Sudan in 1821 the rest of the continent consisted of African empires, kingdoms and peoples who still maintained their independence.



2 An idealized view of European influence appears in this picture of the British explorer John Speke (1827–84) with King Mutesa of Buganda (1827–84) who found the source of the Nile. In 1858, played an essential role in opening up Africa to Europeans. Two Scottish explorers were James Bruce (1730–94) who went to Ethiopia and the Sudan, and Mungo Park (1771–1806) in West Africa early in the 19th century. Heinrich Barth in northern and western Africa, David Livingstone in central and eastern Africa and H. M. Stanley, who found Livingstone in 1872 and journeyed down the Congo, were dominant in the middle of the century.



3 The storming of Magdala, a mountain citadel in Ethiopia by British forces in 1868 was one of the most extravagant episodes in the history of relations between Europeans and Africa in the 19th century. An expedition under General Napier

invaded Ethiopia to punish its emperor, Theodore (or Tewodros) for briefly holding prisoner a British consul and some Europeans. After Magdala fell, the emperor dramatically committed suicide and the expedition then withdrew.

4 This Ethiopian village has hardly changed at all since the last century. Then, as a community of peasant cultivators producing little more than what was necessary for subsistence, it would have been typical of rural Africa.

fashioned a formidable and ruthless military state which rapidly conquered surrounding people. Offshoots of the Zulu, and other groups who copied their techniques, rampaged over much of southern and central Africa in mass population movements and tribal regroupings, known as the *mfecane*, the Time of Troubles.

Explorers and imperialists

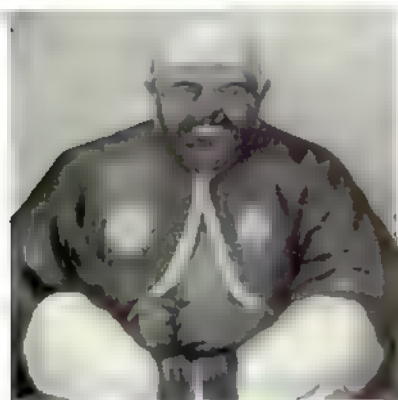
During the middle years of the nineteenth century Africa was gradually becoming better known to Europeans through the efforts of many courageous travellers [2] such as the German scientist Heinrich Barth (1821-65), in the Sudanic regions, and the Scotsman David Livingstone (1813-73) whose travels were partly motivated by his concern over the ravages of the Arab slave trade in central and east Africa. The Welsh American explorer Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) was more concerned with exploitation. In 1877 he completed an epic journey down the River Congo - and then sold his services to King Leopold II of the Belgians (1835-1909).

By this time bitter trading rivalries had grown up between Britain and France in West Africa, stimulated by British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Motivated largely by politics, a rush for African colonies began with Britain and France in the forefront followed by Belgium and Germany, and with Portugal, Spain and Italy bringing up the rear. In many areas the conquest of Africa met with intense opposition and vicious wars of "pacification" were mounted. But resistance [3] was seldom more than local, and could be dealt with piecemeal.

In southern and central Africa the main impetus for British expansion was provided by Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), who, from a base in the Cape Colony, appropriated a vast private empire for himself (as did King Leopold in the Congo/Zaire). The two independent Boer republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State were annexed in 1900 that fully extended the power of the British Army (the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902). By the turn of the century the whole of Africa, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, had been conquered by Europeans [9].



Moshweshwe (c. 1786-1870) was the founder of the Sotho nation (Lesotho) in southern Africa and an example of how African rulers adopted practices and ideas introduced by Europeans. Moshweshwe emerged as leader of the Sotho, a small group of people who found refuge in the Drakensberg Mountains from the devastation produced in the interior of southern Africa by the Zulu and other warrior kingdoms in the 1820s. He was a man of peace, and ensured the protection of his people through wise diplomacy. Lesotho rapidly increased in prosperity making use of European techniques. It was a British protectorate from 1868 until its independence in 1966.



Emperor Menelik (1844-1913) successfully maintained the independence of Ethiopia against European encroachment. In 1896 his forces defeated an Italian invasion at the Battle of Adowa.

Mochudi in Botswana was one of several large towns to develop long before the coming of Europeans - notably in the Sudanic belt, Yorubaland in West Africa, Botswana and southern Africa.



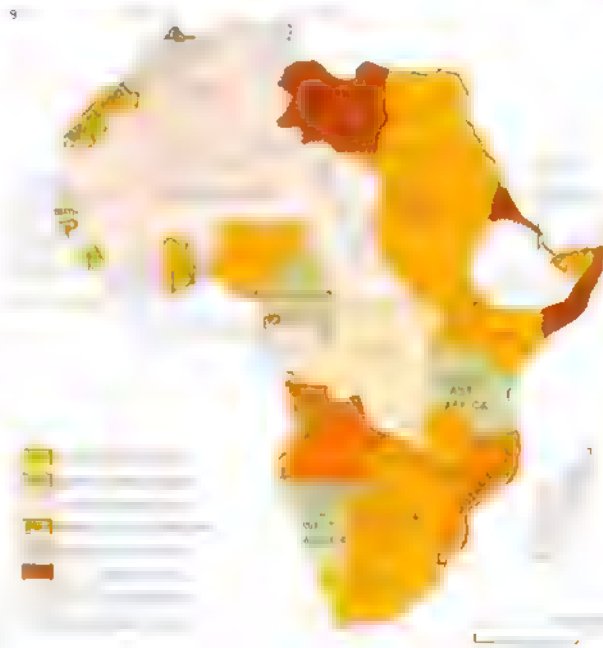
Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone, was typical of European coastal towns in tropical West Africa. It was built in colonialist style with churches, business centres and separate areas for whites and blacks.



Johannesburg in South Africa grew from a farm on the veld to a sprawling city by 1900. The discovery of gold in the Boer Republic of the Transvaal in the mid-1880s led to rapid development.



A map of Africa in 1914 shows how it had become partitioned among seven European countries. This partition was a rapid process taking place during the last 20 years of the 19th century. Only Ethiopia and Liberia remained independent of European rule. Although some territories were termed protectorates (like Uganda and Morocco) rather than colonies, Europeans were firmly in control. The four white-ruled colonies in South Africa had formed a Union in 1910 but remained a British dominion. Colonial boundaries drawn up entirely by Europeans were often merely straight lines on the map. This caused great problems when Africa regained independence.



The opening up of China

Two changes in China during the nineteenth century gave that country an impetus towards the revolution that flowered in the twentieth century. One that was not new in Chinese history was the decay of a dynasty – the Manchu (Ch'ing), founded in 1644. What was new, confusing and finally explosive was the challenge of Western power and technology.

The "unequal treaties"

The opening up by the West of the closed Confucian, agrarian society of China began with the first "Opium War" of 1839–42, during which Britain crushed a Manchu attempt to stop illegal trade in opium through Canton, then the only point of Chinese contact with the money economy of the West. The resulting Treaty of Nanking (which also gave Britain a foothold in Hong Kong) was the first of the so-called unequal treaties. They eventually forced China to grant trade and territorial rights to Western powers, legalize the trade in opium and permit missionaries [4] to spread Christianity throughout the country. After pressure by France and Britain in 1846–60, China even

had to grant Europeans a diplomatic quarter in Peking, implying equality with a country whose emperor had been a guardian of civilization for a thousand years and had always received tribute from inferior "barbarian" countries.

The disruptive impact of the West on the traditional pattern of Chinese life coincided with a chaotic situation in the countryside. Rural misery was accentuated by the massive population rise of the eighteenth century [1] combined with a weak and corrupt administration which neglected its duties to maintain grain reserves and irrigation. In reaction, China was swept by a series of risings against the Manchus, beginning with the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64). Virtually a civil war, this rising was suppressed only with the deaths of at least 25 million people in the lower Yangtze provinces [2]. Other rebellions soon followed, such as those of the Nien in north-central China and the Chinese Muslims in the southwest and northwest, which were suppressed by 1875.

Meanwhile, the Western-administered treaty ports, and the foreign missions

spreading all over the country, steadily eroded Chinese sovereignty. In the 1860s a serious attempt was made to reinvigorate the dynasty. But this "restoration" failed to transform the conservative thinking of a court already influenced by the autocratic and dogmatic Tz'u Hsi (1835–1908) who became the Empress Dowager.

Slow technological progress

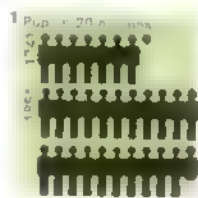
The "self-strengthening movement" that accompanied the restoration period began with the construction of arsenals, railways and dockyards in the 1860s [3] and went on with early moves for industrialization in the 1870s. But compared with Japan's speedy industrialization, China's was slow and unsure of its direction. Anti-Western feeling grew, often heightened by antagonism in Chinese "rice Christians" who took their own pickings from the privileges exacted by foreigners. Incidents in which Westerners were attacked embittered relations between the Chinese government and foreign powers. The need to learn from the West and to introduce fundamental changes was widely recog-

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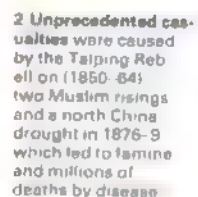
See also

China's population growth
Deaths in China
Some missionaries
Chinese students
Li Hung-chang
Foreign influence

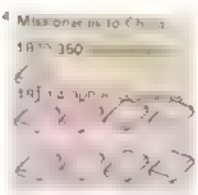
1 China's population growth between 1750 and 1850 was immense, although the figures are unreliable. Growing land hunger in an overwhelmingly peasant economy coincided with worsening administration.



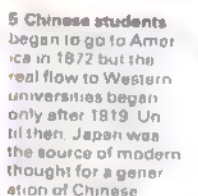
2 Deaths in China between 1850 and 1875 were caused by the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), two Muslim risings and a north China drought in 1876-9 which led to famine and millions of deaths by disease.



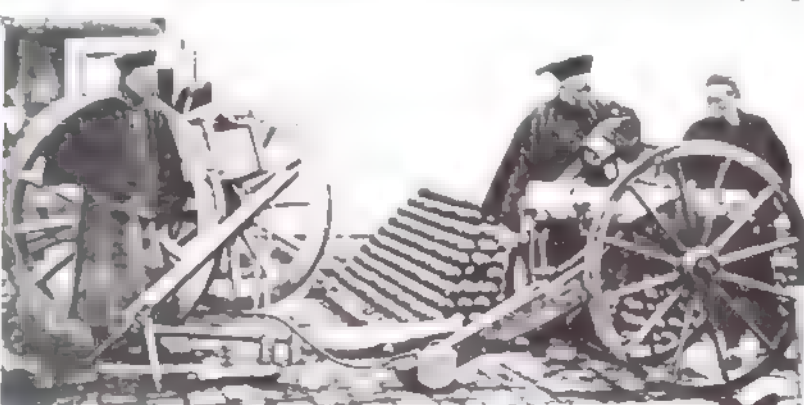
4 Some missionaries aroused Chinese hatred and stimulated nationalism. But some, such as the Welsh missionary Timothy Richard, also brought new ideas and won respect for their dedicated help.



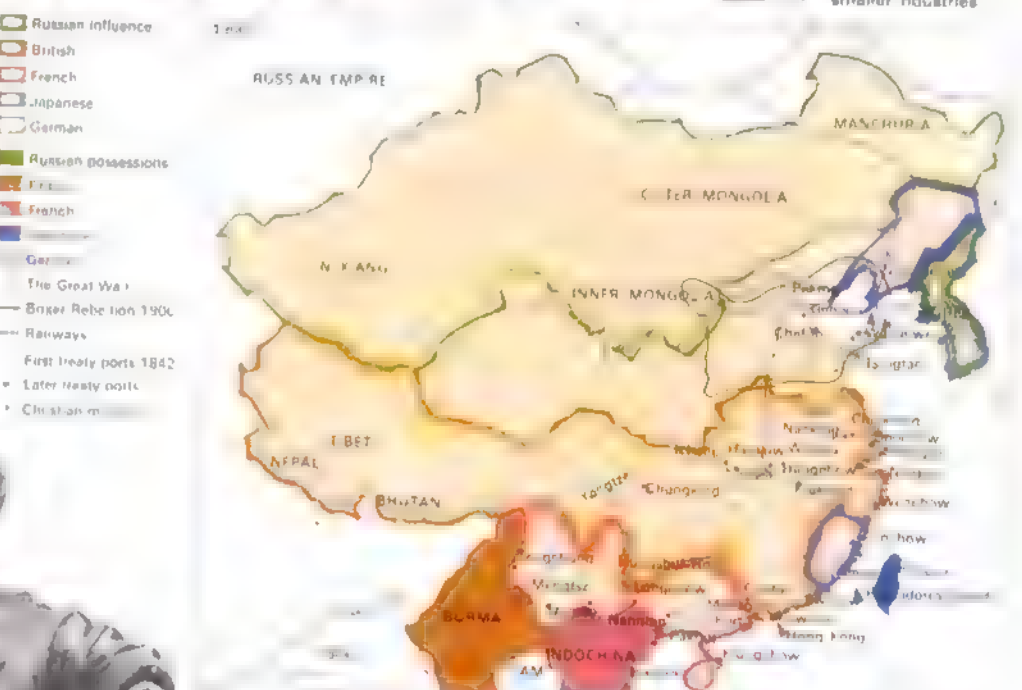
5 Chinese students began to go to America in 1872 but the real flow to Western universities began only after 1819. Until then, Japan was the source of modern thought for a generation of Chinese.



6 Li Hung-chang (1823-1901) became China's Foreign Minister after the former 'Office for Barbarians' gave way to an office for 'foreign matters' in 1861. He made his reputation commanding an army against the Taiping rebels and later revealed a talent for diplomacy which was acknowledged by Western powers with whom he negotiated from a position of weakness. Founder of the Chinese navy, he advanced China's interests by visiting Europe.



3 A "self-strengthening" movement aimed at increasing military strength to overcome Western power was launched in 1860. The build-up of armaments and improvement of railways were continued during the 1870s with moves to lay the foundation for a modern industry run by the merchant class. Textile mills, a shipping company and a steel works were established as well as smaller industries.



nized only in 1895 when China was humiliated by Japan [8].

In the treaty ports new middlemen in foreign trade were those patriots who knew what changes were needed. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), educated in Hawaii and Hong Kong, preached nationalism, and mandarins such as Kang Yu-wei (1858-1927) backed the young Kuang Hsu Emperor (reigned 1875-1908) in reform edicts in 1898. But the Empress Dowager imprisoned her son and assumed power.

The end of the old China

Competing European imperialists now threatened to partition China - a scramble halted only by an American-inspired "Open Door" policy by which the Western powers agreed to restrain their territorial ambitions in return for open trade. Meanwhile fierce anti-foreign rioting broke out in 1900 when the court diverted a rising by the secret society of the "righteous and harmonious fist" against Westerners. Known as the Boxer Rebellion, this cost the lives of nearly 250 missionaries and thousands of Chinese

Christians before it was suppressed by an international army.

The old China was finished however, outmoded and discredited. The archaic civil service examination system was abolished in 1905 and the Manchu dynasty hastily abdicated after a provincial revolt in 1911. The formula for a viable Chinese republic did not yet exist. A parliament headed by Sun Yat-sen immediately gave way to rule by a former Manchu commander, Yuan Shih-k'ai (1859-1916). A decade of rule by rival war lords followed.

The intellectual consensus needed for change was emerging, however. Sun Yat-sen [10] refounded his movement as the Kuomintang Party and thousands of students educated overseas [5] or at new universities were influenced by liberal teachers such as Ch'en Tu Hsu (1879-1942) and Hu Shih (1891-1962) [11]. When China's weak government accepted concessions to Japan imposed after World War I (in which China had taken little part), student protest on 4 May 1919 launched a revolutionary nationalism [11] that set China alight.

KEY



A common Western attitude to China in the nineteenth century was summed up in a cartoon of the Western powers shaking the corpulent body of China. After the 1840 Opium War contempt for the China of the Manchu emperors began to replace the admiration held by eighteenth century Europe for the achievements of Chinese civilization. By the 1890s when nations such as Germany, Russia, Japan, Britain and France were scrambling for territorial rights, most Europeans thought 'this rotten old hulk would break up and be remade by Western enterprise'. Few perceived the enduring strength of Chinese civilization beneath the decay.



8 After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 China sued for peace (as seen in a Japanese drawing). Joining the Western powers in their demands on China, the

Japanese had disrupted China's sphere of influence in Korea. In the war that followed, the Chinese were easily beaten and had to cede Formosa to Japan. This

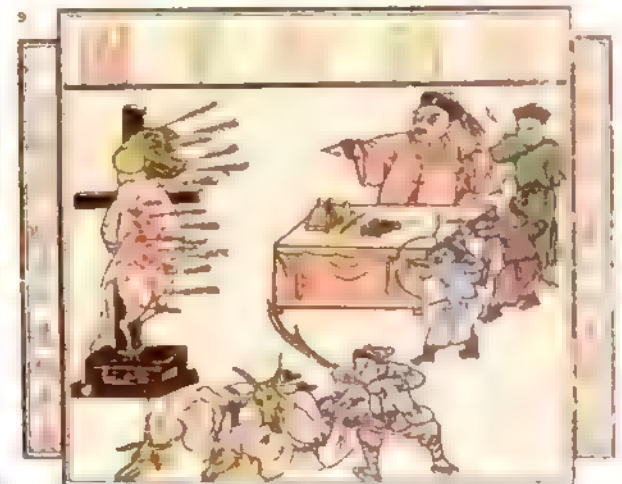
stimulated Chinese shame and nationalism more than earlier defeats inflicted by Britain and France, because the Chinese had always regarded the Japanese as in-

feriors who had adopted Chinese culture a thousand years before. But Japan's modernization after 1868 sent its military and industrial power far ahead.

9 Chinese dislike of foreigners is shown in an 1891 cartoon of a pig as a Chinese Christian and goats

as foreigners being slaughtered. Earlier in the nineteenth century foreigners were almost unknown

most Chinese lived and died without seeing one. Christianity made little appeal to the Chinese



10 Intellectual leaders played a vital role in changing Chinese attitudes to the structure of government and society after the old China was swept away in the turbulence that followed the death of the Empress Dowager in 1908. The

next decade brought together strands of nationalism, cultural change and revolution. Sun Yat-sen [A] was an outsider to the Chinese classical tradition and the world of the mandarin. Affected by Victorian progress he wanted to modern-

ize China. His magnetic personality built up a mixed following in the secret societies. Supported in Japan and welcomed in the West where his Christianity and good English helped his tenacity, he finally won mass backing after 1919.

Ch'en Tu Hsu [B] was a more revolutionary intellectual. When he founded the influential 'New Youth' in 1915, he favoured 'Mr Science and Mr Democracy' but by 1921 he had emerged as the first leader of the rising Chinese Communist Party.

11 A revolutionary consciousness was developed in China by the teaching of men such as Hu Shih [A]. He substituted the use of classical Chinese by writers which had separated the educated classes

from others, with the vernacular. A pragmatic thinker who studied in America, he remained the spokesman of Western liberalism but influenced the future communist leader of China [B], the young

Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), who was snubbed by professors when he went to Peking University as a library assistant. For Mao's generation of students 1919 was the year of revolutionary awakening.



Japan: the Meiji Restoration

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Japan had been closed to the outside world for more than 200 years. Only the Chinese and the Dutch were allowed limited trading access to one port, Nagasaki. It was Commodore Matthew Perry in command of a squadron of United States warships who, during visits in 1853 and 1854,ajoined a reluctant shogunate - Japan's military government - into opening two ports to American shipping. Other powers soon followed the American lead, and within a few years Japan's self-imposed seclusion was over.

Civil war and a new capital

The intrusion into Japan by the Western world mortally harmed the prestige of the Tokugawa Shogunate which, under pressure, signed treaties granting extraterritorial rights and tariff privileges to the foreign powers [3]. The imperial court at Kyōto, universally revered but possessing no effective power of its own, became the focus of loyalty for those samurai (warriors) who called for the expulsion of the alien "barbarians". After several years of complicated domestic strife, the

shogunate was overthrown in 1868 by an alliance of provincial lords and warriors from domains in southwest Japan. Their successful civil war was fought in the name of the youthful "Emperor Meiji" - "enlightened rule". He was installed in the shogun's castle at Yedo which was renamed Tokyo and made the new capital.

By this political upheaval, known as the Meiji Restoration, governing powers were restored, although in name only - the imperial house. It marked the beginning of Japan's transformation from a feudal society to a modern state. The new government, an oligarchy of relatively young samurai, resolved to bring Japan up to the technological level of Europe and the United States.

Japan's industrial revolution

Foreign teachers and specialists of every kind, skilled in the techniques of Western civilization, were invited to Japan, and Japanese in large numbers went abroad to study. Remarkable progress in modernization was made within two decades. The cotton-spinning industry provides a

striking example. In the 1870s annual production, increasing yearly, barely exceeded 2,000 bales, but the figure for 1889 was 142,000 bales; ten years later it was 50,000 bales. Comparable growth occurred in many other sectors of manufacturing industry. Almost none of this early expansion was financed by borrowing abroad - instead the cost fell heavily on the rural areas.

Japan's industrial revolution was broadly completed by the eve of World War I and within the lifetime of some of the leading figures of the Meiji Restoration. Political change was symbolized by the Constitution of 1889 which established a diet (parliament) of two chambers. But the Meiji Constitution was authoritarian in letter and spirit. The upper house of the diet was non-elected and until after World War I members of the lower house were elected on a limited suffrage. Cabinet ministers were responsible only to the emperor, not the diet, and the war and navy ministers were always generals and admirals representing services strongly imbued with the samurai martial spirit.

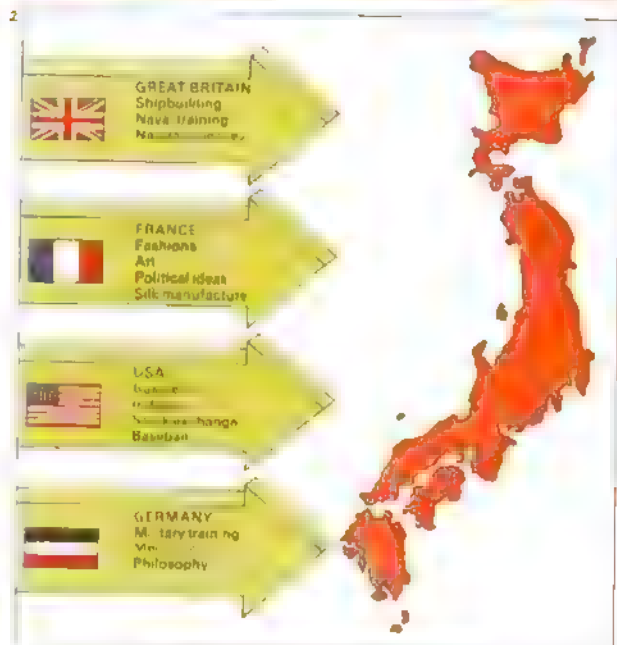
The same spirit was also perceptible

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The first Japanese railway line completed in 1872 was built by British engineers and covered the 29 km (18 miles) between the capital, Tokyo, and Yokohama. Railways played a part in the early important role in the modernization of Japan. In pre-Meiji days there was very little wheeled traffic along the roads. Commerce between the main centres of the country was mainly sea-borne. The growth of the railway system in 32 years was rapid: in 1886 there were 692 km (430 miles) of track; in 1896, 4,007 km (2,490 miles); and in 1906, 8,494 km (5,278 miles). By 1918 the total was more than 14,480 km (9,000 miles) of working track.



2 The greatest contributions to Japan's modernization were made by Great Britain, the USA, Germany, France, Russia and Italy. Britain trained the Japanese navy and influenced other maritime activities. The USA influenced such areas as business and education. France and Germany trained the army. Russia and Italy influenced the arts.

3 Japan's first important diplomatic mission abroad in 1871 was led by Prince Iwakura. In the United States and Europe the aim of the mission was to persuade the Western powers to revise the "unequal treaties" they had signed with Japan. But the Japanese had to wait nearly 30 years before they could secure treaty revision and thereby obtain

tariff autonomy and the abolition of extraterritorial privileges. This picture of Iwakura's departure to Yokohama illustrates Japanese society obviously in a state of transition. Some of the men are wearing Western suits, while their companions at 1 favour the traditional "top knot" hairstyle and carry the samurai (warrior) sword.

among the people at large for the state education system gave great importance to loyalty and patriotism. The effectiveness of such indoctrination was illustrated by the events of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.

Military and naval supremacy

In both struggles the Japanese surprised the world with their victories on land and sea, of which the most dramatic was the destruction of the Russian fleet off Tsushima in May 1905 by Admiral Togo (1847-1934) [5]. This masterly demonstration of naval supremacy won Japan acceptance as a great power.

The Sino-Japanese War had arisen from rivalries in Korea. Japan's victory gave her possession of Formosa and eliminated Chinese influence in Korea. In 1904 the reason for war was again largely Korea. Russia, occupying key points in Manchuria, seemed about to penetrate Korea, still nominally an independent state, although then dominated economically and politically by Japan. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (New Hampshire) in the United States, which

ended the Russo-Japanese War, Japan acquired south Sakhalin and inherited Russia's lease of Port Arthur and her valuable rights and interests in south Manchuria. The setback for Russian power in the Far East sealed the fate of Korea, which was finally annexed by Japan in 1910 [7].

Emperor Meiji died in 1912 [6]. Due to ill health the new ruler (Taishō) was a mere figurehead. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance first concluded in 1902 as a gesture of solidarity against Russian ambitions in Asia brought Japan into World War I on the British side. Japanese forces captured Germany's leased port in China, Tsingtao, and occupied her island possessions in the Pacific. While the European powers fought each other, Japan partly extended its influence over a weak and divided China.

At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, Japan was given a permanent seat on the Council of the newly created League of Nations, which amounted to full recognition of Japan's status as a world power. In the space of 50 years the aims of the early Meiji modernizers had been achieved.



The Japanese battleship Kashiwa

16,660 tonnes, four 12 in guns, built by Elswick shipyard and launched at New

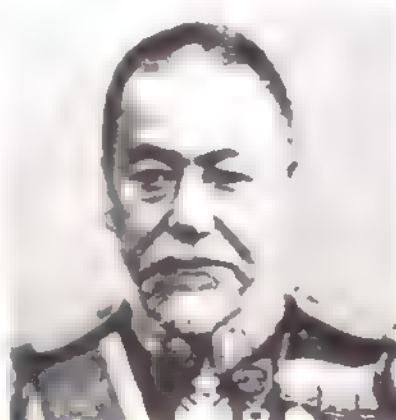
Castle in 1905. Lost in the Russo-Japanese War, all Japan's larger warships were built abroad; the majority of them in Britain.

The last war the battleship Kashiwa (27,500 tonnes, eight 14 in guns) launched by Vickers-Armstrong Barrow in Furness in 1913.



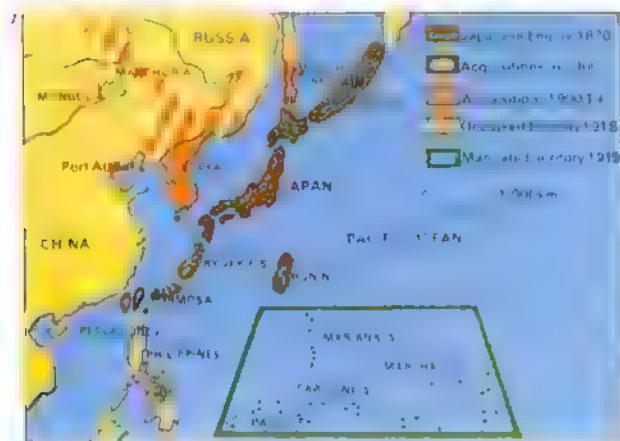
Haiku: Cherry blossoms

4 Japanese aggression against Russia and Japan's reliance on foreign military aid was ridiculed in this Russian cartoon of 1904. Although Britain supported Japan diplomatically and with arms, the United States was not in fact directly involved and in the following year President Roosevelt (1858-1919) acted as mediator between the two belligerents. Despite the confidence of the Russian defenders in this picture, their fleet was destroyed in May 1905.



5 Admiral Togo Heihachiro, a naval hero after his brilliant defeat of the Russian Baltic Fleet at Tsushima in 1905. He was educated in Britain and in Japan. Trained in England on HMS Worcester, he based his signal at Tsushima. 'On this battle we depend the fate of our empire - on Nelson's famous signal at Trafalgar exactly one century earlier. He was created count in 1907 and died in 1934, aged 87.

6 The death of the Emperor Meiji in 1912 marked the end of Japan's 'Victorian age'. The funeral procession in Tokyo took place at night, the coffin being carried on an ox-wagon from the palace in Tokyo. Stricken by crowds kneeling respectfully as it passed, interment was at Momoyama near Kyoto. A detachment of Royal Marines took part in the funeral procession.



7 The expansion of Japanese territory at the end of the 19th and in the early part of the 20th century was a result of both war and treaties. In 1875 the Kurile Islands were acquired from Russia by treaty in exchange for abandonment of Japanese claims on Sakhalin. Formosa was won in the Sino-Japanese War, south Sakhalin, lease of Port Arthur and rights in south Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese War. Korea was annexed in 1910.



8 The Yawata Iron Works in northern Kyushu, completed in 1901, was for many years the main steel producing plant in Japan. Production of iron and steel on a large scale was relatively late because Japan was deficient in natural resources such as iron ore and coking coal. The need for these materials, essential to Japan's industrialization, was one of the reasons for Japan's aggressive interest in both Manchuria and China.

USA: the opening up of the West

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States grew from a small cluster of 13 states huddled against the Atlantic coast into one of the largest nations on earth, extending from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, and from Canada in the north to Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico in the south [Key]

Frontiersmen and settlers

The opening of the West began as a scattered penetration by hunters and explorers into the areas immediately adjacent to the coastal settlements. Even before the Revolution, men such as Daniel Boone (1734-1820), who crossed the Appalachians to scout out Kentucky, blazed trails through unknown regions. They and their successors drifted into the Shenandoah valley, the Alleghenies and the wooded wilds of Vermont. Probing ever deeper inland, frontiersmen reached the River Mississippi, the western limit of the territory won from Britain in the revolution.

Settlers followed, venturing westwards in search of land, livelihood and living space. Their numbers were swelled by migrants

from Europe who, in addition, sought religious and political freedom. The settlers - their lives often imperilled by the Indians whose land they were appropriating - dotted the new areas with cabins, forts [4], communities, then towns. Gradually the western territories took shape.

To avoid a land scramble among the states Congress promulgated its precedent-setting North-West Ordinance of 1787. This was designed to promote an orderly development of self-government in the newly settled regions. Each "territory" was empowered to elect a legislature when its free male population reached a total of 5,000 and to claim statehood when its population had increased to the figure of 60,000.

From sea to shining sea

In 1803, the United States, barely two decades old, doubled in area. Napoleon, embroiled in a war with Britain, sold the vast Louisiana territory - extending from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico - to the American government for 15 million dollars.

President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) immediately dispatched Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and William Clark (1770-1838) to explore this enormous acquisition [1], as well as the Oregon territory to the west. The prospect of a nation's extending "from sea to shining sea" began at last to materialize.

Pioneers penetrated beyond the Mississippi in ever-growing numbers. Among them were resourceful, independent, nomadic hunters who chose to make the western wilderness their home. Known as "mountain men", they ranged far and wide through the West, often acting as intermediaries between the Indians and white settlers and officials. They also served as scouts for the wagon trains of settlers who had to make long, hazardous journeys across Indian territory to lush, fertile valleys in the Far West [2].

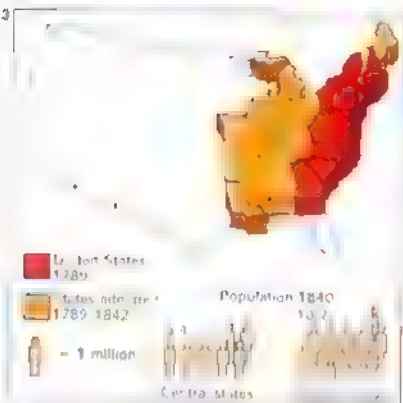
To the south, thousands of Americans settled in the Mexican province of Texas. Refusing to accept Mexican authority, they rebelled in 1835 [7], setting up a provisional government. This paved the way for the American annexation of Texas a decade later.

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Lewis and Clark set out up the Missouri River, crossed the Rockies with the aid of Sacagawea, a young Shoshone, and reached the Pacific in their 1804-6 expedition to map the vast American heartland acquired from France in the Louisiana Purchase. The maps and drawings they made served both to establish American claims to the area and to encourage pioneers, although they failed to find the hoped-for portage route.



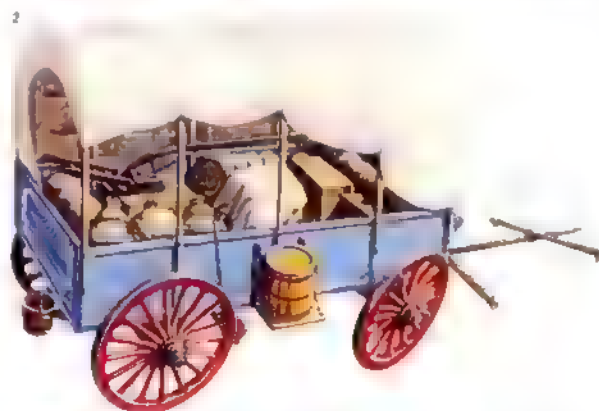
3 By 1842 the westward movement was well under way opening up the fine farmlands of the new states. Meanwhile

a steady stream of European immigrants, particularly from Britain and Germany, converged on the northeast.



5 The Mormons, persecuted for their religious beliefs in the state of Illinois

set out in 1847 led by Brigham Young (1801-77), to found Salt Lake City.

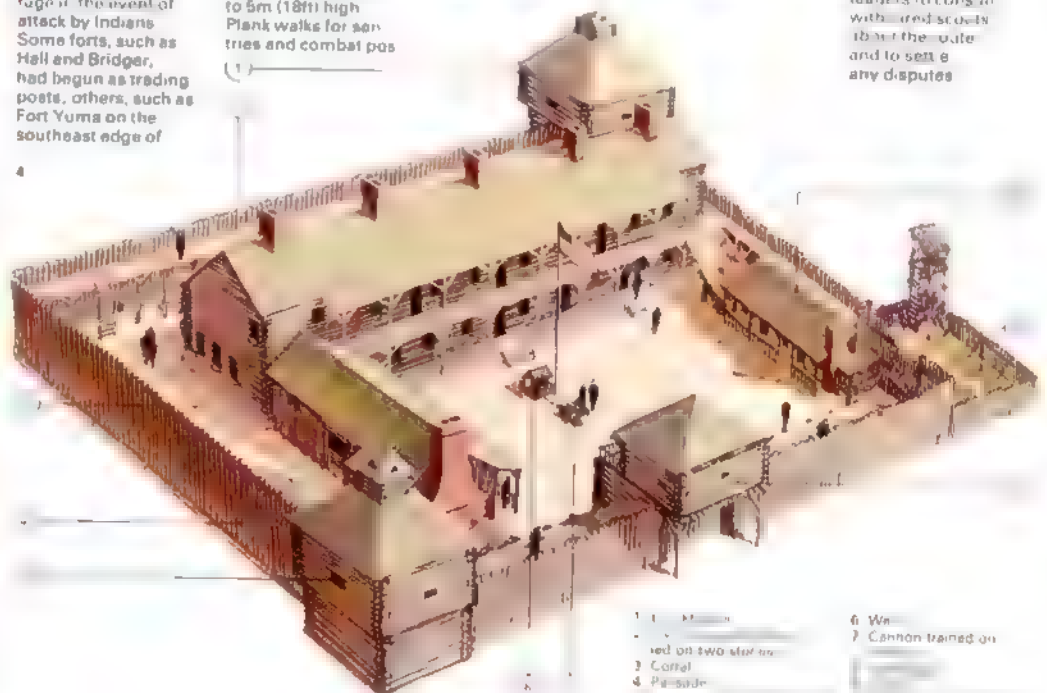


2 Covered wagons were the main vehicles used for long distance travel by settlers penetrating the West. Wagon trains often consisted of more than 100 canvas draped wood framed "prairie schooners", which were usually drawn by from two to six yokes of oxen. A journey of migration up the Oregon Trail could take six months or more. Wagons crossed the central Rockies before turning north to reach Portland. Caravans would form in towns on the Missouri and the Mississippi. Seeking safety in numbers to cross dangerous territory, groups would elect leaders to consult with red scouts about the route and to settle any disputes.

4 Forts were built along commonly traversed pioneer routes such as the Oregon Trail to protect travellers and scattered communities and provide refuge in the event of attack by Indians. Some forts, such as Hall and Bridger, had begun as trading posts, others, such as Fort Yuma on the southeast edge of

the Rockies, became posting stations for mail routes. Manned by US Cavalry, the forts were rectangular enclosures up to 152m (500ft) long with timber walls up to 5m (18ft) high. Plank walks for sentries and combat positions were placed 1.2m (4ft) from the top with loop holes offering protected firing positions. Two block houses, at diagonally

opposite corners provided the main defence. Some forts became centres of thriving communities in the West as time passed.



1 Sentries
 2 Cannon trained on
 3 Corral
 4 Plank walk
 5 Block house
 6 Wall
 7 Cannon trained on

and the Mexican War (1846-8), as a result of which the United States acquired vast areas of territory including New Mexico, Arizona and California.

Few events provided greater impetus for the opening up of the West than the discovery of gold in the Sacramento valley in 1848. Tens of thousands scurried to California to seek their fortunes [10], and communities sprang up overnight.

Impelled by different objectives, 148 Mormons had branched southwestwards from the Oregon Trail in 1847 to claim the inhospitable area around the Great Salt Lake [5]. There they sought a sanctuary to practise their newly founded faith without harassment. They transformed the stark Utah territory into flourishing communities by modern irrigation methods.

Dispossessed Indians

Sporadic settlement had left large areas thinly populated. In order to attract settlers to the Great Plains, Congress passed the Homestead Act of 1862, promising farmers free land for cultivation. Within five years of

this significant event the settlement of the American heartland was well under way [6].

The relentless westward expansion was a disaster for the Indian peoples [9]. The 1830 Indian Removal Bill (authorizing removal of eastern Indians to locations west of the Mississippi) merely confirmed the right of settlers to dispossess Indians wherever they found them, including the regions beyond the Mississippi. Some tribes, notably the Creeks, Comanches, Apaches and Sioux, resisted the invasion, terrorizing isolated communities, attacking wagon trains and battling with the US Cavalry. Outnumbered and outgunned, they were swept aside, slaughtered or pressed back. Tribes were sometimes induced to cede their land for territory farther west - from which, later on, they were also expelled. They were relegated to reservations, and farmers, cattlemen [8] and miners moved in.

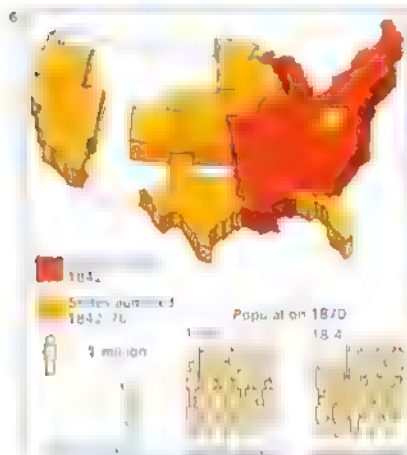
The coming of the railways sharply accelerated westward flow and settlement. In 1869 the first transcontinental rail link was completed [11] and the West's open spaces became significantly less remote. The frontier had passed into history and legend [12].



- 1 United States territory 1783
- 2 Louisiana purchased 1803
- 3 Ceded by Great Britain 1818
- 4 Florida purchased 1819
- 5 Texas annexed 1845
- 6 Oregon Country ceded 1846
- 7 California, Arizona and New Mexico ceded 1848
- 8 Gadsden Purchase 1853

By annexation, war, purchase or treaty the United States increased its territory to include the whole subcontinental expanse in the space of 90 years between 1763 and 1853. In

so doing, it prevented a resurgence of British or French influence and gave effect to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 that America was master in its hemisphere by any other power.



6 By 1876 Florida, the central and far western states had joined the Union as the spread of rail roads allowed for mass concentrations of people. Florida, acquired in 1848, had achieved statehood two years later as the 1849 gold rush swelled its population to well over the 60,000 minimum required. At the same time rapid immigration continued from Europe (more than six million from 1840 to 1870), many of whom had fled from the Irish famine.



7 The Alamo, an old Spanish chapel in San Antonio, was the fortress in which about 150 Texans, rebelling against Mexican rule, held out

for nearly two weeks in 1836 until all but two women and two children were killed. The Texans made good their independence later that year.

8 Cowboys, a hard-working, hard-working breed, built the Texas cattle empire.

Later they opened the range of the Wyoming, Montana and Colorado pastureland.



9 Indian land cessions were integral to westward expansion. The Proclamation Line of 1763 protecting Indian hunting between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi was soon passed by land speculators [A]. After independence, treaties with the Indians pushed them farther and farther west. By

1890 most western titles to land were left and the Indian population had been largely confined to reservations on poor land [B] or goaded to resistance and suppressed in the many Indian wars. A major campaign in which General Custer was killed in 1876 followed a Sioux uprising led

by Chief Sitting Bull [C] who attacked US Cavalry invading his hunting grounds.



10 The California gold rush (1849) led to a frantic search for "pay dirt" which drew prospectors and then settlers to remote regions of the West. Miners alone numbered more than 5,000 by 1850.

11 The continent was spanned by rail in 1869 when the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railways were linked by a golden spike at Promontory Point, Utah. By 1870 85,000 km (52,800 miles) of rail existed.

12 By 1912 the American frontier, which had been so central a feature in the life of the nation, had ceased to exist and the country had turned from territorial expansion to concentrated industrial and agricultural production. As the west stimulated the growth of new towns, meanwhile European immigration to the teeming cities of the eastern states reached a record figure of 5.2 million in the decade 1880-90. By 1910 the total population was 91,972,266.



The American Civil War

The Civil War from 1861-65 was the bloodiest and bitterest conflict the United States has ever experienced. It was, President Abraham Lincoln said, a test of whether America could endure. Although the nation emerged from it intact, the "war between brothers" left a legacy of grief and hatred. It remains a vital formative influence on one of the strongest nations in the world.

Regional interests

The Civil War was kindled by a conflict of interests between the northeastern and southeastern sections of the country at a time when most of the West was still being settled. The North was a major manufacturing and commercial region while the South was overwhelmingly agricultural with "King Cotton" providing most of its wealth [2]. The North believed in strong central government to nourish its economic growth, the South insisted on "states' rights" to guard its regional interests. Tariffs, which the North demanded to protect its industries, were opposed by the South because they raised the prices of manufactured goods. Northern

industrial expansion was able to accommodate growing numbers of free labourers despite extremes of poverty and wealth. The South's plantation economy depended on a large workforce of black slaves [1] and it was on the slave question that North-South differences gradually came to focus.

By 1850 slavery had become the most contentious issue in American politics. The South considered the system proper as well as necessary; many in the North considered it abominable and held it responsible for the South's comparative economic backwardness. Congressional compromises patched up differences and delayed an open break, but the South continued to press for the extension of slavery into western territories. In the North abolitionists, of whom William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79) was the most eloquent, agitated against the "peculiar institution" of human bondage. The influential novel of Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96), *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), dramatizing the brutalities of slavery, won support for the anti-slavery movement. The drift towards a violent resolution of sectional differences

gathered momentum as hatred was whipped up by inflammatory speeches on both sides.

Both the Democratic and Whig parties, the two major national political organizations, were badly split over slavery and the Whigs proved unable to survive the internal divisions. From the ruins of their party there emerged in 1854 a new Republican Party whose presidential candidate six years later was a former Illinois congressman, Abraham Lincoln [Key]. Lincoln opposed the spread of slavery and foresaw its eventual disappearance as an economic and social system.

A month after Lincoln was elected president South Carolina, fearing an attack on the fabric of Southern society, seceded from the Union and was followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. On 8 February 1862 the secessionist states proclaimed the existence of a new nation, the Confederate States of America.

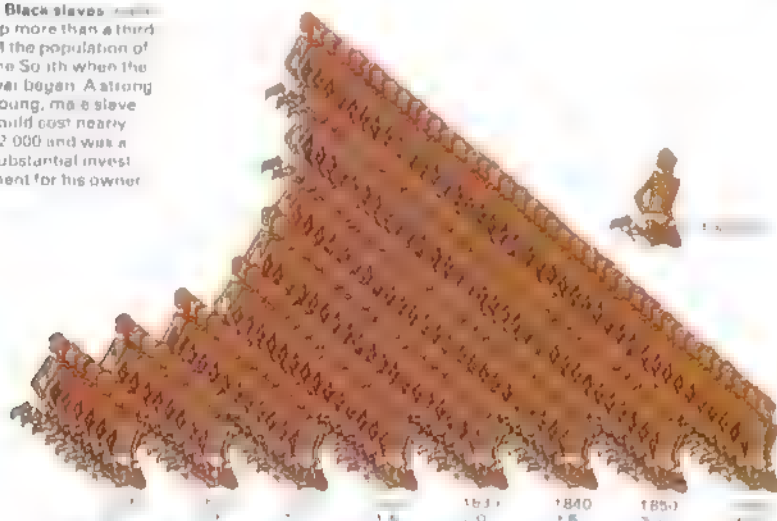
The war begins

Lincoln refused to recognize the dismemberment of the United States and appealed to the Confederate states to reconsider. Their

CONNECTIONS

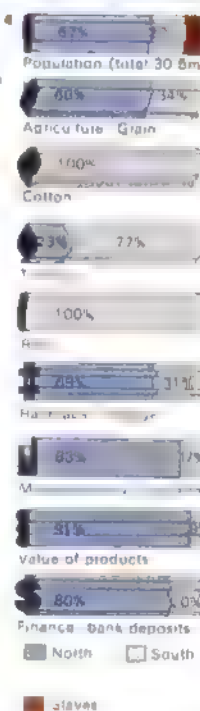
See also

1 Black slaves
Up more than a third of the population of the South when the war began. A strong young, male slave could cost nearly \$2,000 and was a substantial investment for his owner.



2 A stately mansion
with stucco columns and verandas on the ground and upper floors was the pride of many Southern plantations. House slaves acted as servants while field slaves tilled

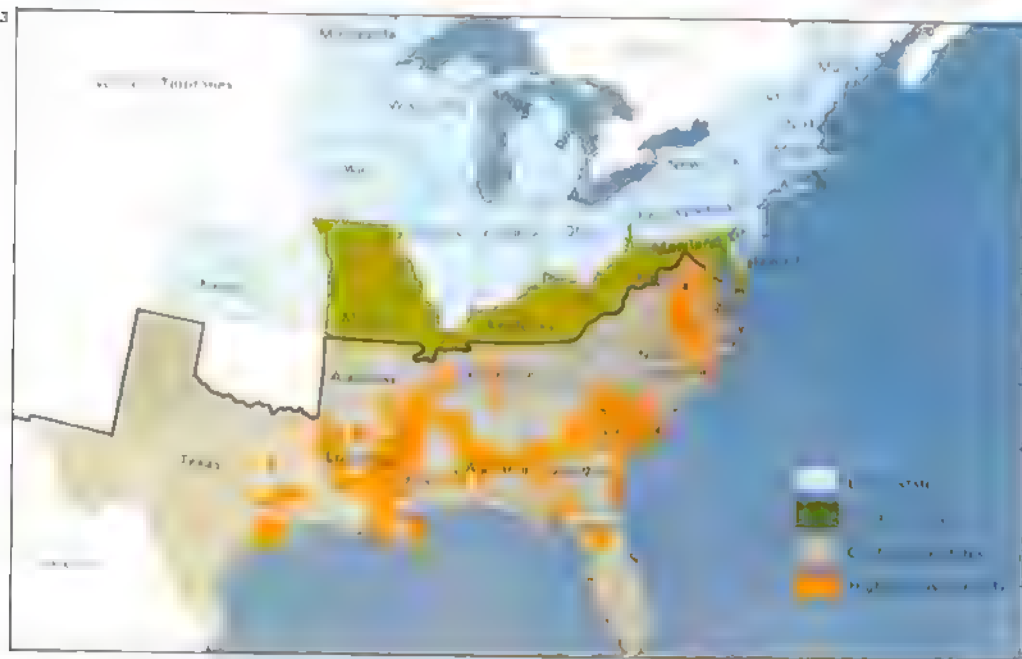
the surrounding soil. Although there were fewer than 10,000 plantation owners who had 50 or more slaves in the 1850s, they wielded overwhelming political and social influence throughout the South.



3 Loyalties to South or North
crossed state lines and divided families during the Civil War. Three of Abraham Lincoln's brothers-in-law died fighting for the Confederacy. Of the 23 states, including California and Oregon, which were loyal to the Union, the most difficult decision fell to the border states: the slave states of Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. Their allegiance to the 'Stars and Stripes' proved to be stronger than their purely regional interests.

the western part of the state chose the Union instead and gained statehood as West Virginia before the end of the war.

4 Outmatched
in industrial capacity and with a much smaller population the South counted in vain on a collapse of Northern morale.



reply came at dawn on 12 April when Southern guns opened fire on Fort Sumter, a federal outpost in Charleston, South Carolina. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee soon joined the Confederacy [3]. Both sides mobilized. The Civil War had begun.

The North had distinct advantages because its industrial capacity was far greater [4]. The South's free population was less than a quarter of that of the North. The North controlled the navy and imposed an increasingly effective blockade of the South. The South's only, dubious, advantage, apart from the quality of its fighting men, was that it was defending its home ground, while the North had to launch an assault.

The first major battle quickly showed that there would be no easy Northern victory. Union troops tried to crash through Confederate lines at Bull Run, Virginia, and were driven back in panic to Washington. But Northern superior numbers and equipment soon began to tell. After a major Northern victory at Antietam, Lincoln issued an Emancipation Proclamation, effective from 1

January 1863, declaring all slaves in the Confederate states to be free.

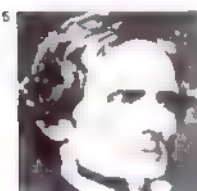
Southern attempts to rally to preserve slavery and the Confederacy met with increasingly confident and effective Northern onslaughts [6]. There was no recovery from a devastating Confederate setback at Gettysburg in July 1863 [7, 8]. General William Sherman's (1820-91) 'March to the Sea' in Georgia the following year undermined the South's remaining capacity to fight.

Victory and its aftermath

With victory inconceivable and the bulk of his forces cut off, the Confederate commander General Robert E. Lee (1807-70) surrendered to the Union commander General Ulysses S. Grant (1822-85) at Appomattox, Virginia, on 9 April 1865.

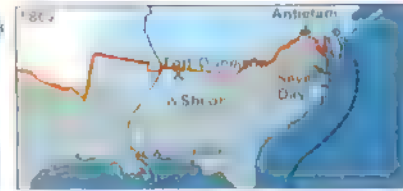
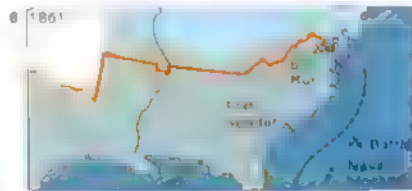
The Civil War had cost the lives of 360,000 Union and 260,000 Confederate men as well as thousands of civilians. The South was in ruins. Despite Lincoln's plea for 'malice towards none', the seeds of enduring bitterness had been sown.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), United States president during the Civil War, believed the country could not survive half slave and half free, but was determined to prevent the break-up of the Union. A self-taught lawyer of humble birth but great shrewdness, sincerity and common sense, he gained national recognition through public debates on slavery and was elected in 1860. Mild-mannered but strong-willed, he led the North with firmness and urged 'charity for all' after the South was defeated. He was assassinated by an actor, John Wilkes Booth, in Washington on 14 April 1865, soon after starting his second term of office.

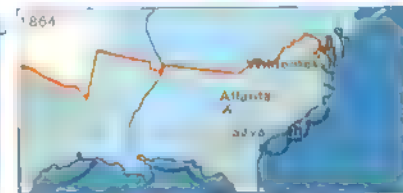
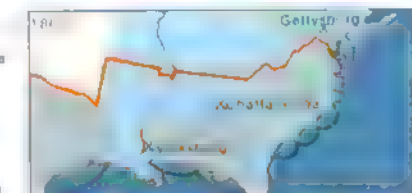


5 Jefferson Davis (1808-89), the champion of 'states rights' and the extension of slavery to western territory, was elected president of the Confederacy in 1862 and led the South until its surrender.

He suffered from poor health and his relations with other Southern leaders were often strained. Although taken prisoner after the war and indicted for treason, Davis was never tried.

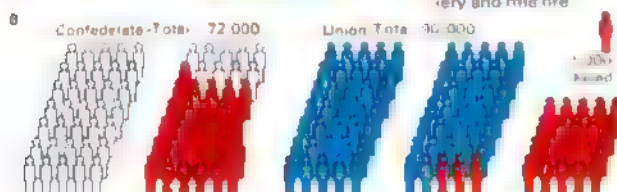


7 Gettysburg marked the turning point of the war in 1863 when a daring Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania was blocked in a furious three-day battle. General Lee, the Confederate commander, intended to wait for a Northern repulse near Cash town. But a chance encounter between rival patrols precipitated the battle near the small town of Gettysburg on 1 July. Successful probing assaults on Union positions led Confederate officers to misread the situation and cavalry that was engaged elsewhere failed to scout the terrain. Finally three divisions of Confederate troops were sent into a withering barrage of artillery and rifle fire.



8 Erosion of Confederate territory was steady after an initial stalemate. A) In 1861 when the North realized it must blockade the South. B) In 1862 after victories westwards the Union advanced from the north. C) By May 1863 it controlled the Mississippi. D) By the end of 1864 Sherman had split the South in two. E) Surrender became inevitable in 1865 after further Union gains.

from the north. B) By May 1863 it controlled the Mississippi. C) By the end of 1864 Sherman had split the South in two. D) Surrender became inevitable in 1865 after further Union gains.



8 Battle statistics at Gettysburg are the subject of controversy, but it is likely that about 72,000 Confederate troops faced nearly 90,000 Union troops. This disparity need not have been decisive in view of earlier Confederate

successes. While about 23,000 Union men were killed or died of wounds, the South's losses were about 28,000 (higher than the official figure given at the time). The strength of the Union was not undermined significantly. But although

its surviving forces escaped back to the South, the Confederacy had suffered a crippling and irrevocable loss. By 1865, with both sides conscripting men, the North had 360,000 under arms and the South only 450,000.



9 Union troops with a battery of 3-pounders near Fredericksburg were photographed by Matthew Brady (c. 1863), one of the first war photos.

graphs in history. The Civil War was also the first conflict in which photography and railroad transport were used widely and the first in which

naval vessels went into battle. In March 1862 the USS *Monitor* and the Confederate *Merrimack* fought the first battle of ironclads at Hampton Roads, Virginia. An early

submarine attack was launched by the *Hunley* which rammed its torpedo into the USS *Housatonic* off Charleston in 1864, with the loss of both ships.

USA: reconstruction to World War I

The United States developed from a predominantly rural nation at the end of its Civil War (1861-5) into the world's largest and wealthiest urban industrial power by the time of its entry into World War I (1917).

Among the key factors responsible for this major transformation were a huge population increase, discovery and exploitation of enormous supplies of mineral resources, consolidation of the settlement of the Great Plains and most of America's vast western hinterland, and the sprouting of far flung railway networks to service industrial, agricultural and population growth.

Problems of the South

America's development during this period was blighted by serious problems. Reconstruction of the defeated and devastated South after the Civil War [2] was retarded by residual North-South hostility. Northern military units policed Southern states to suppress lingering vestiges of rebellion. Carpetbaggers (northerners who migrated southwards for opportunistic or idealistic reasons) sought to govern and con-

trol sections of the ravaged South, aggravating Southern animosity.

In the rest of the country, however, industrial development was rapid. Rich coal veins were worked along the Appalachian mountain spine and in the Monongahela, Ohio and Allegheny valleys. Vast deposits of iron ore were mined in the Great Lakes region. Copper, lead and other minerals were discovered and hungrily tapped [Key], as was oil.

Industrial growth was further intensified by a host of inventions [8] including commercially viable electric lighting, the telephone and rubber vulcanizing. The mechanization of agriculture through the invention of the reaper-thresher, mechanical harvester and other farm machinery enabled farmers to expand land cultivation. Between 1860 and 1910 farm acreage more than doubled and farm production more than trebled. Cattle kingdoms flourished on a wide stretch of open range from Texas to Montana.

A complex of railway networks reached out across the country linking industry, agriculture and their respective markets. By 1910 310,000km (193,000 miles) of track

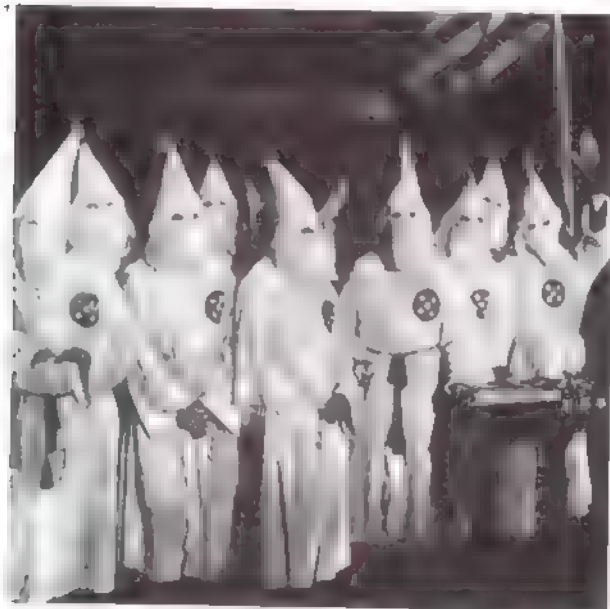
crossed the United States, more than in all of Europe at that time. By 1916 the figure was 425,000km (250,000 miles).

The rapid pace of development lent itself to the activities of aggressive entrepreneurs [5]. Men such as Scottish-born Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), instrumental in consolidating the American steel industry, and John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) who concentrated on oil, built personal fortunes through huge companies that could overwhelm competition, fix prices and benefit from large-scale marketing and speculation beyond the resources of smaller firms.

Population explosion

The giant companies [6] played a major role in the surge in America's gross national product, which rose from \$7,000 million in 1870 to \$91,000 million in 1920, despite economic fluctuations. The country's pool of labour provided by a rapidly growing population seemed bottomless. The number of Americans grew from 40 million in 1870 to 92 million in 1910. A flood of immigrants [3] from Europe throughout the period contri-

CONNECTIONS



1 Members of the Ku Klux Klan hooded and robed hold elaborate initiation ceremonies. The society was originally organized by former Confederate soldiers in 1866 at Pulaski, Tennessee, to maintain white supremacy in the Southern states after emancipation of black slaves had been confirmed by the defeat of the South in the Civil War. The Klan attracted many recruits to its ranks but its night-riding vigilante violence against blacks and northerners led to its dissolution in 1869. When it was revived in 1915 its anti-black policies were supplemented by anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish and anti-alien emphasis.



3 Health checks were largely superficial for the more than 20 million immigrants who settled in the USA between the Civil War and World War I. At first they came mainly from Britain, Germany and Scandinavia and later mostly from southern and eastern Europe, seeking religious or political freedom or escape from poverty. They formed German, American, Scandinavian, American and other intermixed ethnic islands in Great Plains agricultural regions, or they mined the natural resources, chopped down the forests and laid the rail tracks for the burgeoning American economy. By 1920 one out of every eight American citizens was of foreign birth.

2 In the unsettled years after the Civil War, bands of outlaws roamed across the central states. One of the best known figures was Jesse James (1847-82), here seated front left. He led a gang of bank and train robbers that included his brother Frank (front right) and four brothers of the Younger family - Coleman (rear left),

James, Robert (rear right) and John Jesse and Coleman had been members of Quantrill's Raiders - a band of Confederate mounted guerrillas - and they had no respect for Northern controlled banks and railways. The James-Younger gang left a blood-soaked trail of robberies across the Midwest. After John

Younger was shot dead in a bank raid his brothers were captured and imprisoned. Badly shaken the James brothers went into hiding. Three years later they went back to robbing trains. In 1882 Jesse was killed by Robert Ford, a new member of his gang who was tempted by the \$10,000 reward.



huted substantially to this increase and amounted to almost one million a year between 1900 and 1910.

Housing was frequently inadequate in congested urban centres, wages were low and poverty widespread. These conditions gave rise to the American trade union movement. The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, was superseded by the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, which was to become a potent industrial and political force. Similar action was needed in the rural sector to combat the damaging aspects of the rapid growth of agriculture – over production, soil exhaustion, droughts, dust storms and railways that offered bargain rates to favoured clients. Farmers formed protective associations, known as Granges that became the basis for the Populist movement and for the success in promoting legislation to further farmers' interests.

A burgeoning campaign against social injustice established a tradition of investigative journalism. The novels of Theodore Dreiser (1871–1945) and Frank Norris (1870–1902) described the often unsavoury

machinations of big business. New laws limited the length of the working day, regulated railway rates and prohibited the sale of "deleterious" foods and medicines. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) put an end to the indiscriminate exploitation of America's natural resources.

War against Spain

The country was already looking outside itself. Aroused by sensational press reports of the brutal suppression of a Cuban revolt against Spanish rule, and provoked by the sinking of the USS *Maine* by a mine in Havana harbour, the United States took up arms against Spain in 1898. It emerged victorious from the Spanish-American War in less than three months, Cuba was freed from Spanish rule and became independent. A more far-reaching consequence from the American point of view was that the United States, by annexing the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico, became a colonial power. By 1900 the United States was an economic giant, by 1914 she had become a fully fledged international power.



Coal and steel production increased phenomenally in the closing decades of the 1800s and the opening years of the 1900s to feed the American industrial boom. Augmented by substantial quantities of other important minerals such as copper, aluminium, lead, zinc and tin, the ground work was laid for the major industries that are now the pillars of the US economy. In 1900 the North already had a huge lead over the South in industrialization with, for example, more than 80% of the country's factories. The South was slow to recover from the ravages of the Civil War and so industrial growth was at first confined almost entirely to the North.



4 A revolution in urban building was the Carson, Pirie, Scott store in Chicago completed in 1904. Its architect, Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) had worked on the world's first skyscraper – the 10-

storey Auditorium building in Chicago 16 years earlier. The discovery that a steel frame could support the weight of skyscrapers permitted cities to expand upwards as well as outwards.



5 The wealth of US millionaires at the turn of the century is illustrated by a chart showing the assets of five of them in 1901. Together, John D. Rockefeller, Edward Harriman, J.P. Morgan, William K. Vanderbilt and George Gould had personal assets of \$800 million and could control ten times that amount through company directorships. Rockefeller, who started as a book keeper, formed the Standard Oil Company to dominate America's oil industry.

Harriman (1848–1909) once consolidated most of the rail networks of western USA. Morgan (1837–1913), founder of the US Steel Corporation, manipulated investment banking to build his enormous fortune. Vanderbilt (1849–1920) inherited the transport empire of his grandfather, Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877). George Gould (1864–1923) was heir to the immense rail holdings of his unscrupulous father, Jay Gould (1836–92).

6 The United States Steel Corporation, founded in 1901, was the first of the giant "vertical" American companies that dominated the entire process of production and distribution through ownership of raw material sources and means of transport. It gained control of smaller firms and integrated them into massive, profitable corporate structures that were capable of eliminating competition, fixing prices and manipulating markets.



7 New York 1911 had a population of almost four million and was already a sprawling metropolis. It was a major cultural and business centre threaded together by a network of street, car and subway lines, tunnels and bridges. Extremes of rich and poor were seen in the contrast between the elegant mansions of Millionaires Row and the grim immigrant slums. The automobile industry rapidly expanded about this time, as the number of cars here in Herald Square indicates.



8 Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) became America's most prolific inventor. His formal education amounted to three months' schooling at the age of seven. Edison is credited with inventing the phonograph, automatic telegraph receiver and the first commercially viable incandescent lamp. He had over 1,000 patents and amongst them was the world's first plant for distributing electric power for lighting to a surrounding area, built in New York City 1882.

Two tumbling points
in the American Civil
War are described in
these two prints.
Both the scene of
Atlanta being set by
General Sherman in
September and
General Grant's
Chancellorsville
Victory in March. The
high level of the battle
strategies were
based on the ability to
beat the Union forces.



Steam age nostalgia Two engines of the Swedish State Railway linked for the benefit of railway enthusiasts in front is a Class S1 Wheel Type 2-6-4T built in 1953 by Nydquist Holm. Behind is a Class S Wheel Type 2-6-2T built by Motala in 1914. They are on the Nene Valley Railway, the only preservation railway in the UK with special loading facilities for continental trains.



The impact of steam

The application of steam power in the course of the nineteenth century to land and water transport and to manufacturing and agriculture [5] transformed the world trading system. Steam power also enormously increased the mobility and economic dominance of the most advanced Western nations over the economically backward territories of the earth. Of all the agencies of change railways had the largest impact.

Nationalism and the railways

In the first stage of their development, until about 1870, railways served to strengthen and enlarge national markets and to consolidate national states. The opening of the first transcontinental railway in 1869 linked with "hunks of iron" the state of California to the rest of the USA. The unification of both Germany and Italy and the growth of their national economies were accelerated by means of the railway. The condition laid down by the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland) for their acceptance of Canadian Confederation in 1867

was that a railway should be built to link them with the provinces of the interior. A similar condition was laid down by British Columbia when it joined the confederation in 1871.

Later railway developments had a bigger impact on the world economy, especially in greatly increasing the volume of commodity exchange. The extension of railways into the prairies of North and South America through such agencies as the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Argentine Railway, the opening of the "western windows" of Russia - Riga and Odessa - through railways stretching into their wheat-growing hinterlands, and the construction of lines into the fertile plains of the Punjab and of Bengal, all contributed handsomely to the expansion of world markets in basic commodities.

Before the railway age national economies were largely self-sufficient, but in the age of steam the importation of vast quantities of basic foodstuffs and essential raw materials by the advanced industrial nations enabled them to concentrate on the large-scale, steam-powered production of standardized manufactured goods.

The raising of funds for building steam railways was one of the most important reasons for the growth of a world capital market, with London as its leading centre before 1914. Of the £4,107 million British investors had placed overseas by 1914 £1,531 million was in railway securities.

Migration and colonialism

Steamship and railway companies both stood to gain by encouraging the mass migration of labour. Many companies preferred to carry migrants, who loaded and unloaded themselves rather than cargo that did not. The steerage fare from Liverpool to New York in the 1880s was only £3. More than 20 million people emigrated to the United States between 1865 and 1914.

Without the aid of the gunboat [4] and the railway, military and political domination of colonial territories by the metropolitan powers would have been impossible [2]. In the 1880s the French sent several military expeditions to Algeria to suppress a serious insurrection under Bu Amami. The uprising was eventually subdued by the building of a

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Small steamboats played an important part in the exploration of Africa between c. 1855-85 and thereafter in the policing and administration of colonial territories. In this steam launch

the *Me Robert* David Livingstone explored the Zambesi in 1850. He explored the Hiver Rovina in the steam launch *Pioneer* in 1850. Four years later H. M. Stanley used the steam launch *Lady Alice* to

circumnavigate Lake Victoria and help in the search for the source of the Congo. Colonial administrators in West Africa used steam launches between railheads up and down the Senegal and Niger rivers.



2 Steam-powered warships were used by Western powers to drag Japan out of her long sustained policy of isolation. In July 1853 fearing that unless he acted quickly Russia would forestall him, the President of the USA sent Commodore Matthew Perry with four warships (two were steamers) to Uraga with a letter addressed to the shogunate demanding trade concessions, including coaling stations. In February 1854 Perry returned with seven ships, insisting on a reply. Overawed by the "black ships" in the harbour, the shogunate yielded. The Treaty of Kanagawa, signed on 31 March 1854, opened two ports to US ships.



3 The *Great Eastern* of 18,915 tons, 210.9m (685ft) long and powered by paddle screw and sail, was too large for weak contemporary marine engines. In July 1866 she laid the first successful transatlantic telegraph cable.

4 Gunboat *Foxhound* served in the Royal Navy from 1877-90. Built to a length of 38.1m (125ft), a beam of 7.18m (23ft) and tonnage of 445, she carried two 60-pounder and two 20-pounder guns and could sail towards trouble faster than

major capital ships. Small frigates steamed into harbours and even up estuaries to devastate enemies. It was ships of these relative small sizes that made Britain mistress of the seas in the years before 1914.

railway through the heart of the troubled area. Following the suppression of an Ashanti rebellion by the British in 1900 the pacification of the Gold Coast was sealed by building a railway. Once colonial rule was established, railways reduced administrative expenses in the transport of personnel and stores. A train of the 1890s could do the work of 13,000 porters at five per cent of the cost.

Before the 1860s steamships had a voracious consumption of coal, which limited their range of economic operations to coastal and short sea routes. (The North Atlantic, with a large passenger traffic, was an exception.) Technical improvement came more slowly to the marine engine than the locomotive. In 1840 the 1,139-ton *Britannia* carried only 90 passengers and only 225 tonnes of goods because it needed 640 tonnes of bunker fuel for the Atlantic crossing. But the introduction of the compound marine engine in the 1860s made a 40 per cent saving in fuel consumption. In 1914 the 4,550-ton Cunarder *Bohnia* carried more than three times as much cargo as coal and had room for 340 passengers. With the opening of the Suez

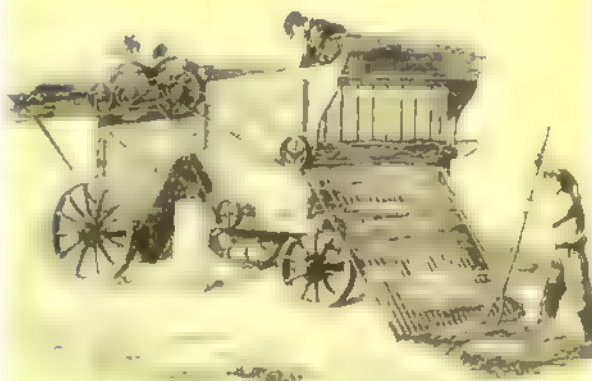
Canal in 1869 it was profitable to use compound-engined steamships in the Far East trade.

The use of steel in ship construction in the 1880s and the introduction of the steam turbine in the following decade drove sailing vessels off the sea lanes to Australia and New Zealand. These advances also led to the increase of freight carried in the world's steamships from 27 million tonnes in 1871 to 63 million tonnes in 1898.

Industry and agriculture

Before 1914 the use of steam power for driving textile machinery was still heavily concentrated in Western Europe and the USA, which together accounted for 80 per cent of factory textile production. But its dispersion had produced rapid advances in industrialization in India, Japan, Australia and Egypt. Steam power was used at all stages in the production of iron and steel, but dispersion of steam power outside the older industrial areas was slow. Steam's biggest impact agriculturally was on the processing of agricultural produce as in threshing [Key].

KEY



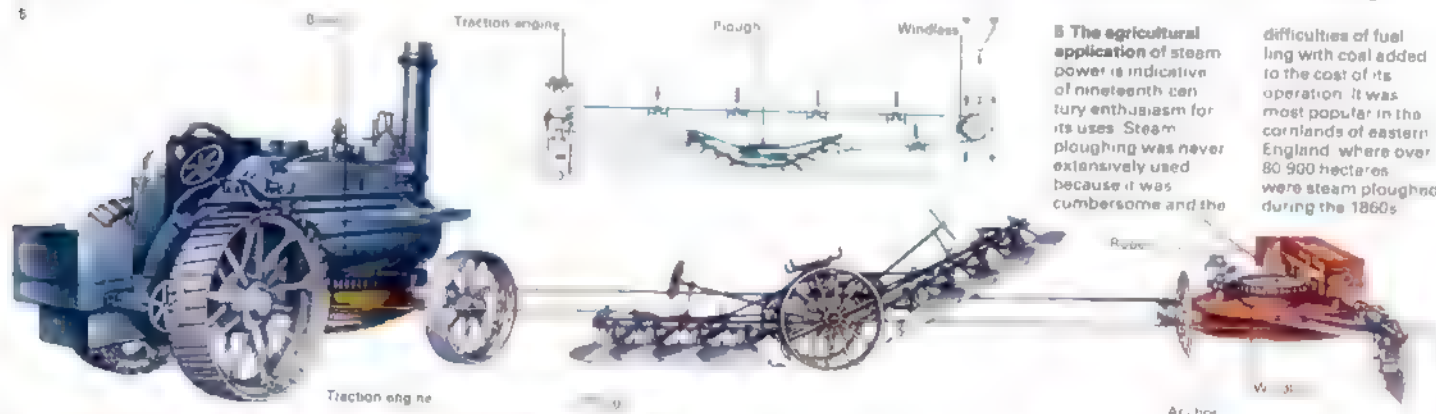
This steam-driven threshing machine displaced the primitive flail during the 1830s. This was

steam's most dramatic contribution to agriculture – the one important incursion of steam power

into an industry that remained largely unmechanized until the introduction of the petrol engine

5 The agricultural application of steam power is indicative of nineteenth century enthusiasm for its uses. Steam ploughing was never extensively used because it was cumbersome and the

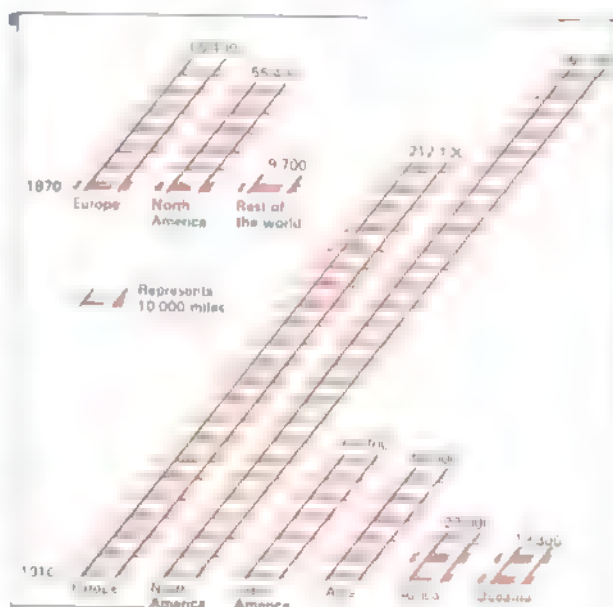
difficulties of fuel ling with coal added to the cost of its operation. It was most popular in the cornlands of eastern England, where over 80,000 hectares were steam ploughed during the 1860s.



6 The American Civil War (1861–5) was the first major war in which railways played a decisive role. Here, a train bringing Union reinforcements to General Johnston has run off the track in the forests of Mississippi (1863). In Virginia, some railway tracks were blown up and relaid as many as six times during the fighting. The repair gangs worked in sight of the enemy's artillery.



7 The Chilean railway from Valparaíso to Santiago was built between 1853 and 1864 and was the first important South American railway. Its construction through the Andes represented a great engineering feat and was financed largely by British investment. Such railways brought development to remote areas, encouraged greater administrative centralization in previously disunited countries and focused nationalist aspirations.



8 Steam railways were pioneered by Great Britain and the USA. The world's first fully locomotive-powered public railway, the Liverpool and Manchester (1825), was quickly followed by the Baltimore and Ohio and others. For

the next 40 years railway building was mainly concentrated in Europe and North America, where capital and engineering skill were available linking centres of industry and commerce. From 1832 British railways were started in France.

Belgium, Bavaria, Austria and Canada. After 1870, railways on the American continent were often built to open up new land and to develop its commercial potential. Railways in Japan and India dominated rail construction in Asia.

The foundations of 20th-century science

Medical science in the nineteenth century was hindered by orthodox prejudice that rejected discoveries that could not be explained by the current theory. Yet, in the 1850s, the germ theory of disease was accepted.

The new fields of thermodynamics and electromagnetism suggested new concepts of energy, and the mathematical work of Carl Friedrich Gauss and Georg Riemann established the new field of academic physics. In the 1850s, the microscope was used as a means of investigation.

Biology and medicine

The biological world also seemed straightforward until it was upset by Charles Darwin (1809-82) and Gregor Mendel (1822-84). When Darwin produced his 1859 *Species*, placing man among animals in an evolutionary process that could be explained by natural selection, a storm of controversy broke that did not completely subside for more than a century. Mendel's work in the 1860s on inheritance factors went un-

noticed at the time but in the 1900s was to help lay the foundations of genetics.

Medical science also progressed. Claude Bernard (1813-78) studied the chemical changes in the body during disease.

The bacteriological ideas of Louis Pasteur (1822-95) [3], together with the introduction of antiseptics and anaesthetics, revolutionized surgery and led to the understanding of new ways to combat disease. Medical scientists also began to explore the realms of the mind, virtually

unexplored territory. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) [8], the founder of psychoanalysis, was laid and the important concept of the unconscious intro-

The atomic theory

Chemical science was revolutionized by the atomic theory of matter. In the 1800s, the idea of atoms was revived, and in the 1860s, the atomic theory was established. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry.

form at the beginning of the nineteenth century by John Dalton (1766-1844); the theory propounded the view that all chemical changes were merely rearrangements of inde-

pendent evidence was deemed necessary, yet in the work of Amadeo Avogadro (1776-1843) and Jöns Jacob Berzelius (1790-1848) the desired correlations and experimental proofs were found and the theory of

atoms was established. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry.

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Faraday's 'ring' was constructed and used in the work of Michael Faraday (1791-1867) on the principles of electrostatics in London in 1831.

He knew that electricity was a form of energy and that it could be converted into heat and light. He also knew that it could be used to produce chemical changes.

Faraday's experiments showed that electricity was a form of energy and that it could be converted into heat and light. He also knew that it could be used to produce chemical changes.

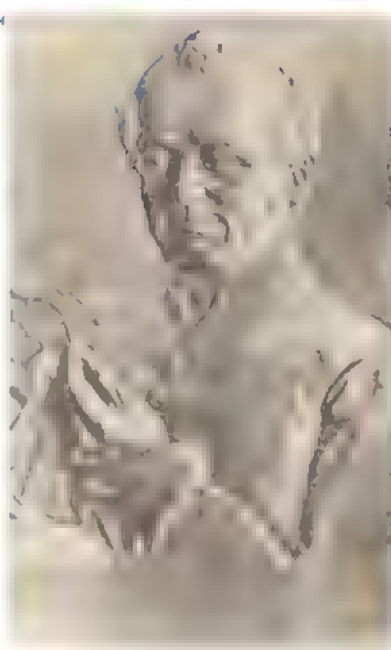


3 This illustration of Louis Pasteur (1822-95) shows him with his famous 'corks' and 'worms'. He showed that all were due to the action of the worms. He showed that all were due to the action of the worms.

He showed that all were due to the action of the worms. He showed that all were due to the action of the worms. He showed that all were due to the action of the worms.



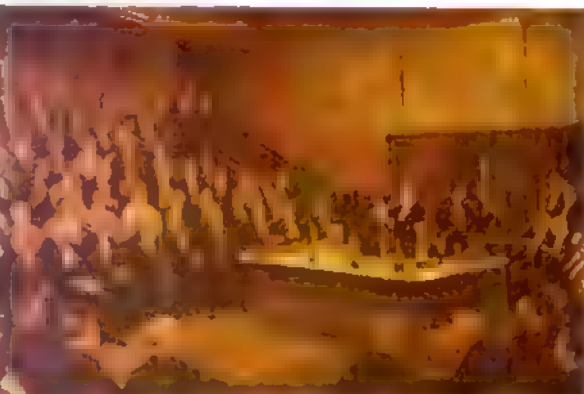
4 Gregor Mendel was a monk who was interested in the current explanations of how the many different changes and varieties of living things occurred. In the 1850s, he began experiments on the inheritance of traits in pea plants. The next generation gave a quantitative measure of the inheritance of traits. Mendel's work was the foundation of modern genetics.



2 In the middle of the 19th century, the atomic theory was established.

The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry. The atomic theory was the foundation of modern chemistry.

chance this led him to discover a mauve dye. He showed that all were due to the action of the worms. He showed that all were due to the action of the worms.



5 James Dewar (1842-1923) could not have given this demonstration of pouring liquid hydrogen without the 19th century's work on thermodynamics. The law of conservation of energy and the discovery of heat energy were vital advances. The idea that the heat of an object depended on the movement of its molecules led to the concept of absolute zero and is basic to the 20th century's idea of matter.

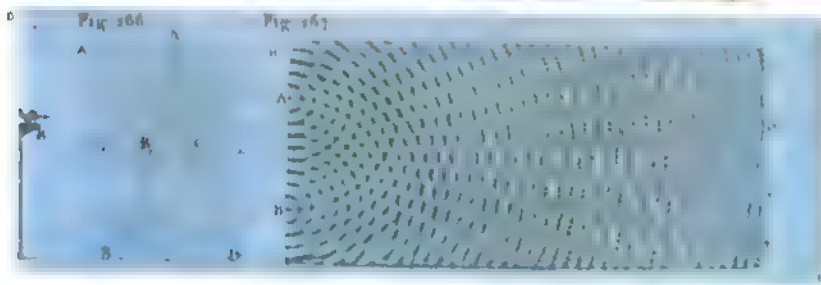
[illegible]

Experiments with light

[illegible]

§ From 1800-09

Thomas Young
 proved the wave theory
 of light when he posed
 Newton's theory of light
 theory of the light



8 Sigmund Freud, *a*

Venners developed
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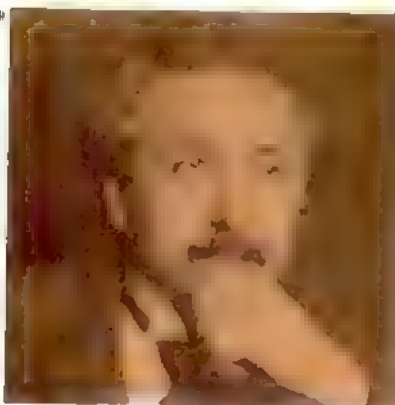


10 The University of
Göttingen

A snippet of handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notation includes various notes, rests, and possibly a clef, though the image is too blurry to identify specific symbols.



9 Albert Einstein, 9

[illegible]

J. J. Turner, D. Scott, S.

1. $\frac{1}{2}$

[illegible]

Industrialization 1870-1914

The most striking feature of the latter half of the nineteenth century was the growth and spread of industrialization through Europe and into other parts of the world such as Japan and the United States. The rise of industrial economies in Western Europe had profound social and political consequences. With the rapid growth of cities and towns came the development of a more complex political society in which new groups of people – the middle and working classes in particular – began to group themselves and exert greater political influence than before.

Spread of industrialization

In 1850 the only country that could be described as having an industrial economy was Britain [3]. But industrial development spread to Belgium, France and Germany by 1870, and in the last decades of the century was becoming established in countries such as Sweden and Russia.

Belgium industrialized rapidly and by 1870 had one of the leading economies in Europe. French commerce, iron production and textile output were flourishing by the

latter part of the century and between 1870 and 1890 French technical innovation played an important part in the development of many engineering products.

By 1900 the most important industrial economy to emerge on the continent of Europe was that of Germany. Her unification by 1871 was accompanied by an accumulation of capital and development of the transport network. From 1850 to 1880 Germany increased coal production tenfold and, with the acquisition of the iron ore fields of Alsace-Lorraine from France in 1871, output of iron and steel rapidly expanded [1]. Other countries, such as Sweden, Russia, Switzerland and Austria, began to share in these developments by 1900.

Technology and trade

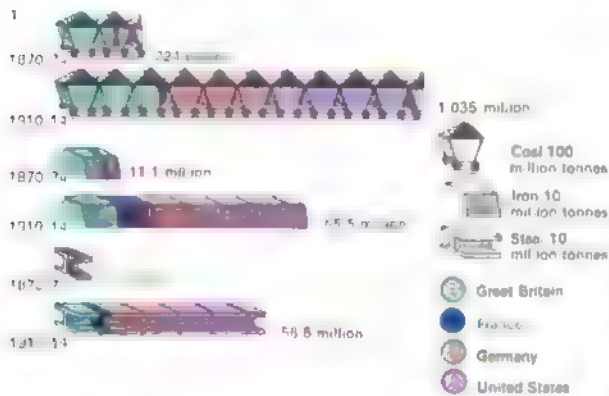
European industrialization rested upon the application of a technology pioneered in Great Britain, but made use of more advanced techniques. The Bessemer process for making steel, invented in 1856, enabled the cheap production of a material that was stronger than iron. Steelmaking from the

phosphoric ores common in Europe was made possible by the Thomas-Gilchrist process after 1878. Cheap steel could be used for machinery, shipbuilding and many other items of general use and provided the basis for the rapid expansion of engineering industries throughout Europe. By 1900, with scientific inquiry into chemical and electrical phenomena, other new industries appeared. The first electrical apparatus and industrial chemicals began to emerge, especially in Germany. Development of the internal combustion engine was well under way by the turn of the century and refinements in mechanical engineering provided the impetus for a flood of labour-saving products ranging from sewing-machines and vacuum cleaners to typewriters.

Trade expanded rapidly during the late nineteenth century, facilitated by the increasing use of iron and steel steamships. Imperialism stimulated the search for new markets and raw materials but the bulk of trade occurred between European and American markets. Cheap foodstuffs from North America after 1870 played an impor-

CONNECTIONS

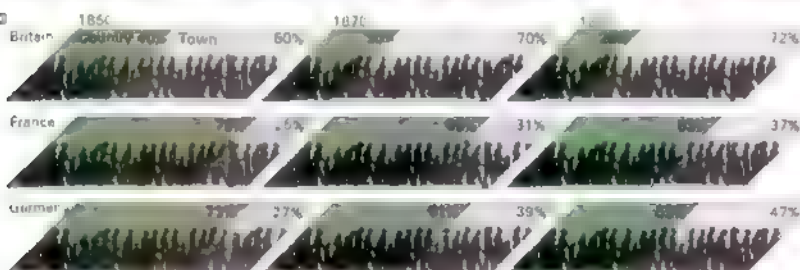
See also



1 Industrial output rose rapidly in the latter half of the 19th century aided by advances in engineering and financial

expertise. The 1878 Thomas Gilchrist process to make steel from phosphoric iron ores enabled France and Germany to base

industrial expansion on vast ore deposits. This diagram shows average yearly production between 1870-74 and 1910-14.



2 Opera houses such as that of Vienna were part of an impressive urban culture created by the growing wealth of many European cities.

which built concert halls, art galleries and museums together with municipal buildings and better systems of sanitation, lighting and street

paving. Improved housing for better off workers and the middle classes led to the first suburbs and mass transport by tram and railway.

3 A population shift from the country to the cities proceeded rapidly as industrialization spread. In 1850, Britain

spent nearly three quarters of Europe's people still lived on the land. But as Germany industrialized, its population

ratio began to alter in the direction of Britain's – a trend followed by France towards the end of the century.

4 London celebrated the relief of Mafeking in 1900 during the Boer War with an outburst of national pride fuelled by widespread reporting of the war in the popular press. The rise of mass newspapers helped to create a powerful and excitable public opinion in the last decades of the century when imperial adventures and colonial rivalry gave birth to 'jingoism' expressed in bell-ringing, literature, spirited demonstrations and songs.



5 The bicycle was the first 'luxury' consumer product to gain a mass market. Heavily promoted by colourful advertisements such as this from the Michelin Building, London, it was sold in such numbers that manufacturers realized a huge new market had been suddenly created. Other mass produced goods developed through advances in engineering and metallurgy, including sewing machines, gramophones, typewriters and motor cars.



tant part in reducing European food prices while at the same time depressing local agriculture in what was called the "Great Depression". Established industries, too, were exposed to fluctuations with the rise of competing industrial economies. To protect their newly established industries France and Germany imposed tariffs. A more complex economic structure emerged with large trusts and cartels grouping related industries into large combines; joint stock companies supplanted many family firms and banking and investment institutions became more sophisticated. By 1914 London was the financial centre of the world, with large stakes in shipping, insurance and investment

Far-reaching social changes

Industrial development and the continued rise of Europe's population associated with European urbanization [7] brought fundamental social changes. There was a great increase in middle-class wealth, often derived from investment in stocks and shares [8]. But even the poorest classes benefited from rising real wages. Living conditions in

the growing towns and cities of Europe were often harsh and difficult, but were improving at record rates. Social welfare measures began to be adopted by some states, as in Bismarck's Germany, and philanthropy in countries such as Britain provided some relief for the most deprived. Emigration was widespread from the poorest countries, especially Ireland, Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Most migrants went to North America, although some went to British colonies, in particular to Australia.

An advance in living standards by 1900 was reflected in the emergence of the first aspects of mass consumer society [Key]. The rise of cheap newspapers, widespread advertising and selling of consumer goods such as bicycles [5], and the growth of mass entertainment in sport, music hall and holiday excursions, showed that the working classes were beginning to enjoy some of the fruits of industrialization. This was certainly the case with the large middle-class families [6] who gave the latter part of the nineteenth century a somewhat staid character that belied the changes at work in society.

KEY



Growing wealth for all sections of society in the late 19th century led to the first mass con-

sumer market with the development of advertising and the growth of "chain" stores, among them

Marks & Spencer, who opened a "penny bazaar" in Stratford Street, Manchester, in the 1890s.



6 Victorian families of all classes tended to be large because of a high birth rate and declining mortality

due to improved medical care, diet and general living standards. Among poorer sections of the community in

fant deaths from infectious diseases continued to be high and there were usually more pregnancies than survi-

ving children. But upper class family life was based on large units with many servants as well as children.

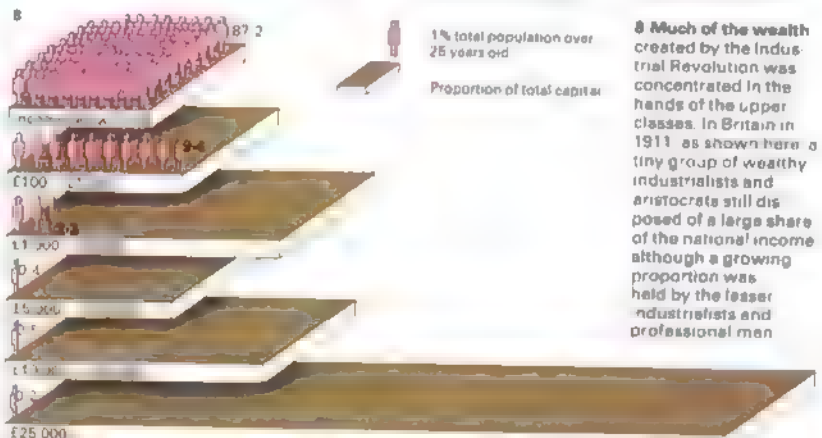
Two or three servants were a bare minimum for a solid middle-class family. In the aristocratic households of the

great country estates it was not unusual to find over 100 house servants, kitchen staff and gardeners.

The rambling Victorian house was often a viable living unit only when it could be maintained by numerous staff.



7 The growth of Berlin was typical of many nineteenth century cities. Up to 1850 its expansion was mainly around the old city centre, but with the growth of the German state, and the development of Berlin as a capital city and industrial centre, it grew into a major European metropolis. As with many other cities, Berlin's rising population spread out to create surrounding suburbs, incorporating villages that had once been separate.



8 Much of the wealth created by the Industrial Revolution was concentrated in the hands of the upper classes. In Britain in 1911 as shown here a tiny group of wealthy industrialists and aristocrats still disposed of a large share of the national income although a growing proportion was held by the lesser industrialists and professional men.

The fight for the vote

The early nineteenth-century parliamentary system in Britain contained many anomalies. The right to vote was governed by a complex system of traditional rights and privileges that had hardly changed since the mid-seventeenth century. Many boroughs elected their MPs on a tiny franchise, some had become so reduced that they were known as "rotten" boroughs and election to the seat lay almost entirely within the power of the local landowner. Moreover, the dramatic growth and redistribution in population during the Industrial Revolution created an anomalous situation where large, thriving towns had no representation whatsoever in Parliament.

Twin aspects of reform

Parliamentary reform, therefore, had two major aspects, the progressive extension of the franchise, to encompass all men, and later women, and the redistribution of seats to rectify the anomalies of the "unreformed" House of Commons. In addition, the conduct of elections, the use of bribery, and the decisive power of individual patrons in the many

"pocket" boroughs all formed part of the long-standing unreformed system.

Movements for reform began in the second half of the 1700s, when the radical demagogue John Wilkes (1727-97) whipped up much popular support in London in the 1760s and 1770s. Fear of disorder, following the French Revolution, and the vested interests of many existing MPs, held back reform for another generation. But reform and "radical" ideas were kept alive by men such as Henry Hunt (1773-1835), William Cobbett (1763-1835), John Cartwright (1740-1824), and Francis Place (1771-1854).

The growth of the manufacturing towns during the Napoleonic Wars created a demand for representation, seen in the formation of political unions in towns such as Birmingham and Manchester. Discontent with the Tory administrations brought the Whigs to power in 1830.

A bill was introduced in 1831 but was rejected by the House of Lords. This caused widespread unrest, including riots at Derby, Nottingham and Bristol. Under threat of the

creation of new peers, the Reform Bill was passed in 1832. The First Reform Act replaced the existing confusion of voting qualifications with a more regular system. But the electorate rose to only 652,000 and power remained vested in the hands of the upper and middle classes. More significant was the redistribution of 143 seats from the worst of the insignificant rotten boroughs to the larger manufacturing towns, London, and the counties [1, 2].

The 1832 Reform Act was in many ways conservative. Even many Whigs regarded it only as a measure to cure the anomalies of the existing electoral system. Attempts by the Chartists to coerce Parliament into a further programme of radical reform was resisted by the propertied classes. Three mass petitions in 1839, 1842 and 1848 [3] in support of the Charter were ignored.

The vote for the working man

Growing prosperity brought more people within the 1832 franchise qualifications by the 1860s. With the increasing inevitability of a further measure of reform, the Conserva-

CONNECTIONS

See also

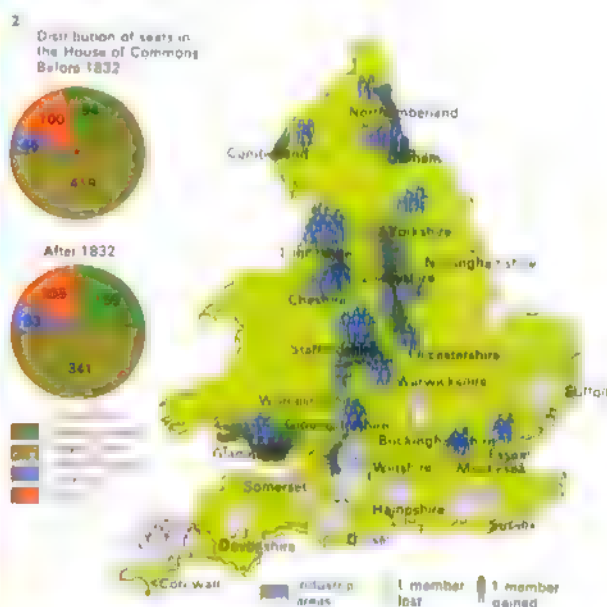


1 The post-1832 'reformed' Parliament had members from the previously unrepresented manu-

facturing towns at the expense of the small "rotten" boroughs and some "pocket" boroughs

2 The First Reform Bill was essentially a conservative measure. It rectified the anomalies created by the

population changes in the previous hundred years and enfranchised the upper middle classes

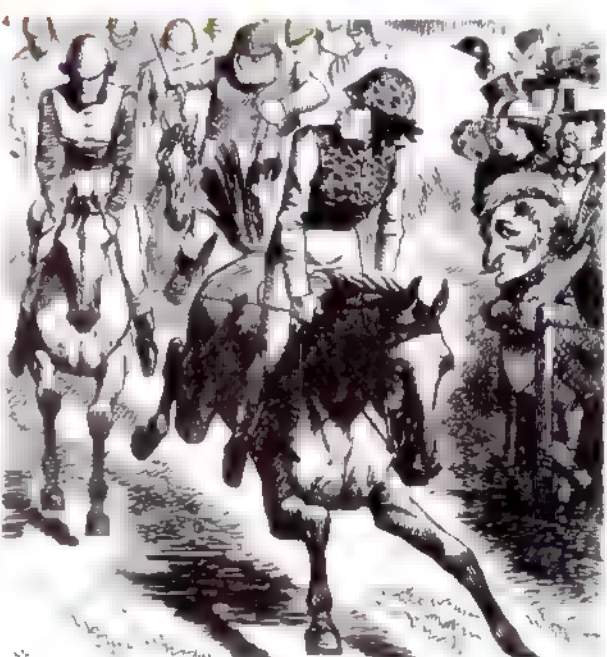


3 The Chartists, here shown at their last great meeting in 1848, demanded sweeping

electoral reforms, but the movement died because of dissension and poor leadership

4 Disraeli leads 'the race for electoral reform' in this Punch cartoon. The Second

Reform Bill was passed in 1867 by the Conservatives under Derby and Disraeli



five leaders, Lord Derby (1799–1869) and Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81), and the Liberal leader, William Gladstone (1809–98), juggled with the new proposals to win advantage for their parties. It was Disraeli who finally managed to keep his party together and who is credited with the Second Reform Act in 1867 [4]. This act extended the vote to about one million urban working men, a further redistribution of seats.

The Ballot Act of 1872 introduced secret ballot, and in 1883 the worst aspects of electoral corruption were made illegal. In 1884 the Third Reform Act was passed by the Liberals, which enfranchised agricultural labourers and increased the electorate from about three million to about five million. In the following year, another redistribution of seats removed the last proprietary boroughs. Finally, in 1918 all men over the age of 21 received the vote [8].

The suffragette movement

Women had been excluded from the vote in all the reform acts up to 1918. They still had very insecure property rights and were widely

regarded as unfit to exercise the responsibilities of political power [6]. The Women's Social and Political Union was founded in Manchester in 1903 to fight for the vote, headed by Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928) [7]. Known as "suffragettes", they gradually gave up normal methods of demonstrations and propaganda and turned to violence, breaking windows, setting buildings on fire, chaining themselves to railings, and resisting arrest.

With the defeat of a moderate proposal for female suffrage in 1912, the campaign for women's rights was temporarily frustrated. World War I, however, advanced the status of women. They played an immense part in the war effort, working in munitions factories and previously male-dominated jobs. In 1918 women over 30 were given the vote and this franchise was extended to all women over 21 in 1928.

Plural voting, through property or businesses in more than one constituency, was abolished in 1906; it finally disappeared in 1948 with the removal of university seats at Oxford and Cambridge.



The introduction of secret voting (1872) was one of the several reforms that had removed the worst abuses from the electoral system by the end of the 1800s. But women – half the popu-

lation – still did not have the vote. After 1884 more than half the adult males were eligible to vote. The redistribution of seats had corrected the worst imbalances produced by the growth of the industrial towns that occurred during the Industrial Revolution. One result of those and other reforms, such as the abolition of a property qualification for MPs (1858), was the rise of the Labour Party.

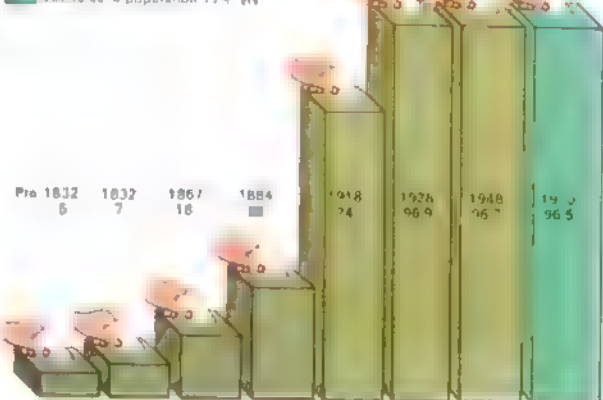
5 Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937) (centre) formed the first Labour government in January 1924. The Labour Party achieved an electoral breakthrough in the 1906 general election, when they

formed a pact with the Liberals. Labour's 30 seats at that election were a recognition of the growing power of a party that represented the interests of the newly enfranchised working classes.



8 The electorate only gradually increased with the passing of the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884. Growing economic prosperity brought many within the franchise qualifications without the need of legislation. In 1918, men over 21 and all women over 30 years old were granted the vote. In 1928 all women over 21 were given the vote. In 1948 the last remnant of plural voting was abolished and, as a result, the number of the electorate fell to some extent.

8 Voters as % population 20–34 yrs
Voters as % population 35+ yrs



6 The question of votes for women became a prominent issue in the ten years prior to 1914 when women's groups were formed to campaign for the "suffrage". This was not fully achieved for women over 21, until 1928.

7 Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of the suffragettes, is carried away by the police during a demonstration. After 1905, the suffragettes pursued a militant policy, which led to a number of arrests and imprisonments.

UNDER WHICH FLAG?



Which is your side in the great fight—**PEERS OR PEOPLE?**

9 A contemporary election poster graphically portrays the conflict in 1909 between the Conservative-dominated House of Lords and the Liberal government. It reached a climax when the Lords rejected the government's budget. Two elections were forced and on each occasion the Liberals were returned. In 1911 the primacy of the elected assembly was established when, under threat of the creation of more peers, a bill was passed restricting the powers of the Lords.

Ireland from Union to Partition

The legislatures of Dublin and London were combined on 1 January 1801 for reasons of state – British reasons, although the Union also suited those Protestants of the Irish Ascendancy who feared the rising forces of Catholicism and democracy. Other Irish Protestants opposed the measure, distrusting Westminster's will to preserve Protestant privileges, while Catholic leaders tended to favour Union, accompanied as it was to be by legislation to grant Catholics the right to sit in the Union Parliament.

Consequences of the Union

In the event, Protestant fears of the Union turned out to be as unfounded as Catholic hopes. Protestants continued to represent Irish constituencies in Parliament, the Anglican Church remained established and the separate Irish administration continued to favour Protestant interests.

To Catholics, the Union provided scant blessing. Their right to sit in Parliament was not conceded, the prime minister, the younger William Pitt (1759–1806) preferring to resign rather than jeopardize the war

effort against France by provoking a constitutional crisis over King George III's (reigned 1760–1820) opposition to Catholic emancipation. Emancipation became, therefore, a principal issue of the Union Parliament: its denial completely disenchanted Catholics with the Union [1].

The land problem and Home Rule

The Great Famine of 1845–49 [2] stressed the enduring problem of nineteenth-century Ireland – the imbalance of its land and people. The Irish population had grown alarmingly from five-and-a-half million in 1800 to more than eight million by 1845. Crowded together in smallholdings subdivided into uneconomic units, increasingly dependent upon a potato diet, the Catholic labourers and tenant farmers presented a desperate spectacle. Without industrial alternatives, the peasantry had to remain on the land, exposed to periodic crop failures.

At Westminster, tenant and Catholic spokesmen tried to co-ordinate Irish MPs to deal with Irish issues, but, in practice, allegiance to the Liberal and Tory parties

prevailed. But after the false start of Isaac Butt's (1813–79) Home Rule League (1873), Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–91) [5] welded together a disciplined Irish Party in pursuit of Home Rule.

As a result of the long-felt grievance over ownership, unsatisfactory tenancy arrangements, misguided legislation, a further series of bad harvests from 1877, and the organization of the Irish National Land League, rural discontent was brought to a new focus between 1879–82 [4]. Parnell yoked this to his parliamentary demands, while the shadowy Irish Republican Brotherhood (the Fenian movement) begun by James Stephens (1825–1901) in 1858 and now given direction by John Devoy (1842–1928) from America, lent clandestine support. Coercion proved an insufficient government response but the Liberal leader, William Gladstone (1809–98), accepting the logic of Parnell's position, attempted in vain to devolve a Home Rule parliament to Dublin [6].

Meanwhile, the Home Rule Party, split in 1890 and discredited by internal feuds, was being outflanked by other movements

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Daniel O'Connell, 1776–1847, the first politician in the British Isles to mobilize mass support behind his cause, won Catholic emancipation in 1829. As MP for Clare, he alternately

bargained for reforms and attacked the Union itself. But support for his Repeal Association declined after 1843 when he refused to risk bloodshed in opposition to Westminster and the Union.



3 Inhibitions against emigration were broken by the Famine and a steady flow of emigrants began to leave Ireland. By 1811, when the population stabilized at nearly four-and-a-half million, more

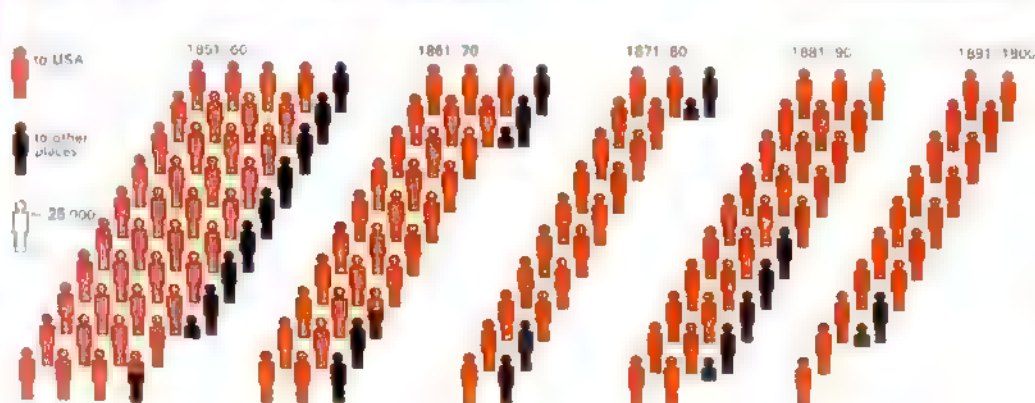
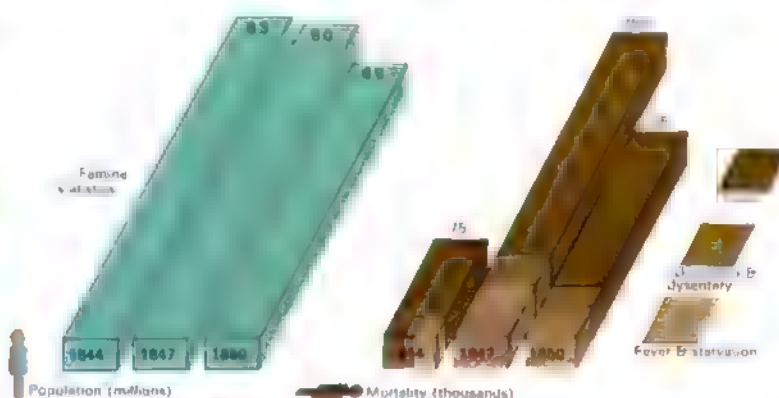
Irish lived in North America, Britain and the Empire than in Ireland. Their departure made possible a better standard of living in Ireland, and added an international dimension to Irish nationalism.



4 Eviction of tenants was common in the 1870s and 1880s when conflicts between tenant farmers and landlords were at their sharpest. Landlords did not consolidate sufficiently, being effectively restrained by popular opposition, but with tenants of tiny holdings unable to live, let alone pay rent, amalgamation into viable farms was the only economic solution. The Land League seized on the evictions to focus mass resentment against the landlord system.



5 Charles Stewart Parnell, MP for Meath from 1875, led 59 Irish MPs at Westminster by 1880, soon moulding them into a disciplined, salaried party (86 strong at its height), pledged to support Home Rule. Backed by constituency branches, mass Land League support and secret Fenian co-operation, he made Home Rule credible, and in 1886 won the Liberal Party over to this cause. Parnell lost Catholic support after he was cited in a divorce case in 1890.



Yet, even while Sinn Féin gathered strength, the Home Rule Party, shamed into unity in 1900 under the leadership of John Redmond (1856-1918) received renewed authority from political circumstances in Britain. The return of the Liberals there in 1906 made Home Rule again a possibility.

From 1912 onwards, tension grew first with the Protestant Unionists arming [7], then Home Rulers – the one to prevent, the other to enforce a bill expected to become law in 1914. Only the outbreak of World War I subsumed this minor quarrel within a mightier conflict. The operation of Home Rule was postponed until the end of the war.

6 William Gladstone, seen in the cartoon struggling with the Irish question, became absorbed with Irish affairs after 1886 and his unsuccessful first Home Rule Bill. Prior to that, in 1859 he had disestablished the Irish Church and passed Land Acts in 1870 and 1881 which gave tenants greater security and legally fixed rents. In 1893 he introduced the second Home Rule Bill which was rejected by the House of Lords.



sympathy with the resurrection itself support for the republican cause grew after the secret execution of the seven signatories of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic and eight other rebel leaders, and wide spread arrests.

The Home Rule Party, compromised by its attachment to the British war effort and the indecisive leadership of the dying Redmond, could not be saved from humiliation in the post war elections. But Sinn Féin, while winning 73 seats to the Party's 6, could not prevent the Unionists from winning 26 in the North East.

POBLACHT NA h-ÉIREANN
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

[illegible]

Irish republicans, socialists and other separatists rose in armed revolt against British rule in Ireland. The rebellion was quickly crushed; the last rebel strongholds surrendered to British troops six days after the republic had been proclaimed (the proclamation is shown here). In the fighting, 100 British troops and 450 Irish were killed. The rebel leaders were executed; notably Patrick Pearse (1879-1916) and James Connolly (1870-1916). Only Eamon de Valera (1882-1975) survived because he had been born in the USA. However, these measures in the aftermath of the rebellion won Irish opinion to the republican cause.

accept Home Rule with the exclusion of Ulster was rejected. In 1916 he reduced this demand to only the six most Protestant Ulster counties. Although Carson

preferred continued integration with the United Kingdom, he accepted the creation of a separate parliament for the six count as in August in 1920.



government Eamon de Valera (left) was the senior surviving officer of the 1916 rising and principal Irish leader. He became President of Sinn Féin in 1917, and President of the Republic and of Dail Eireann (Irish lower house) in 1919.

Scotland in the 19th century

The political framework of nineteenth century Scotland continued to be union with England but, by the end of the century, in place of the handful of privileged voters who had elected MPs under the old regime, something approaching a democracy based on adult male suffrage had been achieved. This had been the work of successive Reform Bills in 1832, 1867 and 1884. Eventually Scotland was electing 72 MPs from constituencies that gave weight to the Scottish urban population and its share of the Westminster parliament. 670 MPs – fairly reflected the Scottish proportion of British population.

The beginnings of socialism

Following the triumph of the Whigs under Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850) and Henry Cockburn (1779-1854) at the time of the Great Reform Bill of 1832, Scotland settled down to become loyally Liberal. 53 MPs were elected under William Ewart Gladstone's colours compared to seven Conservatives in 1880, although the split in the party over Irish Home Rule in 1886 shook this allegiance seriously. At the same time

there was a Scottish radical tradition to the left of this mainstream.

It surfaced at the time of the so-called Radical War in 1820 which was really a combination of a strike and a small abortive rising in the Glasgow area. It was seen again with the Chartists between 1838 and 1848 although the Scottish Chartists mainly disapproved of physical force and sought reformation through temperance and democracy. And in 1888 socialism struck root with the foundation of the Scottish Labour Party and the rise of Ken Hardie (1856-1915) [9] who later became the leader of the British Independent Labour Party (ILP) in 1893. Trade unionism grew rapidly, especially in skilled trades and among the cotton spinners and miners, although a Scottish Trades Union Congress (with 40 000 members) was not founded until 1897.

Generally speaking, there was little dissatisfaction over union with Britain although because Westminster was increasingly obliged to legislate for Scottish affairs as the problems of industrial society became more complex (by reforming the Poor Law in

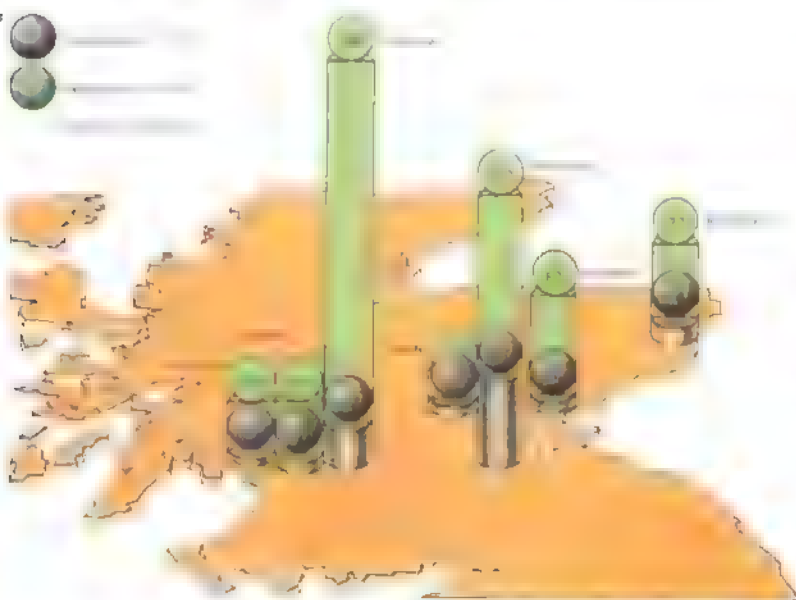
1845 and the school system in 1872 for example) there was more demand for specifically Scottish experts in the government. This was met in 1885 by the creation of a Secretary of State for Scotland and a Scottish Office based in London and Edinburgh. A small nationalist movement arose at the end of the century, few took it seriously, although Hardie and other early socialists also favoured Home Rule. For many Scots Church politics were more significant than national ones, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 [5] into the Established Church and the Free Church over the question of who should choose the minister generated enormous excitement.

The prosperity of heavy industries

The Scottish economy in the nineteenth century was highly successful, to the original base of cotton textiles an important industry in the West Central Belt was added in the 1830s, and after 1870 the vitality of the shipyards and steelworks of Clydeside and of jute round Dundee prevented the country from slipping into recession [3]. A third of all

CONNECTIONS

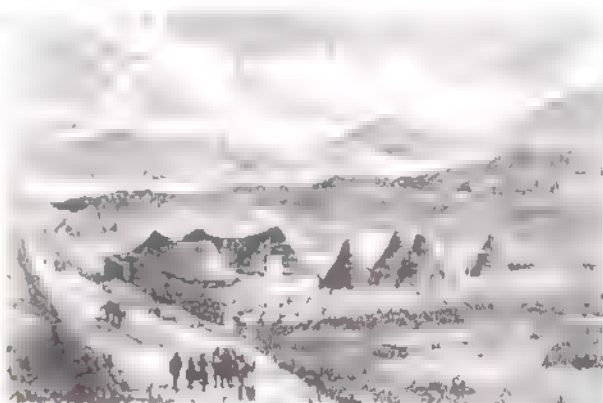
See also



1 Industrialization in Scotland was accompanied by rapid urbanization, not so much in the foundation of new towns as in the very rapid growth of old ones. Glasgow, for example, had 23 000 inhabitants by about

1750 when it was already the second town of Scotland but it had 329 000 by 1851. Nevertheless there were new towns which often grew very fast. Airdrie, for instance, had a population of 1 200 in 1755

but with the development of iron and coal in Lanarkshire it exceeded 13 000 by 1851. But primitive sanitation, unimproved from a previous era, menaced the growing towns and ominously increased mortality



2 The Highlands' economy collapsed in the early 1800s and this resulted in a grim outlook for crofters such as these. Prices for three of their four main staples – cattle, kelp and fish – had fallen disastrously, and only

wool was still viable. This meant that wealthy sheep farmers from the Lowlands began to introduce their animals into the crofters' fertile plots. As a result, the green summer pastures were quickly

overcropped. The crofters themselves were usually evicted to the outskirts. Such evictions were sometimes executed considerably, but at other times the action was ruthless, causing great hardship.



3 Economic growth in early Victorian Scotland was firmly based on Scottish natural resources but with the invention of cheap steel after 1870 many of the ores had to be imported from various countries. The soaring

indices of production point to an economy increasingly dependent on a narrow base of heavy industry. For example, by 1900 much of the metal went into the great ships being built in the yards along the Clyde.

4 The new castle at Balmoral was the apotheosis of Queen Victoria's love of the romantic. In 1856 she wrote of it in her diary: "Every year my heart becomes more fixed in this dear Paradise and so much so now

that all has become my dear Albert's own creation." The castle, standing about 80km (50 miles) west of Aberdeen on the banks of the River Dee, was bought by Prince Albert for the royal family in 1852.

ships built in Britain were being built on the Clyde by 1913. The Scots had earned much lower incomes than the English in 1800, but by 1900 the average working man on the Clyde was probably at least as well paid as the average English worker. This sense of prosperity made Glasgow an enormously self-confident business capital – few Scottish firms were controlled from elsewhere – but concealed the fact that Scottish wealth rested on a narrow base of heavy industries.

The Improverished Highlands

The reverse side of the coin was the patchy nature of the wealth. Throughout the Highlands people were very poor: the population increased until 1841, far outstripping the growth of resources, and then collapsed after the potato famine of 1846. Thousands of small-scale tenants were evicted in the "clearances" to make way for sheep [2], tens of thousands emigrated [6]. By the 1870s and 1880s over-intensive sheep farming had run down the fertility of the land and this, coupled with a dramatic slump in grain and wool prices, led to even further depopulation

of the Highlands regions through migration. Meanwhile those who left were partly balanced by those who arrived. These were Irishmen immigrating into the coalfields and factories of central Scotland where they generally had to take the lowest paid labouring jobs. The urban poor had a hard time, the slums of the great cities were probably the worst in Europe even when the economy was booming [Key, 1].

In the outside world, however, there were perhaps two main symbols of nineteenth-century Scotland. Balmoral [4], where Queen Victoria gloried in a romantic view of the Highlands far removed from the unpleasant realities of the black houses of the Isle of Lewis, and Scottish science and medicine at the universities. Men such as Lord Kelvin (1824–1907) at Glasgow, or James Clerk Maxwell (1831–79), the physicist who was professor at Aberdeen, King's College, London and Cambridge, vied in their reputations with Joseph Lister (1827–1912) [7] and James Simpson (1811–70) who made surgery comparatively safe and painless.



The industries and slums of Clydeside were the central paradox of 19th-century Scotland. On the one hand they produced the greatest wealth

Scotland had never known by 1906 wages were higher than in most of England. On the other hand, they had a population whose house-

ing conditions were worse than any in Europe even in 1911. Tens of thousands of the population lived in houses that had only



6 Thomas Chalmers (1789–1847) was a widely influential theologian and preacher. He was for years head of the evangelising wing of the Church of Scotland, and then founded the Free Church which broke off at the Disruption of 1843. He abandoned the established church because of its traditional method of choosing ministers: he preferred democratic elections. Within Britain he was celebrated for his book, *Christianity and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, which encouraged the middle classes to believe that the problems of poverty could be cured by generous philanthropic action with a rigorous inquiry into the persons and conditions of the individual poor.



6 Nineteenth-century Scotland was like a bath with the taps full on and the plug out. There was a rapid natural increase accompanied by an influx of Irish immigrants to the looms, mines and ironworks of the Central Belt. At the same time many native Scots – especially Gaelic-speaking Highlanders unwilling to move to the unfamiliar urban life – chose to go to Canada and also to Australia, the USA and New Zealand. This outflowing tide resilted not so much from lack of opportunity at home as from the enticement of kintock already abroad. Few European nations apart from Ireland and Norway lost so much of their natural increase.



7 Joseph Lister (1827–1912) founded modern antiseptic surgery. When he went to work at Glasgow Infirmary in 1861 he found that nearly half the amputation cases died of post-operative gangrene. Lister eventually began to realize that

pus formed as a result of infection by germs. He ensured that hands, instruments and dressings were sterilized. This, together with his introduction of sterilized catgut and carbolic acid as an antiseptic, after 1865 dramatically reduced surgical mortality.



8 The decision of a handful of crofters to resist eviction by force in 1882 alarmed the government, who sent a gunboat to Skye to put down the "rising". It was cheered by the peasants, who believed that Queen Victoria had come to hear their grievances.

9 Keir Hardie (shown here) and R. B. Cunningham Graham (1852–1936) were the fathers of socialism in Scotland. Hardie became leader of the British ILP and was described as 'the best hated and the best loved man in Great Britain'.

In 1928 Cunningham Graham helped to found the Scottish National Party. Hardie was a confirmed pacifist and was fervently opposed to the Boer War. He also favoured women's suffrage and founded *The Labour Leader*, a Scottish newspaper.



Wales 1536–1914

The Acts of Union (1536–43) decreed that Wales henceforth was to be governed 'in like form to England. Wales was given a definite administrative boundary and was also unified politically within itself [Key]. The most progressive of the Welsh gentry were happy to be subsumed in a common British citizenship and voiced their gratitude to the Tudors for bringing order, stability and prosperity to Wales.

The power of the gentry

The gentry were the most powerful element within society and the task of administering local government remained in their hands for some 350 years. Traditionally conservative, they supported the Crown through every event. During the English Civil Wars (1642–6, 1648) they fought for the king in order to protect their prosperity and security and, after the Restoration in 1660, they re-established a monopoly of influence on the society, economy and politics of Wales. Until the mid-nineteenth century political power lay in the hands of a narrow circle of landowning families, and the mass of society

remained deferential to their will. Three developments – the growth of Nonconformism, the Industrial Revolution and the spread of political radicalism – undermined the foundation of this society.

From the sixteenth century onwards successive waves of Protestantism lapped over Wales. Much was achieved. Welsh became the language of religion, and the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular [1] fostered the growth of a Bible-reading public. With the coming of Methodism in the 1730s, Reformation ideas were propagated far more intensively [3]. In 1811, the Methodist movement was forced to sever its connection with the Anglican Church and, in the company of fellow Dissenters, spread widely into rural and industrial areas. Nonconformity became a popular movement so that by 1851 about 80 per cent of practising Christians in Wales were Nonconformists.

The Industrial Revolution in Wales

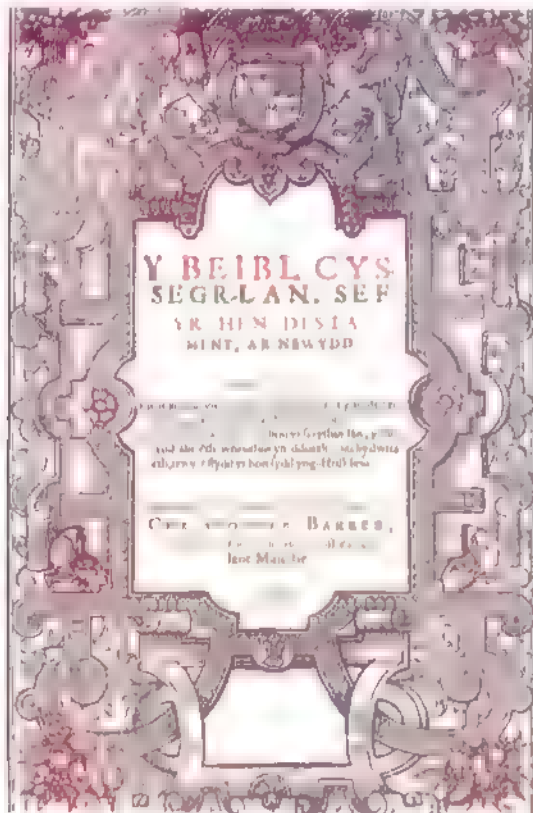
The second major factor that created modern Wales was the Industrial Revolution. Until the end of the eighteenth century

Wales displayed the main features of a pastoral, pre-industrial economy: a primitive technology, a slow rate of technical development and a lack of capital. But the arrival of the Industrial Revolution after 1760 transformed the social and economic life of Wales. Financed largely by English entrepreneurs, industrial development focused on the chain of ironworks on the periphery of the South Wales coalfields and in north-east Wales, on the copper mines of Anglesey and the slate quarries of Caernarvonshire. The spread of canals and railways improved communications and hastened large-scale industrial expansion.

At the same time, population growth began to accelerate dramatically. It rose from 370,000 in 1670 to 586,000 in 1801. Small villages grew into booming towns. In 1801, Merthyr Tydfil, with a population of 7,705, was the largest town in Wales [4]. By 1861, 60 per cent of the Welsh people lived in industrial areas. The decline of the iron industry after 1850 was followed by the growth of new steelmaking processes and the massive expansion of the coal industry.

CONNECTIONS

See page 1646

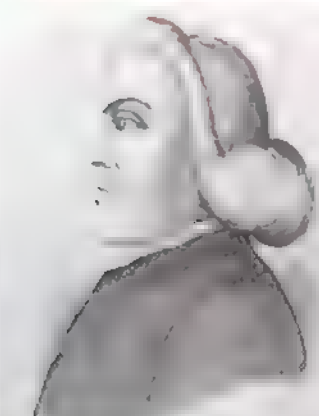


1 The first Welsh Bible 1568 resulted from a statute 1563 which ordered that the translation of the Bible into Welsh should be undertaken forthwith. The work was duly completed by an erudite

Denbighshire vicar, William Morgan (c. 1545–1604). The translation provided a literary standard for future generations and ensured that Protestantism would be propagated in the Welsh language.

2 The Sker House a large, bleak edifice close to the Kenfig Burrows in Glamorgan, is a good example of the many new or remodelled buildings which were constructed by the Welsh gentry in the

16th century. The house was built on a former monastic grange by the Turbervill family. The economic and political power of the gentry at that time was reflected in their imposing country homes.



3 Howell Harris (1714–73), was the moving spirit behind the growth of Welsh Methodism. A fiery evangelist, Harris provided the movement with inspired leadership and an efficient organization.

4 The massive Cyfarthfa ironworks founded in the mid-18th century, became the focal point of the iron-smelting town of Merthyr. In keeping with much of the Industrial Revolution in Wales, the works were financed by English capital.



As the unparalleled resources of the Rhond-da valleys were plundered, coal came to dominate the Welsh economy. By 1912 coal output in the mining valleys of South Wales was more than 50 million tonnes.

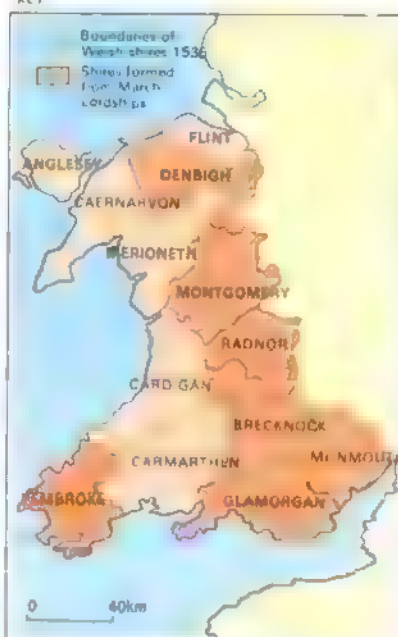
Nationalism and political radicalism

The third factor was the growth of political radicalism, inspired by the revolutionary ideals formulated in France. Many processes hastened these ambitions: the Welsh press created an articulate and informed body of public opinion, acute economic distress in rural and industrial communities encouraged class awareness and a growing interest in political reform, and a slanderous government report - *The Treason of the Blue Books* in 1847 - injected new life into radicalism and awakened a sense of nationhood. The extension of the franchise in the nineteenth century gave radical Nonconformists the opportunity to undermine the landowning monopoly, to remove religious disabilities and to create cultural and educational institutions attuned to Welsh circumstances and aspirations. Between 1868 and 1914

Welsh Liberals voiced the ambitions of a new Nonconformist middle and working class, and the response which they evoked from the electorate enabled them to erode the power of the old Anglican squirearchy and to capture the overwhelming majority of parliamentary seats in Wales.

As political nationalism spread in from Europe and Ireland, a new effort was made to emphasize the distinctiveness of Wales and to press for national equality and justice [7]. In Parliament, a ginger-group of young Liberals, led by Thomas Ellis (1859-89) and David Lloyd George (1863-1945) [8], called for religious equality, educational opportunity and land reform. Eventually many gains were achieved: the Church in Wales was dis-established in 1920, Welsh universities, a National Library at Aberystwyth and a National Museum at Cardiff were established; a Welsh department was created within the Board of Education, and the concept of Wales was firmly established. By 1914 it was no longer considered to be a mere geographical term with neither institutions nor pride in its own nationhood.

KEY



The Acts of Union incorporated Wales into England in order to achieve a more effective governance of Wales, and the border area (Marches). Welshmen henceforth were to enjoy the rights and privileges of Englishmen, land was to be inherited according to the practice of primogeniture, and the whole of Wales was divided into shires, a framework that lasted until 1974. English became the official language of law and government, and English common law and methods of local administration were introduced into the new Welsh shires and boroughs could send 24 MPs to represent them in the English Parliament.



5 The Merthyr riot of 1831 developed from three main causes. First, discontent with the system of compelling workers to spend part of their wages in the expensive company-owned shops; secondly, unemployment and the harsh provisions of the Poor Law; and thirdly, unrest at the delay in passing the 1832 Reform Bill.



6 The Rebecca riots in the early 1840s occurred in separate places across south-west Wales. Disguised as women, small farmers protested against abuses of the turnpike system. They attacked the hated toll gates, burnt haystacks and threatened local magistrates. A government inquiry in 1844 resolved many of their grievances.

7 Michael D Jones (1827-98) was one of the principal Welsh nationalists of the 19th century. He strove valiantly to persuade Welshmen to embrace a new, radical philosophy, to fight for their political rights and to recover their self-respect and confidence. His determination to preserve national identity prompted him to establish a Welsh colony in Patagonia, South America, in 1865. The colony still exists as an isolated Welsh-speaking outpost today.



8 David Lloyd George MP for Caernarvon boroughs from 1890 made his mark in politics as an enthusiastic champion of the rights of Welshmen, an enemy of privilege and as a man of the people. As Chancellor of the Exchequer (1908-15) he introduced crucial social reforms, and his 1909 budget provoked an important constitutional crisis with the Lords. In 1916 he became the first Welshman to be appointed prime minister, which he remained until 1922. He earned a reputation as a courageous and decisive war leader and a constructive peace maker after World War I. His fertile mind and oratorical genius aroused widespread devotion and equally widespread dislike.

Russia in the 19th century

In Russia, since the time of Peter the Great (1672–1725), fundamental reforms have followed in the wake of war. For many years after the Crimean War (1854–6) [1], Russia was no longer regarded as a friendly power by Britain and France. Despite the fact that it had the largest land forces on the continent of Europe this war showed that Russia was no match for the Anglo-French alliance and that its effort to insulate itself from the political changes in the rest of Europe had proved to be a source of weakness rather than of strength. Finally, its economy and social order could not withstand the war. Russia if it wished to regain its position as a leading nation, had to imitate the Western powers and adopt their forms of government.

The emancipation of the serfs

Alexander II (1818–81), who came to the throne in 1855, was willing to introduce reforms. He warned the nobility that if reform did not come from above it would come from below. In February 1861 the Emancipation Act was ready.

The Act ensured personal freedom for

millions of peasants and introduced the elective *zemstvo*, an organ of local government which was to have an important say in the countryside. Other major reforms followed: in 1864 equality before the law, trial by jury and independence of courts and judges were introduced, legislation of 1863 and 1864 broadened the basis of education, the 1870 Government Act set up new municipal institutions, the 1874 army reforms established the principle of universal military service and reduced actual service from 25 years to six. But the peasants were still subject to customary law and had special courts, their freedom of movement was limited and they still paid poll taxes. Moreover, the Tsar did not grant a parliament.

The emancipation disappointed most of the peasants and their supporters. Population increased from 70 million in 1863 to 155 million in 1913 (excluding Finland and Poland), aggravating rural poverty. Migration eased the situation slightly, but the problem of land hunger was exacerbated by the failure to introduce modern agricultural methods, obstructed by the communal

system of land ownership. Much peasant dissatisfaction also stemmed from the poor quality of the land that they were allotted and the high level of repayments they were forced to make to the government to compensate the former owners of the land.

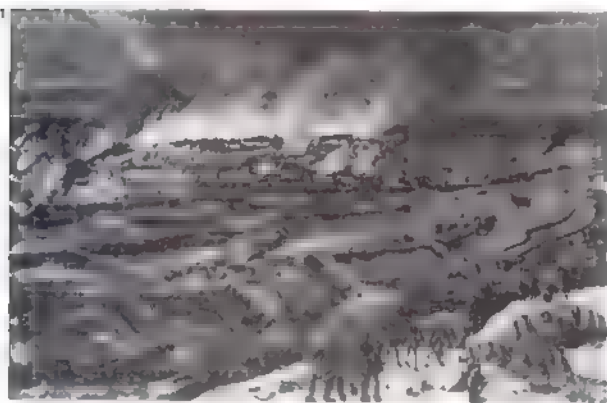
Seeds of revolution

The inadequacy of Alexander's reforms aroused moral revulsion and anger among many sons and daughters of the gentry and others who had acquired some education. Disillusionment over the reforms at first encouraged nihilism. The nihilists believed that the existing order could not successfully reform itself and in Russia they contributed significantly to the tradition of revolutionary political movements. During the 1870s a more positive populism [5] or agrarian socialism developed which glorified the peasant as the repository of pure, untainted wisdom. Those who had received an education felt that they owed a debt of gratitude to the toilers who had made it possible.

Agrarian populism was difficult to convert into political action and the onset of

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Following the capture of Sevastopol and her defeat in the Crimean War Russia became little more than a second-rate power. Britain and France had turned against her and exposed the backwardness of her economy and the brittleness of her army. The new tsar, Alexander II, was convinced that Russia had to imitate the Western powers if she was to beat them and so he favoured sweeping reforms.

2 Peasants received insufficient land as a result of the Emancipation Act (here being read out to Georgian peasants). They did not receive and freely, most of them having to pay a fixed annual amount

to the state which in turn compensated the landlords with state bonds. Repayments were to extend over 49 years and were higher than the market value of the land warranted. The result was that the

peasants had less land than before. In fact about 20% less in total, 23% of this in the black earth lands and 31% in the Ukraine. Former state and crown peasants received the best terms



4 Georgy Plekhanov (1857–1918), the father of Russian Marxism, started his political life as a populist. He opposed terrorism, but had to flee the country for Geneva in 1880 during a wave of political

repression and did not return to Russia until 1917. A brilliant writer and polemicist, his influence within Russia in the 1890s was immense. He initially supported Lenin then opposed him.

5 Populism became the leading philosophical attitude in the 1870s. Its most significant leader was Peter Lavrov (1823–1900). Populism rejected the Industrial Revolution and favoured rural life.



3 The execution of terrorists who planned the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by a bomb in March 1881 in the hope that the whole imperial edifice would collapse sums up the impotence

of revolutionary politics in 19th-century Russia. The acute disappointment felt by the peasants and intelligentsia after the Emancipation Act led to pessimism concerning the poss-

ibility of reform from above. Many radicals known as populists or agrarian socialists believed the peasantry would rise en masse and sweep away the hated autocracy. Some believed

in the gradual awakening of peasant consciousness, motivated by radical idealists. Others were unwilling to wait for the uprising of the masses and adopted terrorist methods.



industrialization in the late 1880s and the boom of the 1890s made it less relevant Marxism, placing its faith not in the rural worker but in the urban, industrial worker became a doctrine more in tune with contemporary Russian conditions. The Social Democratic Party, the forerunner of the Communist Party, emerged, although it still appealed for the most part to intellectuals rather than to the working classes.

The terrorist wing of the populist movement finally resulted in the assassination of Alexander II. But instead of collapsing, the autocracy struck back at its tormentors.

The end of the era

Alexander III (1845-94), who came to the throne in 1881, was ultra-reactionary. His policies reversed many of the liberal reforms of his predecessor and began a tradition of conflict between the *zemstvos* and central government that came to a head in 1905.

The succession in 1894 of Nicholas II (1868-1918) [8] occurred at a time of rapid economic advance [6]. The dynamic thrust of Sergei Witte (1849-1915), minister of

finance from 1892-1903, kept the economy moving until the first years of this century. Then harvest failures and industrial crises produced civil unrest. The revolution of 1905-6 shook the autocracy to its foundations [10]. It could be suppressed only when the war against Japan had been lost and troops were released for internal duties.

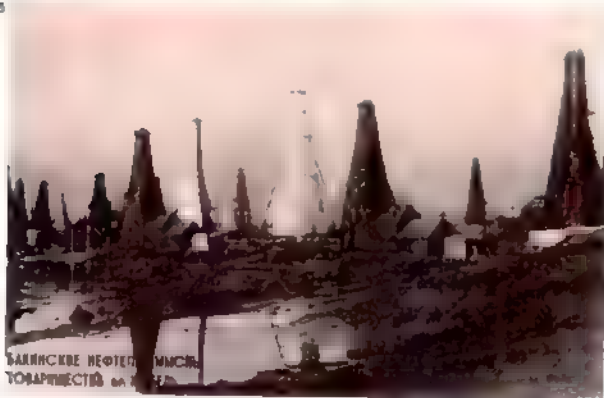
The years 1903-13 were a golden era for industry and agriculture and this helped the government, led by Peter Stolypin (1862-1911), to resist the growing demands for political and social reforms, which were voiced in the Duma (a parliament forced on the Tsar by the crisis of 1905) by the Social Democratic and Kadet (liberal) parties. Thwarted in the Far East, Russia turned after 1906 towards the Balkans where, throughout the nineteenth century, it had supported Slav states against the decaying Ottoman Empire. But the Great Powers stepped in and blocked Russia's progress to the Mediterranean. The empire of Austria-Hungary was the main rival power in the Balkans and therefore Russia felt obliged to support Serbia against the empire in August 1914.



6
Servile labour was typical of the life of millions of Russians in the 19th century, but with industrial development and the population explosion, changes occurred. There

were 412 000 barge hauliers on the Volga in 1830, but by 1851 this number had been reduced to 150 000. The steamship had gradually replaced them. There were approximately

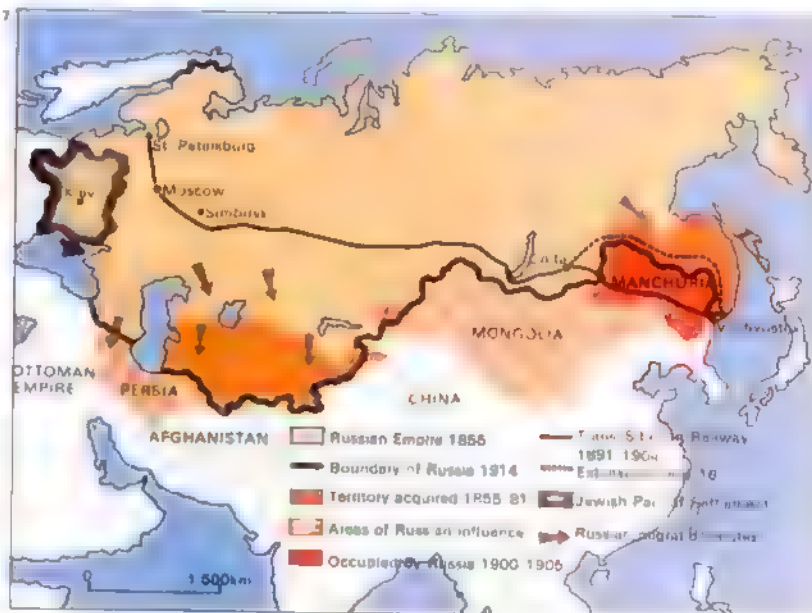
40 million peasants, 80% of the population in Russia on the eve of emancipation, and about half were in personal bondage to the gentry. Their plight dominated economic life in Russia.



6 In the 1890s the industrial development of Russia was improved by the opening up of new oil fields, including the one at Baku. Russia was the world's largest producer of oil until 1900.

when the USA took the lead. Railway building was another dynamic force. By 1874 there were 18 220 km (11 320 miles) of railway. A by-product of this was Russia's emergence as a major grain exporter. From

the 1880s the state began to play an important role in the economy guided by the policies of Sergei Witte. Development was concentrated in railway construction and in heavy industry.



7 Russia's imperial advance was spectacular in the later 19th century. She colonized Central Asia and acquired territory which the Chinese still claim as their own. Russia's population explosion caused

seven million peasants to move eastwards and cross the Urals. Meanwhile two million Jews emigrated to the USA and 200 000 more to Britain between 1880 and 1914. The Trans-Siberian Railway (built be-

tween 1891 and 1904) made a more active policy feasible in the Far East - that is towards Japan with the secondary aim of securing an ice-free port on the Pacific. Russia's eastward push and her influence

in Manchuria alarmed the Japanese to the point of their going to war in 1904. Apart from her Far Eastern ambitions, Russia also greatly extended her influence in the regions on her southern borders.



8 The last of the Romanovs, Nicholas II, was a reluctant tsar. He came to the throne unusually young and made an auspicious start in 1884. His mind lacked the cutting edge necessary to evolve a coherent policy and to see it through. Although

Russia changed rapidly during his reign, he did not move with the times and listened instead to reactionaries, including the monk Rasputin (1871-1918) who mystically influenced the empress. Here Nicholas (2nd from left) is with the Prince of Wales (far right).



9 An outstanding statesman, Peter Stolypin (1862-1911) introduced agrarian reforms. He swept away the commune and encouraged the peasants to consolidate their holdings and become farmers. But his autocratic methods lost him liberal support.

10 "Bloody Sunday" 10 began as a peaceful demonstration on which troops opened fire in St Petersburg on 22 January 1905. Discontent had grown as the industrial boom of the 1890s gave way to a slump during the early years of the 20th century. Harvest failures aggravated the problem compounded by the defeat in war with Japan. Although unsuccessful, the subsequent revolution of 1905-6 did produce a constitution and a parliament (Duma).



Political thought in the 19th century

In the mid-nineteenth century most people with any political awareness would almost certainly have described themselves as either "liberals" or "conservatives". The conservatives would have had little difficulty in explaining what they were and what they stood for, namely the established order. They were firmly against radical change and followed the line laid down by Edmund Burke (1729-97) in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in 1790. This insisted that state and people alike were products of imperceptible, natural and organic growth and that artificial change based on general theories was self-defeating.

In the realm of practical politics, however, it was not quite so easy to preach and practise conservatism – particularly after the fall of the Austrian statesman Prince Metternich (1773-1859) in the revolution of 1848. Metternich refused to concede that any kind of change was permissible, if only as a tactical manoeuvre to prevent more radical developments, and was ultimately obliged to take refuge in England.

Metternich's downfall was one of the factors

that encouraged the British prime minister, the astute Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), to present the country with a Second Reform Bill. Meanwhile in Germany Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-98) introduced universal suffrage and limited social welfare legislation. In France, Napoleon III (1808-73) had embarked on similar action.

The decline of liberalism

Liberals were distinguished by the belief that progress could be achieved by means of "free institutions". In Britain and France this usually referred to a freely elected parliament, with ministries responsible to it, an independent judiciary, freedom of speech and religion, freedom from arbitrary arrest and freedom to acquire and safeguard property.

In Russia a "liberal" might merely be someone who advocated a strong state council to advise the tsar. But even in France there were "liberals", including François Guizot (1787-1874), the statesman and historian, who believed that institutions were already as free as possible – a belief that made them seem highly conservative.

One of the most interesting themes of nineteenth-century European history is the decline of liberalism as a real political force. The main reason for the collapse was that, although the liberal ideal of making a framework of free institutions was born of the Enlightenment, once erected it became a bastion behind which the propertied classes defended their vested interests. The Continental turmoil of 1848 saw middle-class liberals deserting their ideals when faced with the prospect of sharing power with the lower-paid and less-educated sections of society.

The rise of socialism

The creed that began to appeal to many of those apparently abandoned by liberalism was socialism, and the greatest socialist thinker of the century was without doubt Karl Marx (1818-83) [Key]. The young Marx of the first half of the century drew his ideas from a wide variety of sources but the foundation of his beliefs was the conviction derived from the German philosopher Georg Hegel (1770-1831), that history was progressive, had objective meaning and

CONNECTIONS

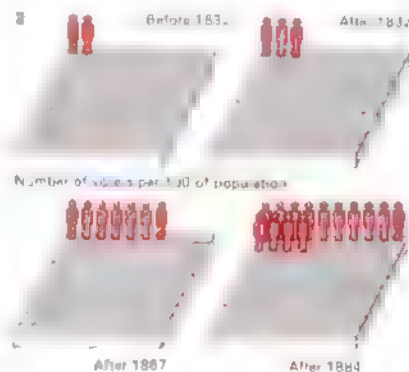
See also



3 The world's first trade unions were founded in Britain where they were legalized in 1825. This was well in advance of other countries – trade unions were first tolerated in France in 1864 but not made legal until 1884, while Germany did not permit them until the 1890s. Membership of the early British unions such as the Friendly Society of Iron and Steel Founders was restricted to local skilled artisans. The first large union was the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, founded in 1851, but it had more interest in social benefits than in trade disputes. By 1875 unions were well established and the laws on strikes, picketing and contractual obligations had been clarified.



1 Appalling social conditions existed in 19th-century Europe as a result of the development and concentration of industry and a boom in population. By 1848 the "social question" was causing concern. Neither government nor individuals did much to tackle the problem. Chartism emerged as a force in Britain while in Europe the old spirit of revolution was again showing signs of revival. But in the long term a steady if slow increase in living standards was brought about not by political organization and agitation, as might be supposed, but by the unexpected growth of the economy.



2 A new British electoral system was created between 1832 and 1885, based on a series of Acts of Parliament. The result was that by 1886 two thirds of the adult male population of England and Wales and three fifths in

Scotland, had the right to cast their vote in secret. The measures that brought this about were three Representation of the People Acts, a Ballot Act and two Acts to redistribute the seats and prevent corruption.



4 Mikhail Bakunin (1814-76) a Russian aristocrat, resigned his commission in the Imperial Guard to become Europe's leading anarchist. Not surprisingly his life was eventful: he was sentenced to death by the Austrians and the

Prussians and was sent to Siberia by his own country. He escaped in 1861 and spent the rest of his life advancing anarchism in western Europe. Unlike the socialists, he believed that society could only be overthrown through individual revolt.

would reveal this meaning through a series of revolutionary jumps

The *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 reflected Marx's faith in the success of the European revolutions of that year, but with their ultimate failure he laid more stress on the deterministic aspects of his thought. He predicted that bourgeois society would collapse as a result of its own internal contradictions. Capital, he said, would become concentrated in fewer hands until the oppressed workers would be forced to revolt against their exploiters. A "dictatorship of the proletariat" would then emerge, paving the way for such social harmony that the state could wither away. The Paris Commune [7] revived his faith in revolutionary activity and in the 1870s he even toyed with the possibility of a peaceful overthrow of the social system through the ballot box with the aid of a fully enfranchised proletariat

The development of nationalism

It was not the thoughts of Marx, however that dominated the nineteenth century. By far the greatest force was nationalism, which

conquered both the liberals and the socialists.

In 1815 nationalism was still weak in Europe, but only 45 years later the philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill (1806-73) was to write that it was "in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of government should coincide in the main with those of nationalities."

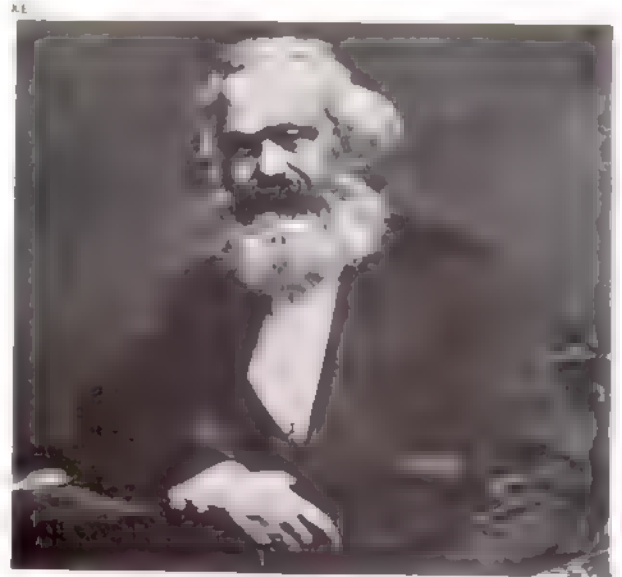
Meanwhile nationalism had developed in many ways. The German philosopher Johann Herder (1744-1803) had insisted before the end of the eighteenth century that men's minds were conditioned by their cultural environment and, especially, by their language. Other thinkers took up this theme at the beginning of the new century and subsequently gave rise to many linguistic revivals. European scholars compiled dictionaries and grammars; folk-songs and folk poetry were collected; national histories were written. This, in turn, stimulated political demands and national wars radically redrew the map of Europe. The rest of the world did not escape frustrated nationalism led to adventures overseas and the great wave of imperialism

5 "The Republic", a symbolic painting by Daumier (1808-79), shows the idealism often attributed to such government. Before the French Revolution republics were considered as legitimate

as any monarchy but after 1815 they went "out of fashion" and Europe grew more monarchical. As new states such as Belgium, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria were created, so too were new monarchies

Although monarchy was no longer divine it was the system of government most comprehensible to the ordinary man. It was argued that only monarchy could unite all groups and all classes. Even

France was little different. It was ruled by kings or emperors for most of the century and the Third Republic was established by one vote in 1875 as the regime that "divided Frenchmen least."



Karl Marx was the father of modern socialism. His political

views are outlined in the *Communist Manifesto*; his

views on political economy in *Das Kapital*, *Capital*.



6 The Geneva Convention of 1864 established the International Red Cross. This was a humane reaction to the suffering of soldiers in the wars of the 1850s but also reflected con-

cern about the problems of war itself. Other aspects of this were the continuing attempts to regulate war by law and the strength of the international pacifist movements. Peace congresses

were held frequently from the middle of the century onwards. By 1900 there was a belief current in Europe that some genuine progress had been made towards achieving permanent peace.



7 Napoleon's statue was overturned in 1871 to signal the founding of the Paris Commune, one of the significant events of 19th-century Europe. Socialists saw it as a vindication of their belief that only by resorting to force

could workers hope to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. Yet the truth, in retrospect, is more complex than legend and it must be conceded that national and sectional interests were involved in the tragedy. Paris

had declared itself independent of the rest of France and had to be brought back into line before peace with Prussia was possible. The end of the Commune brought vengeance and bloodshed: 20,000 were killed and 50,000 arrested.

Masters of sociology

The development of sociology in nineteenth-century Europe was stimulated by the need to understand the birth of industrial society [1]. The traditional agrarian social order apparently based on the squire and the Church, was in the process of dissolution. In its place a new order was emerging whose symbols were the factory and the vast anonymous urban proletariat [2]. A previously integrated structure of culture and authority was giving way to a series of sharply differentiated economic cultures and to class warfare. In this atmosphere of uncertainty intellectuals began to search for explanations of what was happening to society.

The British tradition

In Britain the path of industrialization generally caused little concern. Until the end of the century most Englishmen felt that the factory represented an unequivocal force for good which was taking their society towards perfection. This largely unquestioning acceptance of the notion of "progress" meant that Britain produced no original sociological theory. Indeed, the main British theoretical

tradition was inherited uncritically from the optimistic Enlightenment of the previous century. Its tenets were that society consisted of autonomous individuals each of whom was naturally good, that an "invisible hand" lay behind human activity and pushed it towards conditions of freedom in which the individual could express his innate goodness, and that social science should proceed by reason to discover the objective laws by which the hand worked and so facilitate its operation.

The one man who added something new to these ideas was Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) [3C] who recognized that the orthodox interpretation of society assumed but did not explain change. Spencer, however, did not abandon the ideas of the Enlightenment but regarded them in relation to a model of social change owing much to Darwin's *Origin of Species*. He argued that societies were driven forward to more complex and higher forms by the struggle for survival between individuals, and that the struggle had produced in Britain a *laissez faire* industrial society which was as yet the highest social form. Although Spencer's

conclusions were controversial, his methodology was influential. For the next 50 years British sociologists sought to explain social institutions by their "history".

The French tradition

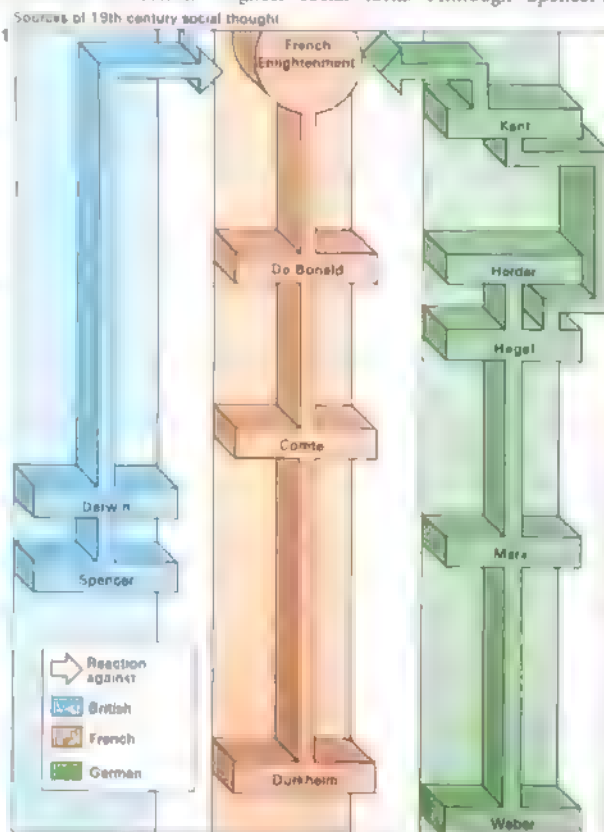
In France the aftermath of the Revolution produced a reaction against Enlightenment thinking. The Vicomte de Bonald (1754-1840) argued that society ought to be seen not as a collection of individuals but as an organic whole. Change in one part (as by one social group) was bound to upset the entire organism.

The organic tradition was continued by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) [3B], not only to order and control change but also to understand it. Comte held the Enlightenment view that there were objective discoverable laws of social progress. But he insisted that these laws operated in the context of whole societies and not individuals. Men, through their conditioning in society were made by laws they could not alter. They should recognize this fact and accept their assigned social position.

CONNECTIONS

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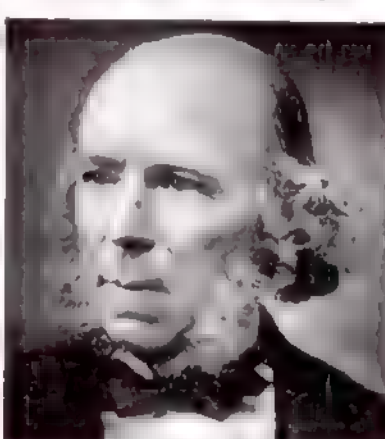
1 The common origin of European sociology was the Enlightenment. Different national traditions reacted to the Enlightenment in different ways. The only British innovation was Spencer's adaptation of Darwin's model of biological evolution to provide explanations of social change. In France, however, the conservative reaction to the French Revolution rejected atomistic models of society (centred on the individual) and questioned the validity of empirical inquiry (based on experience). But with Auguste Comte, Enlightenment empiricism was brought back into French sociology. In Germany, Kant and Hegel added new insights to these ideas. Man was no longer to be seen as an object moved around by impersonal laws and social forces: his own consciousness created the social relationships in which he participated.



2 The Industrial Revolution dramatically changed the environment of European society. Millions of people were crowded into filthy, disease-ridden towns and were obliged to move

to the new social and economic rhythms of factory labour. The obvious horror of mid 19th century urban life, illustrated by this Manchester slum interior, caught the attention of many early sociologists.

- Friedrich Engels (1820-95) for example - and produced some of the first exercises in applied sociology. Sociologists surveyed specific situations in the hope of finding remedies for major problems.



3 Major 19th-century sociologists included Max Weber [A], who attempted to combine empiricism and neo-Kantianism in his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905); Auguste Comte's [B] doctrine of positivism (to organize all knowledge into a consistent philosophy) is contained in *Système de Philosophie Positive* (1851-4); Herbert Spencer [C], amalgamated atomistic sociology and Darwinian evolution in *The Principles of Ethics* (1879-93).

Comte's "positivism" was most highly refined by one of the most influential individuals in all sociology, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). The distinctive characteristics of French sociology included "methodological collectivism", which studied only phenomena that would reveal how men were conditioned by their society. There were also functional explanations whereby social institutions were described in terms of their functions within the entire social system rather than by their history. Lastly there was an emphasis on the need for order where change was regarded as the result of a malfunction in society.

The German tradition

In Germany the inheritance of Enlightenment rationality was joined by two other intellectual elements. The Kantian philosophical revolution (after Immanuel Kant [1724-1804]) held that the laws of nature existed only in men's minds, and the Romantic movement of Johann Herder (1744-1803) stressed the creative importance of language and culture.

The first great German theorist was G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831), who saw social change as the product of human reason driven forward by its need to know and overcome the world around it. Hegel's theme was further developed by Karl Marx (1818-83) [4] who is perhaps best seen as a sociological Hegelian. Marx shared Hegel's view that the force behind social change was man's pursuit of rational understanding and control of his environment. But Marx's most important work resulted from his belief in the economic basis of social structure and in his suggestion of a sequence of social development.

The third major German theorist was Max Weber (1864-1920) [3A] who complemented Marx by adding an appreciation of the role of cultural values to Marx's work.

The principal achievements of the German tradition were "methodological individualism": an approach to society from the viewpoint of self-conscious human subjects; a combination of explanations from history and explanations from function; and the development of a theory of knowledge of the social sciences.

KEY



These men on strike in 1889 at the East and West India Docks in London symbolize the class

and culture conflict produced by industrialization, which sociologists of the period tried to understand

stand. It aggravated the division of culture along class lines and led to strife in every nation



4 Karl Marx argued that human society developed in response to man's desire to satisfy his material needs. But needs themselves continued to develop. Eventually the prevailing form of

society would no longer be able to accommodate these growing needs and so would break down, giving way to a new structure that permitted the continuation of need satisfaction. The

final stage would be reached when bourgeois capitalism succeeded in concentrating wealth in a few hands and in impoverishing the masses. The starving proletariat whose basic needs

were not being met would rise up and take over the means of production and create a society in which the forces of production and the social structure were no longer in conflict.

5



5 The interpretation of the European revolutions of 1848 and 1870 brought out the different perspectives of French, English and German sociology. For the French the revolutions (particularly the Commune of 1870

[A]) represented evidence of a deep seated malfunction in society. For the British, they represented the just struggle of European society for individual, bourgeois freedoms against the tyranny of anachronistic, feudal government.

ments. For the German Marxists the revolutions were a sign of the imminent destruction of the whole capitalist order. The cartoon [B] shows the French President Thiers (1787-1877) with a Prussian soldier looking down on the cauldron of Paris.



Fauvism and Expressionism

The technique of "divisionism" or "pointillism", meaning the building-up of a composition with a multitude of coloured points that merge in the eye of the spectator to produce the required colour, was pioneered by Georges Seurat (1859-91). Paul Signac (1863-1935) enlarged each point into a substantial block of paint so that there was no longer any question of such visual combination. In this way colour began to lose its representational function

Liberation of colour

A different path to greater freedom of colour was taken by the Pont Aven school whose most important representatives were Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) [1] and Émile Bernard (1868-1941). They evolved what was known as "cloisonnisme", based on the enclosure of forms within black outlines that bore the entire burden of expressing the shape of the object and did away with the need for shading with light or dark. This meant the painter could work in large flat areas of colour, producing the effect of a stained-glass window, the brilliance of which

need not be diminished by the requirements of modelling

The complete liberation of colour from form, so that it could act autonomously, was the hallmark of the group of diverse French painters known as Fauves ("wild beasts") who exhibited together in 1905 at the Salon D'Automne

The most gifted of the Fauves, Henri Matisse (1869-1954), superficially adopted the divisionist technique in his "Luxe, Calme et Volupté" (1905), which Signac admired and bought. In fact Matisse was more concerned with the decorative possibilities of the style than with any analysis of colour

At the end of the decade, he abandoned divisionism altogether and produced compositions dominated by areas of flat, unbroken colour of equal intensity [3], so emphasizing the picture surface in its own right rather than treating it as a kind of window through which the viewer looks

The most important of the other members of the group were André Derain (1880-1954) and Maurice Vlaminck (1876-1958). The influence of Signac is

apparent in the fragmentation of their brushstrokes [2], although the mood of their paintings owes far more to Vincent van Gogh (1853-90). At their best their pictures have an intense emotional force rooted in the immediacy with which the spectator feels he has shared in their creation

Colour and emotion

This desire to transmit emotion links Derain and Vlaminck with Expressionism. However, Expressionism is not an historically precise term like Fauvism. It covers a whole range of art that, broadly speaking, is more concerned with expression than beauty and distorts the subject to that end

The most significant influences on twentieth-century Expressionism were van Gogh and the Norwegian Edvard Munch (1863-1944), with his powerful and neurotic evocations of the tensions that underly daily life [Key]

The Brücke ("Bridge") group, founded in Dresden in 1905 and including Ludwig Kirchner (1880-1938), Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (1884-1976) [4] and Erich Heckel

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Paul Gauguin's "Tea Metéte" (1893) simplifies reality into a colour and shape

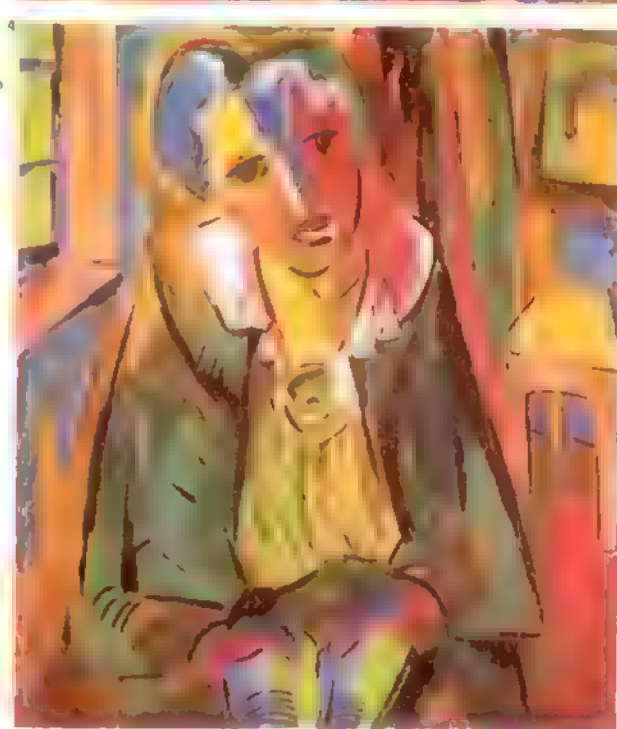
While the painter found stimulation in the life of Tahiti as a source of sub

ject matter, this work stems stylistically from Egyptian art in the figures' poses

2 Fauve colour is intense in André Derain's "The Pool of London" (1906) and its lack of concern for realism is particularly noticeable in the portrayal of what must have been a very grey and dull scene. The high viewpoint contributes to the flattening of space and hence the reduction of the picture to a pattern



3 In Matisse's "Harmony in Red" (1908-9), a large-scale decorative painting, the patterns on the wallpaper and the cloth are as important pictorially as the woman on the chair. The flatness of the composition is so extreme that the view from the window has been taken for a picture on the wall



4 "Rose Shapiro" by Karl Schmidt-Rottluff uses certain Cubist conventions, such as geometrical forms and the stylization of facial

features, to achieve a direct and pungent image unhampered by unnecessary detail. However, to suit his expressive purpose he

also employs sharp perspective, as in the table or the window. Raw impact is gained by the rough canvas showing through



(1883-1970), were influenced by the stark violent colour of Fauvism, but the content of their art is fully Expressionist. (Even at their wildest, the French group essentially continued in the Impressionist tradition transmitting joy in nature and light.) The work of Brücke painters was full of venom against nineteenth-century materialism and their paintings - particularly those of Kirchner - present a morbid and pessimistic view of contemporary society.

Abstraction and social criticism

Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) and Franz Marc (1880-1916) [5], who were working together in Munich in the years preceding World War I, were motivated by a similar rejection of materialism and pushed the distortion of the object towards total abstraction. Together they published an almanac, *Der Blaue Reiter* to which composers and critics as well as artists contributed.

Kandinsky arrived at a complete dissolution of the object in his work by a combination of Expressionist distortion and an emphasis on the picture surface by methods

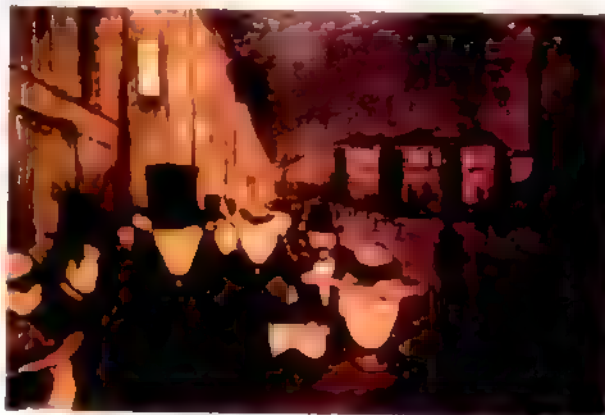
similar to those already used by Matisse.

After the war there emerged in German painting a new tendency which contemporaries called "New Objectivity". While reacting against the strident technique and colour of the earlier Expressionists, painters such as Otto Dix (1891-1969) and George Grosz (1893-1959) continued to employ distortions as a means of expressing their protest against the injustices of society.

Max Beckmann (1884-1950) is usually classed with these painters, but his work is more private in its imagery [7]. The Swiss Paul Klee (1879-1940), a close associate of Kandinsky, veered between abstraction and child-like fantasy [6].

The rise of Hitler effectively put an end to the development of modern art in Germany until after the war. But then the Expressionist tendency continued internationally. An outstanding practitioner today is the British painter Francis Bacon (1910-), whose painting owes little stylistically to the artists described above but, like their work, confronts the viewer with potent images of extreme situations [8].

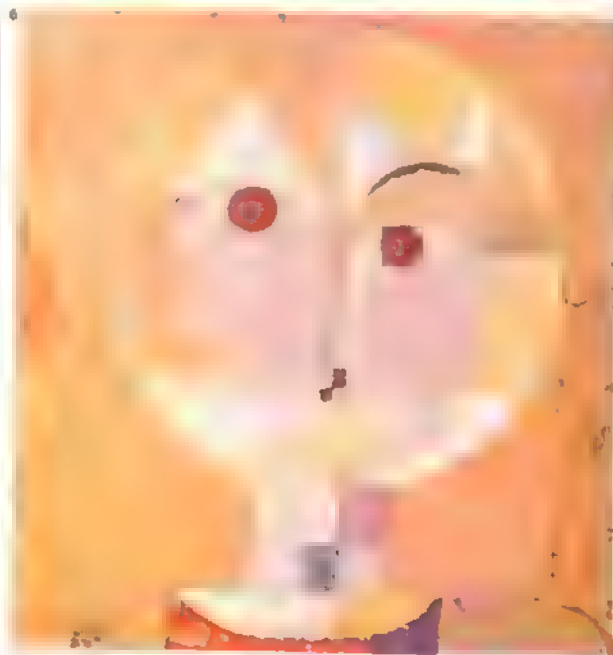
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Edvard Munch's 'Evening on Karl Johann Street, Oslo' (1892) takes an everyday subject that might have appealed to the Impressionists. However his concern is not the visual world, but the revelation of

the anxieties of urban men. Notice how, in the background, the brightly lit windows have a sinister, almost monstrous presence, the obsessed eyes, and the way that the faces acquire a ghost-like quality in

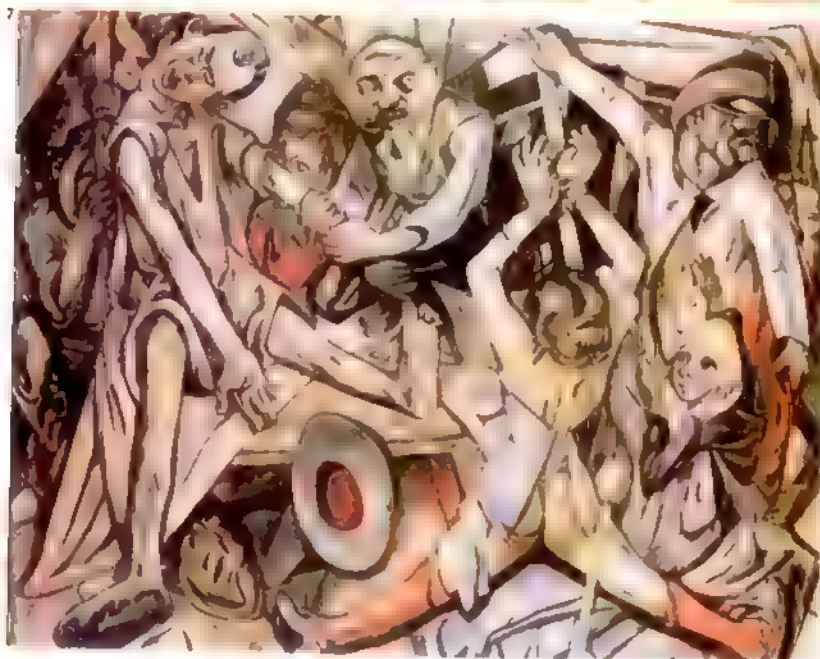
the gaslight. Munch's art was the expression of a neurotic personality but he depicted more than a personal malaise. The oppression of bourgeois city life was a recurrent theme in Expressionism.



5 Franz Marc's 'Fate of the Animals' is not just a forest scene but a comment on all the most threatening aspects of nature. To depict the particular was not enough for the Expressionists.

6 Paul Klee's picture 'Senecio' (1922) is based on a kind of

humanized geometry. Klee methodically investigated form.



7 In 'The Night' (1918-19) Max Beckmann's art is shown to be Expressionist in its violence, but its power lies in ambiguity. This is far from the robust directness that characterized Brücke painting.

8 Francis Bacon's 'Seated Figure' (1974) creates an uneasy atmosphere more by precarious postures and intense handling of paint than distortion or the use of violent colour, which have lost their real power as Expressionist devices.



Cubism and Futurism

Cubism was a term of abuse invented without understanding by a disgruntled critic, Louis Vauxcelles. It came to mean an international movement whose influence is still felt not just in painting but in sculpture and architecture. Pablo Picasso made it possible. He wanted to shock, a desire rooted in the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) and in the demand for an individualistic assault on all conventions. Georges Braque (1882–1963) met him in 1907 and was indeed at first shocked by his work, but later responded positively with an ambitious painting “The Large Nude” (1908) [1].

The basic features of Cubism are present in this painting. First, the nude is distorted by fusing into a single image more than a single view of its parts. Second, it is treated as an arrangement of forms shallowly modelled in relief and not as a fully three-dimensional figure. Both these features followed from the shared conviction that painting should not imitate the appearance of things at any one moment (as in Impressionism) but should present the artist’s accumulated idea of his subject, and that painting should be itself an

art of flattened forms, not of three-dimensional illusions.

Between 1908 and 1911 a further feature was added to Cubist painting. Space was solidified, making the picture a single arrangement of flattened surfaces. Braque was the first to move in this direction, inspired by Paul Cézanne’s attempt to treat the world as a mosaic of flat colour patches [2], and it was only in 1909, when Picasso also looked back to Cézanne that he followed Braque’s lead with a series of landscapes whose skies appear as a crystalline structure almost attached to the buildings below them [3].

The invention of collage

The process of fragmentation followed by Picasso and Braque took them to the very edge of abstract art, but they always left recognizable details in their paintings because for them the real point was to create a flexible give-and-take between the spectator’s appreciation of structure for its own sake and his remembered knowledge of the structure of figures and objects in nature. The invention of collage (material stuck on the

canvas) in 1912 made possible both a flatter effect and a clearer reference to the objects of the subject. Although it was first developed by Picasso [5] and Braque, the painter who most clearly used collage to create a conflict between objects and pictorial structure was Juan Gris, the closest of their early allies [4].

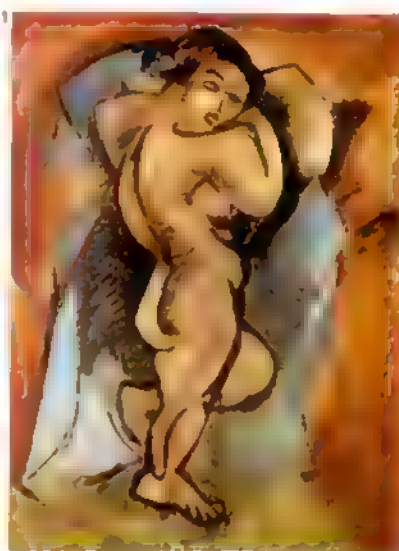
Principal painters of Cubism

It was Picasso, Braque and Gris who developed the central line of Cubism, taking it further after 1918, but each in an increasingly personal way. For them Cubism was never a style with a single “look”, its basic principles lay behind innumerable variations.

These Cubists remained unconcerned with communication to a wide public even when their work began to sell during the 1920s, but from as early as 1909 Cubism was taken over by artists actively concerned with communication, who often took their themes from the most popular aspects of emerging industrial society. In Paris there were the painters Jean Metzinger (1883–1956) and Albert Gleizes (1881–1953), the Duchamp brothers, the husband and wife painters

CONNECTIONS

1 The distortion in Georges Braque’s “Large Nude” (1908) is almost fully Cubist. The buttock is presented both in profile and from behind, the left side of the back is pulled forward and the head is swung round to look out of the picture. Moreover, the figure is made even more fully Cubist by being treated in shallow relief: its surfaces defined with an angled brushstroke precisely like the surfaces of its equally flattened setting. One of the most important influences on Braque was Paul Cézanne, from whom this “hatched” brushstroke is borrowed.



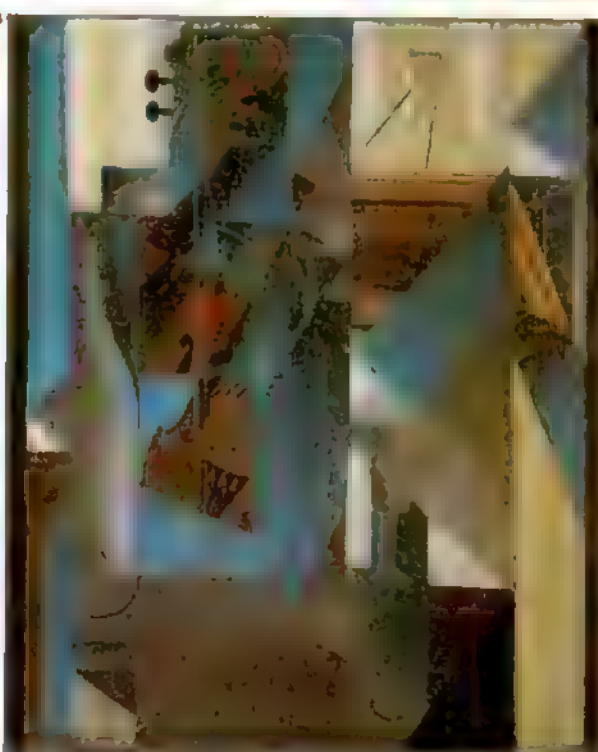
2 Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) often painted the subject of this 1904–8 oil painting, “Mont Sainte-Victoire”. He wanted to show how the volume and space was revealed by the fall of light on surfaces – warm colours where the sun struck, cool where it did not. This led him to break his paintings down into small dabs of colour creating an effect that is both atmospherically spacious and flat. The Cubists adopting this technique also broke their surfaces down into small flat areas like the facets of a jewel.



3 Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) was on holiday in the Spanish Pyrenees when he painted this oil “Landscape with House” in 1909. Reversed perspectives flatten the roofs, while the sky is effectively

solidified. Braque made similar although cooler landscapes in 1908–9. It was these landscapes and the still lifes influenced by Cézanne that prompted the critic Louis Vauxcelles to compare the work to “little

cubes” which later became “cubism”. However this work does not represent a fully developed version of Cubism in that it still uses traditional forms of pictorial space to denote three dimensions, albeit in distorted form.



4 Juan Gris (1887–1927) achieves a perfect balance between composition and subject in his 1913 collage “Violin and Engraving”. He presents the objects aspect by aspect. These fragmentary aspects together form an idea of the objects which is complete. The still life is actually more fully represented than in traditional illusionist painting yet each fragmentary aspect is firmly contained within a stable composition of vertical strips. Gris thus creates an artificial structure on a flat surface to make another structure in three dimensions: the still life. The tiny framed engraving is in fact a real engraving stuck on, and so important was Gris’s subject to him that he even suggested that a future owner might change the engraving as if it were the decor of a real room.

Robert (1885–1941) and Sonia Delaunay (1885–), who tried to fuse an interest in colour with a Cubist sense of structure, and most impressive of all, the Norman painter Fernand Léger (1881–1955). It was Léger who successfully experimented with the flat cut-out colour planes of Cubist “collage” and the tangible modelling of early Cubist painting, adapting them to the task of communicating the sheer force of city life [6]

Outside Paris, Cubism initiated a spate of *avant-garde* movements: Vorticism in London, Russian and Czech Cubism, but most important of all, and an influence in modern art often the equal of Cubism itself the Italian movement, Futurism

The development of Futurism

Futurism was invented by the poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876–1944) who saw life as constant change and individuals as part of a dynamic system of forces caught up in progress. Modern experience heightened this vision – change was so dramatic, the machine capable of such speed Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, Giacomo Balla

(1871–1958) and Gino Severini (1883–1966), the painters whom he sponsored, concentrated on the expression of speed and change, as manifested in modern events and urban scenes [7] In 1911–12 Cubist distortion and the breakdown of the barriers between solid and space were taken over by the Futurists, so that it is by basically Cubist means that Boccioni binds figures and setting together in his “Matter 1912” [8]. Yet there can be no doubt of the originality of much Futurist art, especially that of Boccioni, evident in his bronze monument to mechanized man [9]

Futurism used Cubist ideas for its own ends. Its success in doing so underlines what was the major legacy of Cubism, the freedom to create the objects and scenes of the world in a fresh way. Cubism was not a style but a movement that made many styles possible because it allowed artists to paint ideas as well as what they saw. So infinitely adaptable has it been that it has led to developments as widely divergent as the geometric art of Mondrian and De Stijl and the so-called “pop art” of Robert Rauschenberg

ALY



In Georges Braque's “Still Life with Fish” (1910) things are so fragmented and so absorbed into the overall linear

scaffold that the painting is almost abstract art. The recognizable bottle and fish heads allow one to “read” the

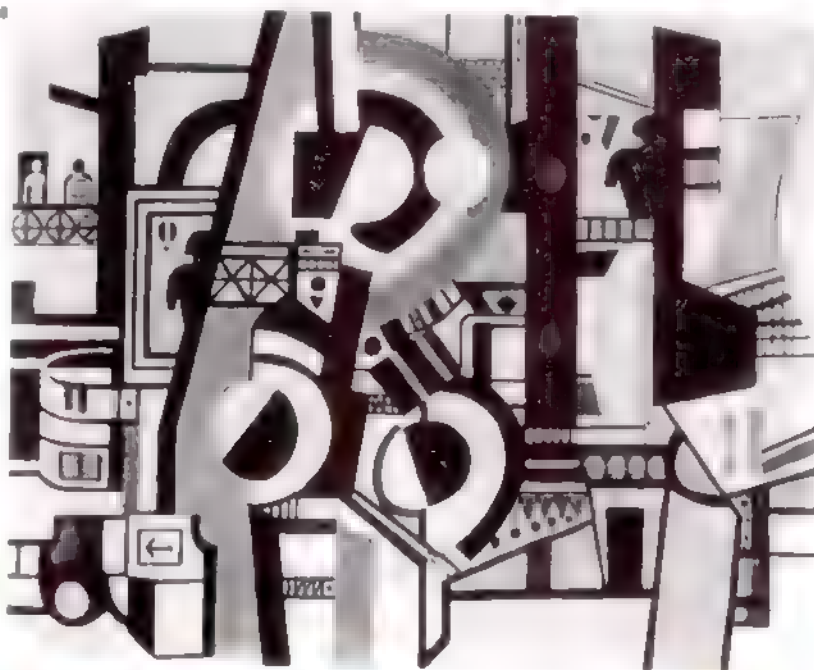
still life and also to see how much of the scaffold is the result of the distortion of observed things

5 Picasso's collages, such as the 1913 “Violin”, are less tidy than those of Gris. He collected junk and enjoyed the idea of making something out

of otherwise worthless items. Here he pursues a series of paradoxes. The cut out color prints of fruit (very realistic) sit on a

piece of newspaper cut unrealistically to the rough shape of a fruit bowl. The solid violin head tops an utterly insubstantial body

6 Léger, in his painting “Discs in the City” (1919–20) focuses on a combination of flat target discs, which appear mechanically geared together, suggesting the potential for movement. On either side there are scattered images from the city – robot men, crane derricks – which create the idea of an urban setting for the energy released by the colours and the whirl of the discs. The use of recognizable fragments to build a subject is Cubist, the subject and its dynamic interpretation have Futuristic overtones

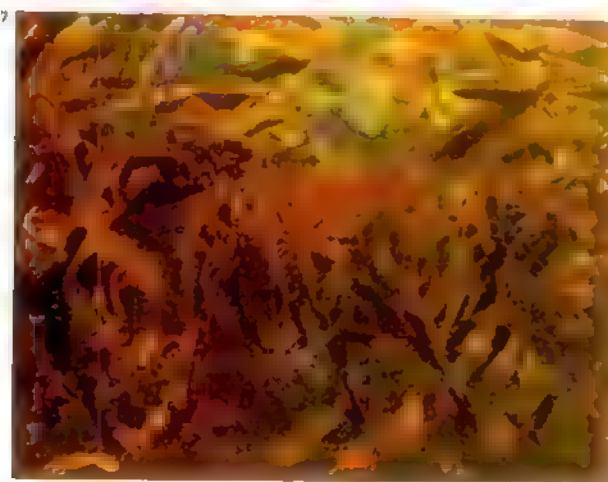
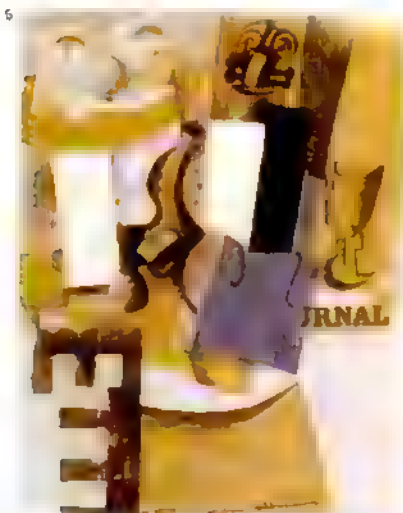
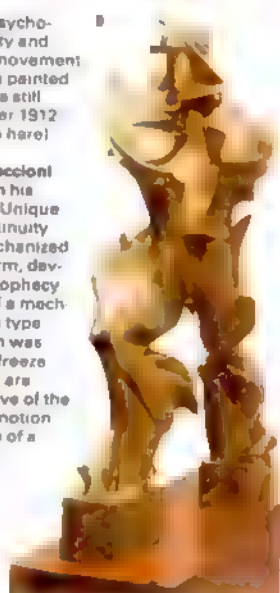


8 To the Futurists even an immobile

figure could seem dynamic because of its

unrelenting psychological mobility and potential for movement. Thus Boccioni painted his mother in a still pose in “Matter 1912” (detail, shown here)

9 Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916) in his 1913 bronze “Unique Forms of Continuity in Space” mechanized the human form, developing the prophecy of Marinetti of a mechanized human type. Boccioni's aim was to define and freeze the forms that are most expressive of the continuity of motion through space of a striding man



7 Carlo Carrà (1881–1966) in his oil, “Funeral of the Anarchist Galli” (1911–12) combined

riot and a funeral. The use of repeated images to represent the beating arms and legs is typical of

Futurist painting at this time and generates a feeling of both psychological unity and violence



Origins of modern architecture

Modern architecture followed on the Industrial Revolution. Its styles were adapted to the discoveries of the engineers and to the mass production of materials such as iron and steel. The new movement began in France and Belgium and one of the most passionate advocates of a new style was Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), who claimed that iron construction must lead to new kinds of support and vaulting, and there fore a new architecture. The Paris Exhibition of 1889, for which the Eiffel Tower [1] was constructed, proved him right.

Art Nouveau in architecture

Towards the end of the century more and more buildings were being constructed in a freer, more naturalistic way. This Art Nouveau style was represented by Victor Horta (1861-1947) in Brussels, Hector Guimard (1867-1943) in Paris and Antoni Gaudi (1856-1926) in Barcelona, who all produced whimsical decorative styles which were free of backward-looking imitation. Horta in particular used decoration to under line slender elegance of iron construction [2].

However, there was another route towards modern architecture, often openly classical, and better attuned to the needs of mechanized production. This was the style developed by Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) and the Chicago architects after 1872, by Auguste Perret (1874-1954) and Tony Garnier (1867-1948) in France after 1900, by Adolf Loos (1870-1933) in Vienna and by Peter Behrens (1868-1940) in Germany.

Perret evolved the basic techniques of using reinforced concrete and his 1905 garage [3], now demolished, used concrete frames for posts and beams. Sullivan was capable of the most florid flights of decorative fancy, but Perret's dislike of surface decoration was shared by Garnier, Behrens and Loos, and stark simplicity became a feature of this anti-individualist route into modern architecture. The shape of the building became more important than decoration.

In 1907 German craftsmen and designers formed the Deutscher Werkbund, an organization that studied the problems and application of design. In 1914 the Werkbund held an exhibition at Cologne. Here the

differences between the two main routes into modern architecture were thrown into high relief. On one side was the self-expressive architecture of Henri van der Velde (1863-1957), whose style was representative of Art Nouveau, and on the other was the architectural writer Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927), who stood for the exhibition as modern style and a timeless "ideal" beauty. Somewhere in between was a former pupil of Behrens, Walter Gropius (1883-1969), his factory [Kcy], built for the exhibition, was geometrically simple and played on the effects of transparency and lightness produced by his steel-frame construction.

De Stijl and the Bauhaus

Yet the anti-individualist trend became dominant among those who searched for modern architecture during the 1920s. Headed by the painter Theo Van Doesburg a movement called De Stijl was founded in Amsterdam (1917). By 1923 its leading architect was Gerrit Rietveld (1888-1964), whose Schroder House, with its overlapping rectangles, its lack of complex curves, and its

CONNECTIONS



1 The Eiffel Tower was designed by Gustave Eiffel (1832-1923) for the 1889 Paris International Exhibition. He was already known as a daring engineer of some superb structures, including the Garabit Viaduct. When built, his iron

tower was the highest structure ever known. Eiffel was also engineer of the Bon Marché department store in Paris (1878) and of the Statue of Liberty in New York, which was completed in 1886. Both of these use iron structures



2 The Solvay House designed by Victor Horta, was built in 1895-6 for a rich Brussels manufacturer. It is a traditional double-fronted town house but its combination of masonry and exposed iron construction was new, and so were many of its formal qualities. The projecting bays are glazed far more expensively than was usual, and their thin iron columns are shaped both to give the impression of growth and, where they carry weight of gripping and lifting. Also the entire surface of stone gives the impression of a gentle swell, its flanks and the flanks of the bays curving outwards.

3 Auguste Perret's 1905 garage on the Rue Ponthieu in Paris uses a reinforced concrete frame. Perret, almost single-handedly developed the basic techniques for using this new material. He believed that reinforced concrete should be used like timber for frames and panels. The frame in this garage carries all the weight, as can be seen by the areas of glass. The building's structure is plainly expressed in the simple vertical and horizontal organization of the facade. The classical pillars, the small row of windows like a frieze above and the projecting cap are all features, however, of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts tradition.



living-room window which turns a corner at first-floor level, pulled together many typically modern features [4] Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) was active in Berlin and between 1919 and 1928 Gropius headed the Bauhaus in Weimar and Dessau, which produced the first designs for 'modern' furniture and fittings to be manufactured on any scale by industrialists. In France Charles Edouard Jeanneret (1887-1965), known as Le Corbusier, took reinforced concrete architecture beyond the traditional classicism of his teacher, Perret. He got rid of the cornice, invented the horizontal window and avoided symmetry. His Villa Savoye [6] has all these features and an openness in its planning also found in the architecture of Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Rietveld.

Towards an "International Style"

Planning as open as this was made possible by the fact that with steel or reinforced concrete construction internal walls were no longer needed to carry roofs, but it followed too from the desire for a more informal way of life coupled with a closer relationship be-

tween the house and nature outdoors. Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959), the most gifted of Sullivan's pupils, stressed the organic nature of architecture. He believed that a building, like a living organism, must "grow" out of its surroundings. Between 1893 and 1911 Wright built a number of small suburban houses (the "prairie houses") which were planned outwards from a central hearth. The open planning and flying horizontals of houses like the Willits House (1902) [5] made a great impression on Gropius, the early architects of De Stijl and many others in Europe before 1914.

The individualistic modern alternative in architecture was never halted but during the 1920s the inventive styles of Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier and De Stijl, characterized by an asymmetrical arrangement of simple geometric forms, by extensive glazing often turning corners, and by open planning, gave the illusion of a single modern style. It was this that led to the term "International Style", and the attempt, in the next decade, to create a modern international architecture based on shared convictions.

KEY



Walter Gropius's factory, built for the Cologne Werkbund exhibition in 1914 is one of the first wholly modern buildings. The office

building with its sheets of glass wrapped around both ends and its glazing bars of steel establishes a clear rhythm. The horizontal slabs cap

ping the short tower show the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright. Contrasts between transparency and opacity were to become common in this style.



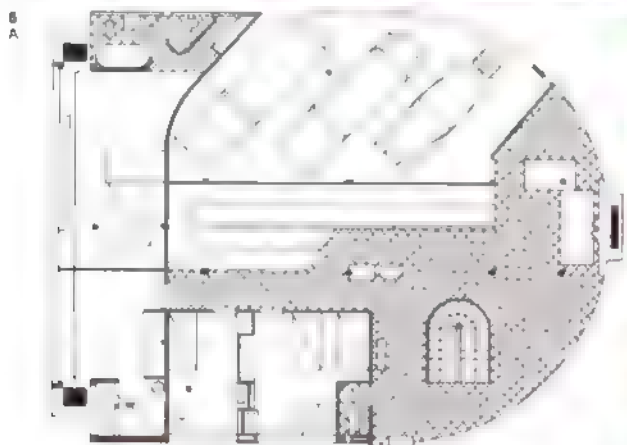
5 The Ward W. Willits House in Highland Park, a suburb of Chicago was built in 1902 by Frank Lloyd Wright. It was one of his "prairie houses". These were low spreading houses with open plan interiors, terraces merging into the landscape and low sloping roofs. The construction is traditional wooden post and beam. They were among the early Wright designs.



4 The Schröder House on the outskirts of Utrecht was designed by Gerrit Rietveld in 1924. The exterior (A) is brick built with steel posts to support the projecting balconies only where necessary. Outside walls were white and grey creating a neutral ground for the coloured horizontals and verticals. In the interior (B), large areas were in primary colours with white.



6 The Villa Savoye (B) at Poissy east of Paris, was designed by Le Corbusier in partnership with his cousin between 1929 and 1931. The plan of the ground floor (A) shows the curved end of the structure and the way that car space is incorporated into the building to preserve the idea of a self-contained structure. Living quarters are mainly on the first floor which is largely open plan, together with some services. There are four more rooms at ground level.



Europe 1870–1914

The period after the unification of Italy and Germany witnessed the consolidation and growth of the major nation states. Rising population, growing industrialization and stronger governments created a period of immense dynamism, but also intense national rivalry. The rise of democratic institutions in many parts of Europe and the development of trade unions encouraged more social legislation, such as welfare programmes. By the outbreak of World War I, socialist parties had appeared in many countries.

The rise of German power and influence

In terms of population, trade, industry and armed forces Imperial Germany was clearly the most powerful European state [4]. Its easy conquest of France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 testified to its military strength [1]. Following the war the German Chancellor, Count Otto von Bismarck (1815–98), sought to create a stable diplomatic environment in which a “satiated” Germany would be able to consolidate its gains and build up its international power and prestige. Germany’s Dual

Alliance with Austria-Hungary (1879) and the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia (1887) were designed to prevent those two countries clashing in the Balkans. Bismarck’s diplomatic system survived recurrent crises over this issue [3] until his resignation in 1890.

The Dual Alliance became the Triple Alliance with the addition of Italy in 1882, and was faced by the Franco-Russian alliance of 1891. Great Britain joined France in the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904 and an Anglo-Russian treaty was signed in 1907, forming the Triple Entente. Bismarck’s bequest became a dangerous system of alliances which was put under severe strain by imperial rivalry, Balkan crises and the instability of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Domestically many European states made considerable advances. In Britain extension of the franchise in 1867 and 1884 gave votes to many working men. France also operated a parliamentary democracy. Although still largely an autocratic state Imperial Germany had the façade of constitutional government and political groups were developing rapidly, including a

powerful socialist party. In northern Europe, the Scandinavian countries evolved along a largely peaceful path, often pursuing progressive social legislation.

In southern Europe parliamentary democracy existed only to a limited extent. Italy [8] was threatened by its own poverty and frequent periods of disorder and political instability. In the Iberian Peninsula a small middle class and the powerful hold of the Roman Catholic Church meant that politics remained oligarchic and backward. In eastern Europe, Austria-Hungary [5] remained an essentially monarchical state troubled by severe national rivalries.

The conflict between Church and state

The growing power of the nation states and an increasing degree of state intervention in the areas of public education and welfare brought conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. The Church was attacked in many countries for political conservatism and opposition to liberal and national aspirations. In France the conflict was mainly about education, where the Church had great influ-

CONNECTIONS

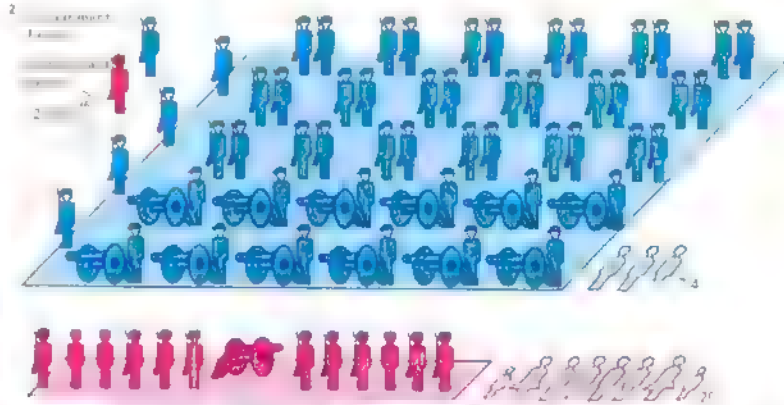
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1 The entry of Prussian troops into Paris at the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 illustrated the power of the newly unified German state under the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty

and the direction of Bismarck. Dominant of Europe by France as the greatest continental power was rudely supplanted by the growing industrial might of Imperial Germany whose armies made

efficient use of the German railways and artillery built by Krupp. In France defeat toppled Napoleon III’s Second Empire and after the Paris Commune, ushered in the Third Republic.



2 The Paris Commune followed privations endured in the siege of Paris during the Franco-Prussian War. When a new government at Bordeaux called in Parisians, the lower middle classes and workers revolted and, although greatly outnumbered and outgunned, they held the city from March to May 1871. They introduced a semi-socialist regime until savagely suppressed by government troops



3 The great powers all attended the Congress of Berlin in 1878. A major source of conflict was the fate of the decaying Ottoman Empire and its Balkan dependencies, in which the interests of Austria-Hungary (represented by Karolyi, far left), and Russia (Shuvalov right foreground, shaking hands with Germany’s Bismarck), were deeply involved. The Congress recognized the independence of several Balkan states but denied them some of the territory they had just won from Turkey with Russia’s help. Austria was allowed to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina while France and Britain also made gains. The Congress however left all parties unsatisfied

ence. Republican aims were advanced by the French statesman Jules Ferry (1833-93) who secularized education through legislation in 1882 and 1886. In spite of a period of relative amity between Church and state in the period that followed, known as the *Ralliement*, the Dreyfus affair [7] once again revealed the old tensions and led to bitter anti-clerical feeling. As a result, the concordat between the Papacy and the state was ended in 1905.

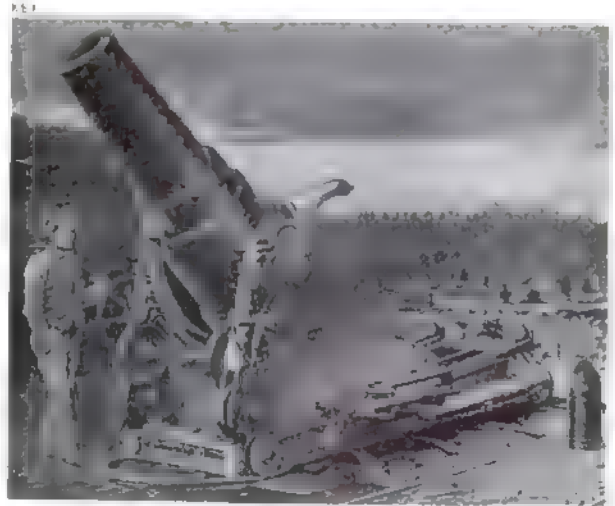
In Germany, too, between 1870 and 1880, Bismarck waged the *Kulturkampf* in which the Jesuits were expelled, religious orders dissolved, civil marriage made compulsory and other anti-Catholic legislation introduced [6]. In Italy, Belgium and other Catholic countries similar clashes occurred, although on a lesser scale.

Tariff reform became a pressing political issue in an era of growing rivalry in international trade and an influx of cheap foodstuffs from outside Europe. France protected its manufacturers by the *Melne Tariff* of 1892 and Germany built up its industry behind protective barriers. Even *laissez-faire* Britain

witnessed a tariff reform campaign in 1902-5 by Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) which, however, failed to secure majority support among the electorate for protection of British and colonial goods.

Appeals to patriotism and nationalism

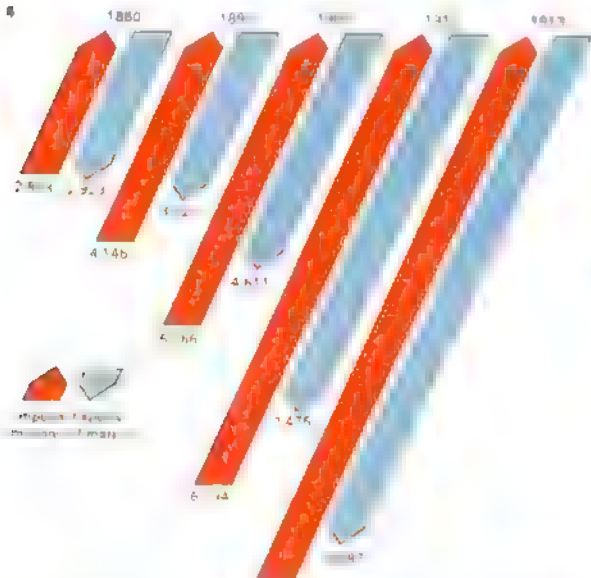
Several states sought to appease growing working-class demands by social legislation. In Britain, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81) and later David Lloyd George (1863-1945) introduced social welfare. The latter copied the comprehensive social insurance schemes of Bismarck. In France, although anti-clericalism and other issues of the past could still create great passion, politics essentially constituted the safeguarding of vested interests and social legislation lagged. Governments everywhere tended to rally public opinion by stimulating patriotic feeling. Growing literacy, prosperity and communications also fostered intense nationalism. Conscript armies, equipped with the weapons of modern industrial economies, created war machines [Key] capable of unprecedented warfare.



A growing armaments industry towards the end of the 1800s produced weapons such as this German howitzer which

fired a 45kg (100lb) shell. Consolidation of nation states and the emergence of an intense patriotism was translated by

conscription and industrialization into these armies with which the nations of Europe faced each other in 1914.



4 The unified German Empire became the greatest industrial power in Europe in the years before World War I, surpassing Great Britain in many branches of manufacture by 1900. From 1880 Germany's trade soared and both imports and exports increased more than threefold by 1913.

5 Elegant women, dashing officers - the outward glitter of "Gay Vienna" in the late 19th century - masked a rich intellectual and artistic life that stemmed not only from the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire but also from much of eastern Europe. The culture it produced influenced the whole of Europe.



6 Count Bismarck was a master of diplomatic chess, countering the interdicts of Pope Pius IX (1792-1878) with anti-monastic legislation as shown in this cartoon of the day. He presided over the unification of Germany, conducting both

foreign and domestic policy with ruthless cunning until his resignation as Chancellor in 1890 after disagreement with the new Kaiser, Wilhelm II. Groups such as the Catholics and socialists were subordinated to the interests of the state.

7 Caricatured as a traitor to France, Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935) was the centre of a bitter controversy after 1898, when it emerged that an army court had unjustly convicted him of spying for Germany. Dreyfus was a Jew and both

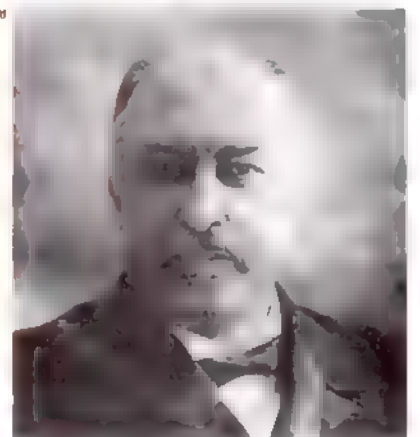


anti-semitic and ultra-conservative groups tried to block a fair retrial. Anti-clerical and radical groups

supported him with ultimate success and the issue showed the deep divisions underlying the apparent stability of France.

8 Giovanni Giolitti (1842-1928), five times prime minister of Italy between 1892 and 1921, managed to achieve periods of near stability and considerable industrial progress at a time when Italy was

socially and economically backward. Parliamentary democracy was often difficult to introduce in recently unified states and in Italy political strikes and hunger riots were common before 1914.



from the Netherlands (British guarantees to Belgium had fateful consequences in 1914). In the East, Palmerston sought to uphold the territorial rights of Turkey. For a time peace was maintained but in 1854 Russia and Turkey went to war and Britain and France entered on the side of Turkey.

The Crimean War and after

The Crimean War was ostensibly about the tsar's claim to protect Christians under Turkish rule in Europe: in fact it was about whether Turkey should maintain its empire in Europe as a bulwark against Russian aggrandizement in the Balkans. The British army suffered terrible losses, but, in the end, Constantinople and the Black Sea were preserved from Russian control.

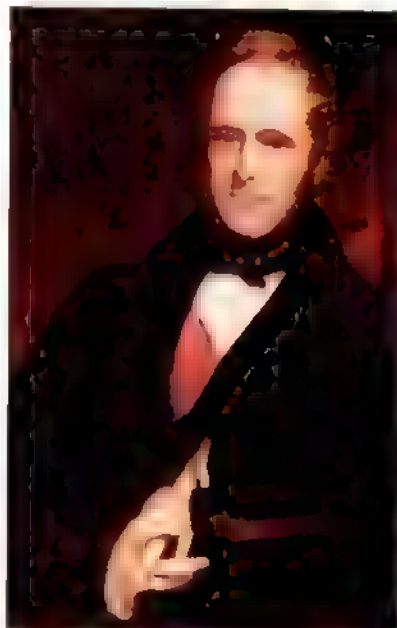
Twenty years later, when Turkish misrule in Bulgaria threatened war once more, Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) went to the Congress of Berlin (1878) and brought back peace with honour. The *status quo* was upheld without war, but Turkey's failure to learn the lesson and put its house in order and the rising appeal of Slav nationalism

throughout the Balkans was a bleak omen.

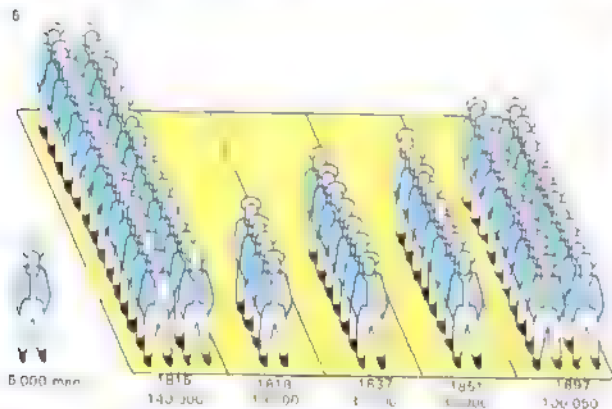
By the 1880s British security was being undermined. The scramble by European powers for colonies in Africa had begun and in 1882 Britain occupied Egypt. Germany was cutting into Britain's trading and manufacturing supremacy, and was politically worrying France. At the end of Victoria's reign, Germany started building up its naval strength.

As the German threat grew, fears of Russia receded. The Foreign Office was led to recast its priorities, and "splendid isolation" became a thing of the past. In 1904 Edward VII's diplomacy was instrumental in securing the Entente Cordiale with France. There were many people, among them Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914), who hankered after a German partnership, but the current was flowing in the opposite direction. France was the ally of Russia and in 1907 Britain joined them in the Triple Entente. In 1908, when Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed by Germany's ally, Austria-Hungary, against the wishes of Russia, the ground was prepared for World War I.

A.E.



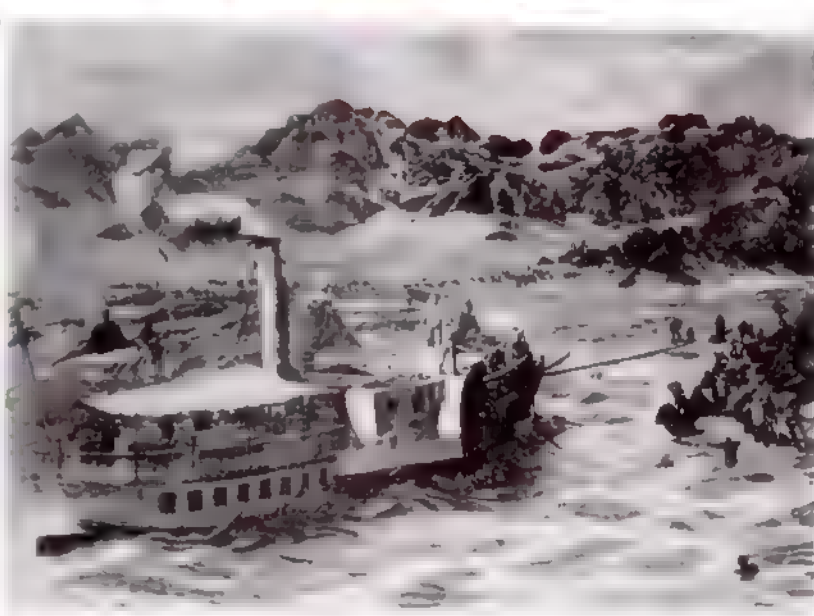
Viscount Palmerston (1784–1865) presided over British foreign policy longer than any other man in modern history. As foreign secretary (1830–41, 1846–51) and prime minister (1855–8, 1859–65), his policy rested on confidence in the global pre-eminence of mid-Victorian Britain. His forthright defence of British interests was expressed in the Don Pacifico debate (1850) when he used warships to protect a British citizen against the Greek government and defended himself with the phrase "*Civis Britannicus sum*" (I am a citizen of Britain), echoing the *Civis Romanus sum* of Imperial Rome. From that day until his death Palmerston was a national hero.



5 The British navy was the basis of the nation's power throughout the century. But the overwhelming victory at Trafalgar meant that the navy did not need to be large to maintain its ascendancy. It

was only with the introduction of steam-driven battleships in the 1880s and the start of the naval building race with Germany that the navy again employed as many men as in the time of Nelson.

6 The use of gunboats to quell local disturbances throughout the world, as in this expedition up the Nile to relieve Khartoum in 1884, was typical of the Pax Britannica as maintained by Palmerston.



7 William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) is depicted here as the "Colossus of Words" whose policies of peace and liberalism serve as an inspiration for reform at home. His stirring opposition to the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876, when the Turks violently put down a nationalist revolt, was typical of the high moral tone of his political feelings and led to his overthrow of the Conservative government four years later.

8 Edward VII's visit to Paris in 1903, and his meeting with the French foreign secretary, won him great affection from the French. It also paved the way for the signing of the Entente Cordiale in 1904, so ending the enmity between the nations.



ELECTORS DO YOU LIKE



9 Naval strength was an important issue in the election of 1910, as this poster shows.

HMS Dreadnought first of a powerful new class of battleship, was completed in 1906.

Balkanization and Slav nationalism

Austria-Hungary and Russia were the chief protagonists in the struggle to supplant the once powerful Turkish Empire, "the sick man of Europe" [3], as the dominant power in the Balkans in the second half of the nineteenth century. For Russia, the masters of the Balkans would have served its historic aim to gain control of the Straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles with the city of Constantinople, and thus gain access to ice-free seas. Austria-Hungary's main concern was to prevent Russia from establishing itself in the Balkans as the protector of a cluster of small states, some claiming territory within the Hapsburg Empire. The Austro-Hungarian policy of blocking Russia's advance towards the Mediterranean was supported by both Germany and Britain.

Russian hopes dashed

In 1877-8, Russia fought Turkey on the side of Serbia and Montenegro in support of Slav Christians in the province of Hercegovina who had clashed with the Turkish authorities because they refused to pay taxes or to perform the customary labour services. A Tur-

kish force sent against them in 1875 had been defeated with the aid of sympathizers from Serbia and Montenegro as well as from Austria-Hungary's Croat province of Dalmatia. The insurrection had then spread in 1876 to Bulgaria, where an estimated 12,000 to 30,000 Bulgarians were killed by Turkish irregulars in atrocities that aroused indignation throughout Europe.

Although Russian armies reached the outskirts of Constantinople in 1878, the diplomacy of Britain and Austria-Hungary frustrated Russia's main aim. At the Congress of Berlin [1], Russia secured territorial enlargement for Serbia and Montenegro and independence for Bulgaria. Austria-Hungary (which had stayed neutral) was allowed to occupy Bosnia-Hercegovina. Bulgaria was denied access to the Aegean, and the province of Macedonia, to which both Serbia and Bulgaria [2] aspired, was handed back to Turkey.

Serbian and Montenegrin successes in the war fired the imagination of all Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but particularly those in the south: Croats, Slovenes and

Serbs living outside Serbia proper in Bosnia, Croatia and Hungary. In Serbia itself the government covertly, and various non-official bodies overtly, gave money and encouragement to groups working for south Slav union. Serbian politicians and intelligentsia saw Serbia as the nucleus of a greater southern Slav nation [Key].

Revolutionary societies

Croats and other Slavs living in the Hungarian half of the Hapsburg Empire originally viewed the idea of a union with Serbia with suspicion, preferring a south Slav state under Hapsburg leadership. But alienated by Magyar dominance in Hungary, many of them became revolutionary towards the 1900s. Sensing the nationalist threat to their multi-national empire, the Hapsburgs redoubled efforts to control and subdue Serbia in their view the originator of the monarchy's troubles. The annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1908 was the result. It was an attempt to pre-empt south Slav nationalism by simply incorporating a disputed area into the empire and thus, hopefully, neutralizing

See also



1 The Congress of Berlin in 1878 drew up a Balkan settlement that was to last a generation. Dominant personalities were the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81) and the

German chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-98). Under a treaty signed in July, Russia had to agree to the scrapping of the Treaty of San Stefano, made in March, giving her and her Balkan allies

huge territorial gains. Under pressure from Britain, Austria-Hungary and Germany, victor over Russia, agreed to limit itself to taking a strip of Bessarabia from Rumania, Batsum and Kars in the Cau-

casus and a part of Armenia. Rumania's independence was formally recognized. Bosnia and Hercegovina were handed over to Austria-Hungary to administer. Britain was given Cyprus to keep as

long as Russia kept Kars and Batum. Serbia and Montenegro received land that Bulgaria had gained earlier but remained cut off from the Aegean. Macedonia was returned to Turkey.

2 San Stefano, the name on the girl's flag in this Bulgarian poster, summed up Bulgaria's efforts to regain from her neighbours what she had won in the San Stefano treaty but lost at Berlin. To

that end, Bulgaria fought and defeated Serbia in 1885 but was forced to withdraw after Austrian intervention. In October 1915 Bulgaria, allied to Austria and Germany, again fought Serbia.



3 At Constantinople in 1876, Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918) proclaimed a constitution under pressure from Western educated officials to reform the reactionary Turkish Empire. But he soon abrogated the constitution and it was only in 1908 that the Young Turk movement forced him to reissue it, summon parliament and abolish press censorship. When he prepared a counter-coup in 1909 he was overthrown and replaced.



4 The German Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941), here visiting Constantinople, played a major role in Germany's moves to acquire influence in Turkey as part of a larger extension of power in central Europe and the Mediterranean. Based on a concession granted in 1899 by Turkey to the German company of Anatolian Railways, a rail system was to be built all the way from Berlin to Constantinople and Baghdad as the key to a new German Empire.

if Russia's weakness after her defeat in the disastrous war against Japan in 1904-5 enabled Austria-Hungary to escape without Russian retaliation.

The Balkan Wars

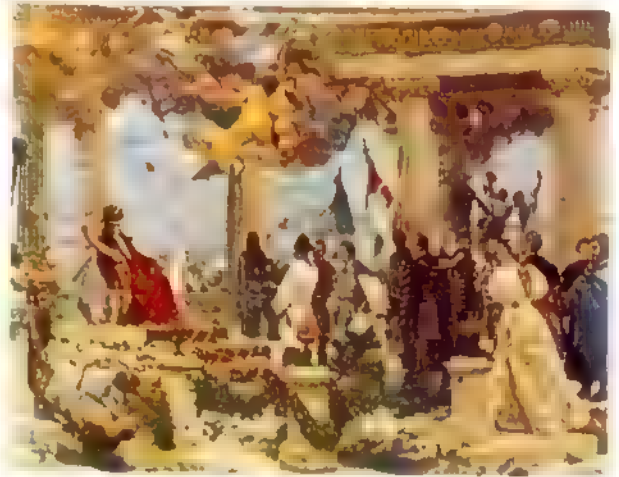
The Bosnian annexation initially turned the main thrust of Serbian nationalism south towards Albania and southeast Macedonia which Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece all claimed but which the Congress of Berlin had handed back to Turkey. Exploiting Turkey's preoccupation with its war against Italy in 1911-12, the four Balkan states - Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro - set up the so-called Balkan League and declared war on Turkey in October 1912 (6, 8) (the first Balkan War 1912-13). But the victorious anti-Turkish forces were again frustrated by great power diplomacy.

Germany saw Turkey as the strategic base of its power in the Middle East and before long it was challenging its great rival, Russia. Under Austrian pressure the Serbs and Bulgarians agreed to the Adriatic Treaty establishing the 1913 Adriatic Conference.

Serbia in turn quarrelled with Bulgaria over Macedonia and war broke out between them in June 1913 and lasted a month. Bulgaria was defeated by an alliance of all her neighbours including Romania.

But Hapsburg hopes of the situation becoming calmer in the wake of the Bosnian annexation were disappointed. Nationalist agitation [n] for a union of all south Slavs was boosted by Serbia's successes in the Balkan Wars. Assassinations by members of secret societies in Bosnia and elsewhere became commonplace. The apparent political impasse made Austria-Hungary's leaders think once again of a military solution. The idea was that if only Serbia, the hotbed of nationalistic agitation, could be subdued and neutralized, the rest of Europe would calm down. Germany's virtually unlimited backing of Austria-Hungary's policies strengthened the resolve of the Austro-Hungarian and German leaders. The crisis in the Balkans led to the Hapsburg ultimatum to Serbia in July 1914. The Serbian government's refusal to accept the ultimatum gave them the pretext for war.

KEY



The spirit of Slav nationalism was kindled in the Balkans by the success of the Balkan Wars. The Serbian government's refusal to accept the ultimatum gave them the pretext for war.

was kindled in the Balkans by the success of the Balkan Wars. The Serbian government's refusal to accept the ultimatum gave them the pretext for war.

kindled in 1880 and a map showing the upper part of the Balkan Peninsula (Greece and Serbia) and a map of the Balkan Peninsula (Austria-Hungary).

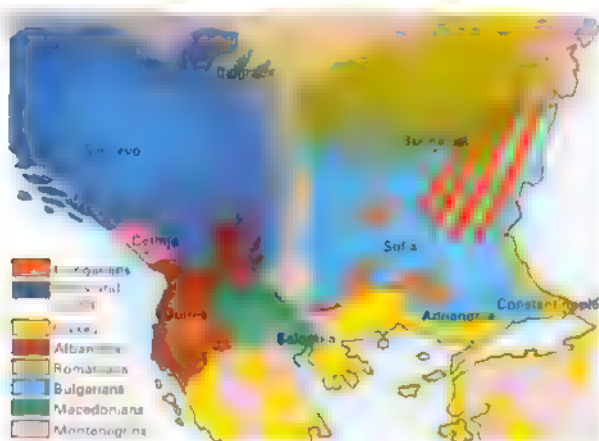
5 The new Balkan states, formed as a result of Turkey's retreat from Europe were in dispute with each other. Serbia and Bulgaria over Macedonia. Romania and Bulgaria over Dobruja. And Romania and Austria-Hungary over Transylvania. But the most explosive dispute was between Serbia and Austria-Hungary because of Serbia's support of terrorist activity among Slavs living under Austro-Hungarian rule. This was greatest in Bosnia-Herzegovina a province of Croats, Serbs and Slav Muslims which Austria-Hungary had taken over in 1878 and formally annexed in 1908 in order to prevent Serbian attempts to gain direct control of the Adriatic. At last the demand for a federalist or separate Albanian state which was proclaimed in 1912.



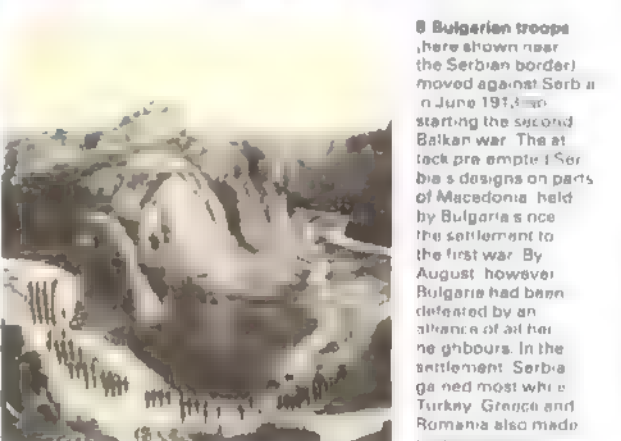
6 The first Bulgarian soldier to be killed in the first Balkan War's summer fighting in the Balkans. The fighting in the Balkans was the first of the Balkan Wars. The fighting in the Balkans was the first of the Balkan Wars.

vided between Serbia and Bulgaria. They planned to attack Turkey and Greece. The fighting in the Balkans was the first of the Balkan Wars.

Manifester a marked Bulgarian, Serbia and Greece. They planned to attack Turkey and Greece. The fighting in the Balkans was the first of the Balkan Wars.



7 Peoples of many different races and religions inhabit the Balkans. The Croats have a Latin script and are Roman Catholics. The Serbs, Bulgarians, Montenegrins and Macedonians received their Cyrillic script. Orthodox religion and political tradition from Byzantium. Under Turkish rule the Orthodox Church retained its autonomy. It was influential in the national revival of the Balkan peoples. Turkey left two enclaves of Islam in Europe: Bosnia and Albania.



8 Bulgarian troops (here shown near the Serbian border) moved against Serbia in June 1913, starting the second Balkan War. The attack pre-empted Serbia's designs on parts of Macedonia held by Bulgaria since the settlement to the first war. By August however Bulgaria had been defeated by an alliance of all her neighbours. In the settlement Serbia gained most while Turkey, Greece and Romania also made territorial gains.

Causes of World War I

During the 1890s Germany's ruling class, headed by the intelligent but vacillating German Kaiser, Wilhelm II (1859-1941), abandoned Bismarck's cautious foreign policy in favour of a more dynamic one designed to reflect Germany's industrial and military strength. Germany wanted a large colonial empire, not only for economic reasons but to enhance its prestige. To this end a law to expand the German navy, the first of many such laws, was enacted in 1898. The new navy was designed ultimately to challenge British naval supremacy [1] and to force Britain, faced with seemingly perpetual Franco-Russian hostility, to collaborate in a wholesale reallocation of colonial territory.

German diplomatic set-backs

The first set-back to Germany's "world policy" came in 1904 when Britain and France settled their colonial differences. Then, in 1907, Britain resolved its long-standing central Asian disputes with Russia. France's ally since 1894. In 1905 Germany taking advantage of Russia's defeat by Japan, challenged France's increasing strength in

Morocco [2] and coerced it into participating in an international conference in January 1906 at Algeiras to settle the Moroccan question on Germany's terms. However, Germany suffered a diplomatic defeat, for its plans for Morocco were supported only by Austria-Hungary. Moreover, Germany's assumption that the Anglo-French *entente* would be wrecked by Britain's failure to support France proved to be similarly erroneous. Britain co-operated closely with France during the conference and, alarmed by Germany's aggressive policy, initiated unofficial Anglo-French military discussions.

Germany next proceeded to alienate Russia. In 1909 it insisted with a veiled threat of war that Russia recognize Austria-Hungary's 1908 annexation of Turkish Bosnia-Herzegovina and abandon support for Serbia's claim for compensation. International tension was further increased when, in a bid to secure colonial compensation from France, now almost in control of Morocco, Germany sent a gunboat to the Moroccan port of Agadir on 1 July 1911. Although during the following months Britain and

France came close to war with Germany over the Moroccan issue, a Franco-German colonial compromise was signed in November. The crisis left a legacy of bitterness and hatred in both countries. As a result Germany, in 1912, further increased its naval strength and began to expand its army. It was followed inevitably in this action by every other Continental great power [3].

Instability in the Balkans

The causes of World War I were, however, more directly connected with events in the Balkans. In 1912 the Balkan League (Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria) drove Turkey out of most of its remaining possessions. The following year Bulgaria was defeated by its former allies, Greece and Serbia, and lost its Macedonian gains of 1912 to Serbia. Austria-Hungary was thus faced with a greatly enlarged and ambitious Serbia, determined that the Slavs within the Hapsburg Empire should come under its rule.

The cumulative effect of all these crises was to increase preparations for war. Indeed, Germany had long since devised its blueprint

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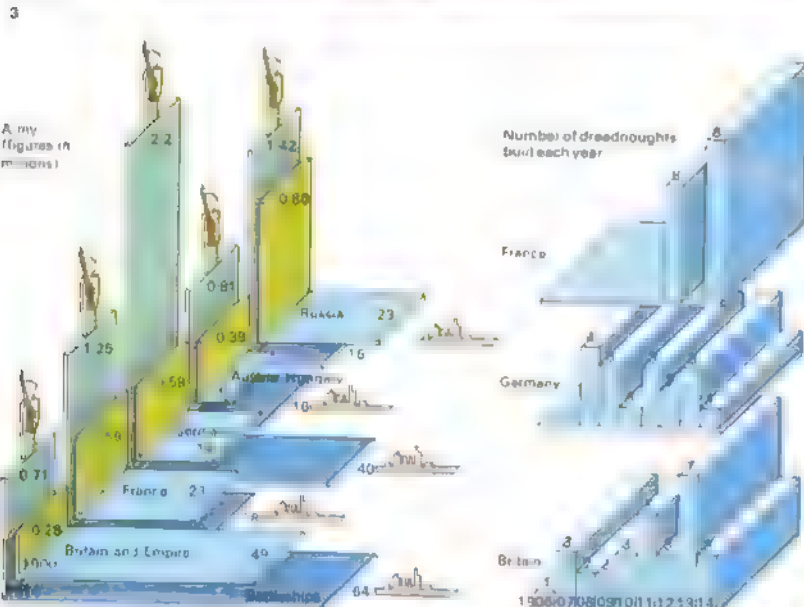
See also

1914-1918

1914-1918

1914-1918

1914-1918



3 An armaments race between the Great Powers before 1914 both reflected and heightened European tension. In addition to building a large navy, Germany possessed the most formidable army in Europe. Although its size remained fairly

stable from 1900-10 Germany's deteriorating diplomatic situation led in 1912-13 to increases in army strength which provoked the other Great Powers except Britain (the only one with a volunteer army), to increase their own forces.

4 The Schlieffen Plan was based on a two-front war with Russia and France which had been allies since 1894. It provided for a massive German assault through Holland (later excluded) and Belgium to outflank the French army. Meanwhile

Austro-German forces would defend the east until the main German army, having knocked out France, could be rapidly moved to meet the slowly advancing Russians. Violation of Belgian neutrality would risk British intervention.

1 The British fleet in the 1890s aimed to equal those of the two next biggest naval powers, France and Russia. When this two-power standard was challenged by the rise of the German navy in the 1900s Britain settled her differences with France and Russia and concentrated on maintaining naval superiority over Germany. As a result Anglo-German relations became increasingly embittered. The launching of the *Dreadnought* (faster and better armed than any ship before it) by Britain in 1905 opened a new stage in naval rivalry as each country tried to build more such vessels than its neighbours. But Britain kept its lead.



2 Visiting Tangier in March 1905, the Kaiser pledged to uphold Morocco's independence. He hoped to protect German interests in Morocco (rapidly falling under French control) and to force France

to recognize that its future lay in alliance with Germany. While the independence of Morocco was thus preserved until 1911 Germany's clumsy diplomacy drove France and Britain closer together.



for victory, perfected by Count Alfred von Schlieffen (1833–1913), Chief of Staff, in 1905 and amended by his successor, Helmuth von Moltke (1848–1916). The Schlieffen Plan [4] relied on the slowness of Russian mobilization and provided for a rapid thrust through Belgium to defeat France, leaving the German army free to move rapidly east to meet the Russians.

The assassination of the heir to the Hapsburg throne, Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914), at Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 [8] was the climax of a series of Serbian provocations towards Austria. Berlin feared that if Austria-Hungary failed to take the opportunity provided by the murder to bring Serbia within its orbit, its multi-national empire would collapse, leaving Germany isolated. Thus Austria was under German pressure to act against Serbia, with the promise of German military support should war ensue. Successive German diplomatic defeats, a sense of “encirclement” by Britain, France and an increasingly strong Russia, and deep divisions within German society all combined in 1914 to convince the German

ruling elite of the desirability of war partly to preserve the idea of a German-dominated “Mitel Europe”. Although apprehensive, German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg (1856–1921) gambled on both Russian and British neutrality [6] and hoped that the Austro-Serbian dispute could be localized, in spite of the rigid system of alliances that divided Europe.

The final steps to war

Austria finally [7] presented an ultimatum demanding the right to investigate Serbian terrorists and, when Serbia rejected this, declared war on 28 July 1914. Russia could hardly stand aside and, faced with growing pro-Slav feeling, Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918) ordered mobilization. British mediation failed to persuade Austria-Germany to compromise. When France refused to leave Russia to fight alone, the Schlieffen Plan was activated and events proceeded rapidly [9] towards war between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey) and the Allies (Russia, Serbia, France, Belgium and Great Britain).



High-spirited French soldiers marching to the front after the outbreak of war in August 1914 typified the enthusiasm of all the belligerent countries based on

August 1914 typified the enthusiasm of all the belligerent countries based on

tense nationalism and a belief that the war would be short and glorious.

5 A wartime photograph of the Kaiser, centre, and his generals reflects his fondness for military life. Responsible for Germany's foreign policy, the ultimatum of 7 August was his alone.

6 Germany's Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg (left) and Foreign Minister Gottlieb von Jagow (right) (1863–1935) misjudged the willingness of Britain to go to war over a “scrap of paper” guaranteeing the neu-

trality of Belgium. They gambled on diplomatic victory for the Central Powers when, with the promise of German military support, they encouraged Austrian action against Serbia in July 1914.



7 Count Leopold von Berchtold (1863–1942), the Austrian Foreign Minister, was convinced that the multi-national Hapsburg Empire would collapse unless Serbia was crushed. His opportunity was provided when Franz Ferdinand was mur-

dered but although promised full German support, he encouraged consideration of plans from the Hungarian government. This partly accounted for the delay in presenting the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.



8 Gavrilo Princip (1893–1918) precipitated the chain of events leading to war when he shot the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz

Ferdinand, and his wife while they were visiting Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, on 28 June 1914. He was one of a group of Bosnian conspirators with Serbian support.

1914	Austria-Hungary	Germany	Great Britain	Russia	France
June 28	Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand				
July 5		Germany declines support for action against Serbia			
23	Austrian ultimatum presented to Serbia				
25			Allied mediation rejected by Germany		
27	Serbia accepts Austro-demands only in part				
28	Austria rejects Serbian reply and declares war				
29		Germany fails to gain British neutrality			
30					
31	Austria mobilizes	German ultimatum to France and Russia to stop war preparations. Germany declares war on Russia and mobilizes		Nicholas II mobilizes	
August 1		Germany invades Luxembourg demands passage through Belgium			
2		Germany declares war on France	British government offers support for France		
3			British government demands France to withdraw from Belgium		
4			Germany fails to reply. Britain declares war		France mobilizes

THE TIMETABLE OF CONFLICT
JUNE 28–AUGUST 4 1914

World War I

On 28th June 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863-1914), was assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia, by a pro-Serbian student Gavrilo Princip (1893-1918), precipitating a chain of diplomatic manoeuvres that ultimately led to war. The Balkans had long been a centre of conflict. Serbian nationalism threatened the shaky Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose collapse would isolate her ally, Germany, in Europe. Russia, Serbia's ally, was also involved in the Balkans because whoever controlled them would be in control of Russia's main trade route.

The first battles on both fronts

Germany pressed her ally to take firm action and on 28 July Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Two days later, Russia mobilized and Germany responded by declaring war on Russia on 1 August. Germany's Schlieffen Plan, drawn up to avoid a war on two fronts, necessitated an all-out attack through Belgium to knock out France. Russia's ally, quickly, Germany therefore declared war on France on 3 August and

invaded Belgium the next day. As a result, Great Britain came to Belgium's defence.

By 9 September German forces had advanced to the Marne where the British and French were able to halt them. At the end of October each side faced the other in trenches running from the English Channel to the Swiss frontier. In the east, the vast, ill-equipped Russian army had lumbered into East Prussia where it was crushingly defeated on 20 August at the Battle of Tannenberg.

Throughout 1915 the Germans remained on the defensive in the west, allowing the Allies to exhaust themselves in a series of futile attacks, while launching a summer offensive in the east that hurled the Russians back more than 480km (300 miles).

Turkey had entered the war on the side of the Central Powers in October 1914. After a costly naval attack by the Allies, 75,000 Australian, New Zealand, British and French troops tried to open a new front at Gallipoli at the mouth of the Dardanelles. The expedition failed to achieve surprise, scarcely advanced from the beaches and suffered heavy casualties until withdrawn in

December. Thus Russia was effectively cut off from Allied supplies.

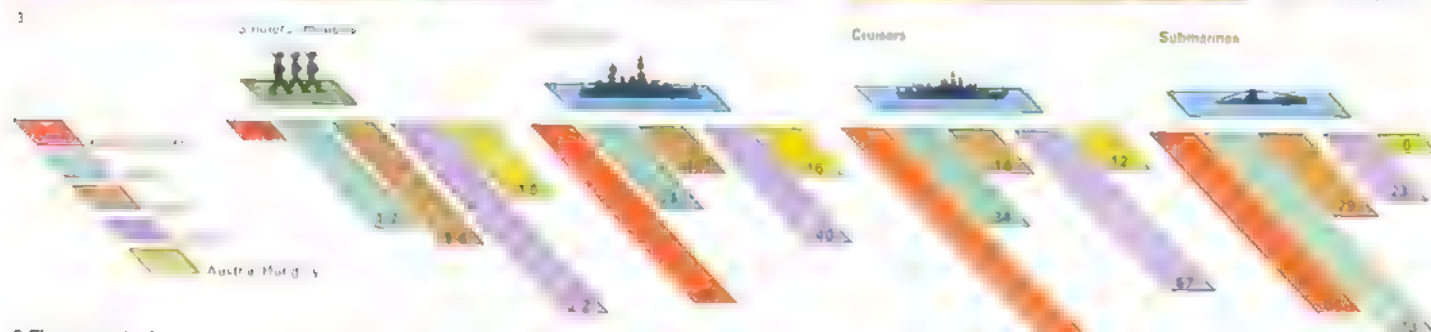
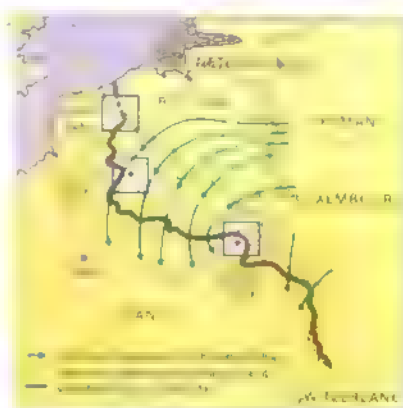
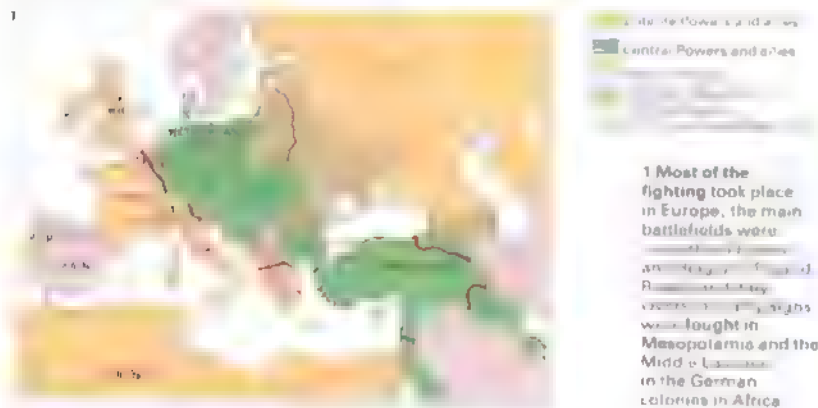
By the end of 1915 both sides realized that the war was going to be a prolonged affair. On 21 February 1916, the Germans assaulted Verdun in an offensive calculated by General Erich von Falkenhayn (1861-1922) to exhaust the French, rather than to achieve a breakthrough. By the end of June nearly 600,000 men had died in this action, but the French managed to hold on. The Russians under General Alexei Brusilov (1856-1926) launched an offensive that gained some territory with terrible loss of life and the British under Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig (1861-1928) attacked on the Somme, suffering 20,000 dead on the first day and gaining less than 8km (5 miles) in five months' fighting.

The war at sea

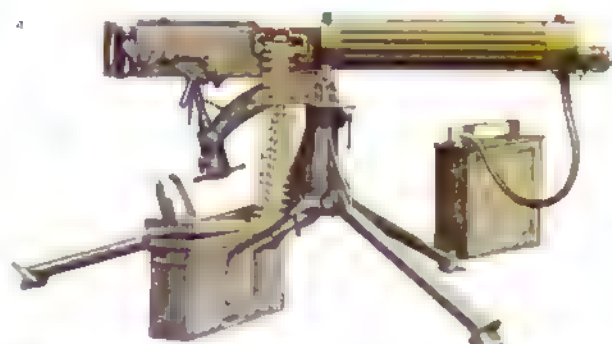
At the beginning of the war, the Royal Navy had begun a blockade of German ports, turning back neutral shipping [6]. The Germans replied with submarine attacks [8], but had little success in 1915 and 1916 because

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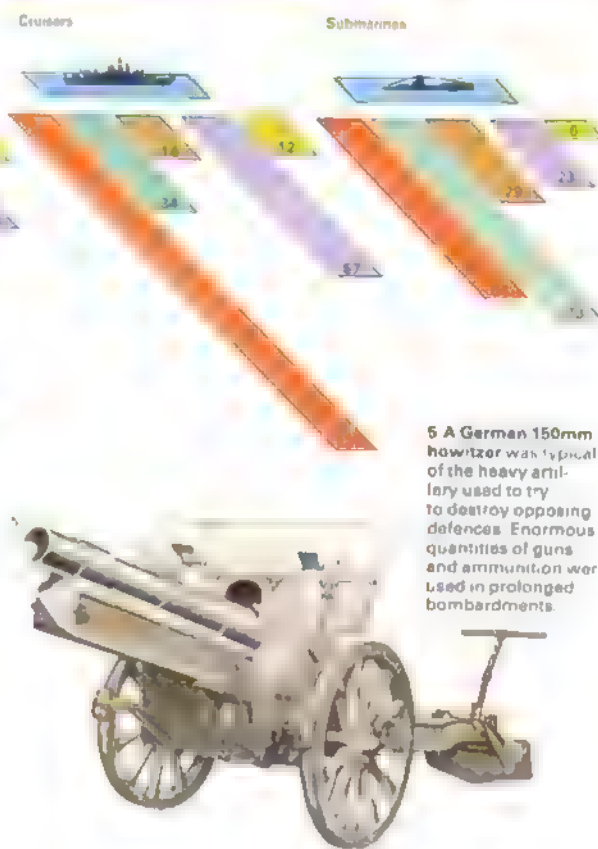
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3 The strength of the two alliances was reasonably well balanced, as what Britain lacked in troops she made up in naval strength. It was this balance that made World War I a war of attrition that was to result in horrific loss of life and massive destruction. Figures for troops quoted here are those of the standing armies. Mobilized forces were approximately: Britain 711,000, France 3.5 million, Russia 4.4 million, Germany 3.8 million (in emergency a maximum of 8.5 million could be raised), Austria-Hungary 3 million.



4 The generals of 1914 had been trained to think of mobile offensive warfare, but the relatively new British Vickers medium machine gun with its lethal effect on exposed infantry was among the armaments that upset their view. Once the exhausted armies had dug in, artillery and machine guns ensured that trench warfare would continue. Commanders tried for the rest of the war to break the stalemate, but massive infantry attacks proved hideously ineffective.



5 A German 150mm howitzer was typical of the heavy artillery used to try to destroy opposing defences. Enormous quantities of guns and ammunition were used in prolonged bombardments.

sinking neutrals was banned. The two great battle fleets fought only one major action, at Jutland on 31 May 1916. The outcome was inconclusive, but the German surface fleet remained in harbour for the rest of the war. During 1916 the blockade caused severe food shortages in Germany, which led to widespread unrest. On 31 January 1917, the Germans launched unrestricted submarine warfare, and by sinking US shipping pulled the United States into the war. Only the new convoy system prevented Britain from being economically strangled.

The final offensive and Allied victory

On the Western front the French began a series of unsuccessful offensives, elements of their army mutinied in May 1917, but were brought under control during June by Marshal Henri Pétain (1856-1951).

Tanks were used *en masse* at Cambrai on 20 November, but their initial successes were not followed up. Italy had entered the war on the Allied side on 26 April 1915 and fought inconclusively against Austria-Hungary until a massive defeat at Caporetto on 24 October

1917 almost knocked her out of the war. In Russia the unpopularity of the war led to the overthrow of the tsar in March 1917. A provisional government launched another offensive but, after that had been thwarted, the Bolsheviks seized power in November and sued for peace. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 gave Germany huge territorial gains in western Russia.

Aware that they must follow up success in the east with victory in the west before America could arrive in force, the Germans opened a series of offensives under General Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937) from March to July 1918. They drove the Allies back to the Marne, but were again halted there. Then, strengthened by American troops, the Allies counter-attacked. During August a massive offensive launched on 26 September convinced the German High Command that the war was lost and they sued for peace. In early November anti-war and pro-Bolshevik risings took place, the Kaiser abdicated on 9 November and an armistice was signed on 11 November. Austria-Hungary also collapsed in November after an Allied offensive.

KFY



For future generations World War I
 symbol of senseless slaughter and destruction. Not only did more than 10 million soldiers die, but the war affected every

level of society in all combatant countries. Wholesale conscription was introduced and governments took dictatorial powers to control economies and to ration food and supplies. The war

radically changed the map of Europe, sweeping away the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires and setting up smaller states in Eastern Europe.



German invasions
 British positions
 French positions
 British blockade
 Naval battles



Central Powers
 German raiding activity
 Aug 1914-Mar 1915
 U-boat attacks
 February 1917 onwards
 Main trade routes



Allied Powers
 Naval blockade 1914
 Main trade routes



6 The two great fleets
 had only one major battle during the war. The Germans used long-range raiders and submarines while British warships mounted an effective blockade of German ports.

7 Cavalry, like this German troop, found few outlets other than the Eastern front where the war was more fluid and the trench system never evolved. There cavalry was used chiefly for pursuit.



8 Germany had more submarines than Britain at the beginning of the war. This is one of the Gross 31 37 U-boats. It was 64.7m (212ft) long and fully submerged it weighed 880 tonnes. It was armed with 24 500mm (20in) torpedoes fired through four tubes. The attacks on British shipping were relatively ineffective during 1915-16. However after 1917 the Germans came close to starving Britain into submission.

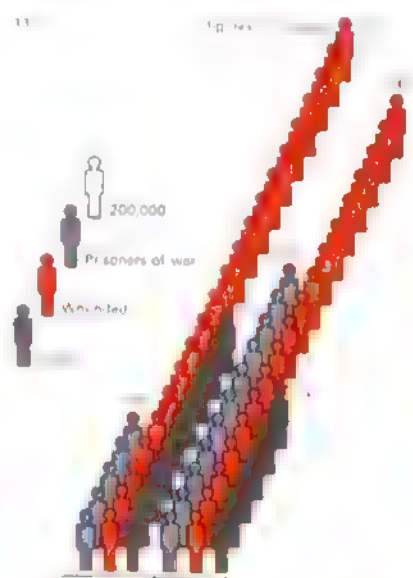


9 German Gothas
 were used for armed reconnaissance over the battlefields as well as for bombing. Developed to take over the Zeppelins' role in bombing English cities, they

arrived too late in the war to make a significant difference. After their attacks on England (in which they claimed 857 lives) the Gothas were switched to the French theatre.



10 Gas was first used in 1915 by the Germans to try to break the trench stalemate. It proved inefficient, difficult to control and easy to detect. The masks these soldiers wear were early attempts at protection.



11 The military casualties of the major powers were vast. France suffered the greatest destruction and the heaviest civilian and military losses. Never had a war killed so many people in so short a time, removing a whole generation of young men and scarring Europe for the next 20 years.

World War I: Britain's role

Britain's small but professional expeditionary force of 100,000 men, commanded by Sir John French (1852-1925), landed in France on 14 August 1914, ten days after the declaration of war. With an insight that ran contrary to popular opinion, the War Minister Lord Kitchener (1850-1916), was already telling the Cabinet that they would have to be prepared for a long struggle.

Initial reverses

After an initial clash at Mons, the BEF retreated. It stood fast at Le Cateau on 26 August, but suffered heavy casualties. On 5 September the Battle of the Marne began, with the Germans only 48km (30 miles) from Paris. The battle raged for seven days - by 14 September the Germans had withdrawn to the River Aisne and Paris had been saved. In October each side tried to outflank the other - the so-called 'race to the sea' merely extended the line of trenches. By the end of 1914 the trenches ran from the North Sea to Switzerland, the British part of them from Ypres in Belgium to the River Somme [1]. That 80-mile strip was to account for al-

most 90 per cent of the 2,883,000 casualties the war cost Britain.

By 1918 the four original divisions had grown to more than 60 and from 1916 onwards Britain increasingly became the dominant partner.

Under pressure from both Germany and Turkey, Russia appealed to the British at the end of 1914 for some action to distract the Turks. The result was the Gallipoli campaign [4] which lasted eight months, cost 100,000 British casualties, and ended in evacuation of the peninsula. While the Allies were on Gallipoli, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers. On 5 October 1915, in anticipation of an invasion of Serbia [2, 3], one British and one French division landed at Salonika, in neutral Greece. They finally moved in September 1918, forcing the Bulgarians to sign an armistice.

The desert campaign and war in Africa

The Mesopotamian campaign [4, 5] at first made good progress. Sent out from India to protect oil interests in Kuwait, a force under Gen. Charles Townshend (1861-1924) got to

within 28km (18 miles) of Baghdad, but then heat, disease and enemy harassment forced it into a defensive position at Kut-al-Imara. After holding out for five months Townshend surrendered his force of 10,000 Indians and 2,000 British in April 1916.

From Egypt Gen. Archibald Murray moved into the Sinai and by the end of 1916 was close to Gaza, the nearest point of Turkish-held Palestine. He was twice beaten back and in June 1917 was replaced by Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby (1861-1936). A month later Capt. T. E. Lawrence (1888-1935), with a force of Arabs, captured Akaba.

Baghdad had fallen to an army under Gen. Sir Stanley Maude (1864-1917) on 11 March 1917, at a cost of 92,500 casualties. Instead of reinforcing Gaza, the Turks decided to counter-attack at Baghdad, and Allenby mounted a two-pronged attack against Beersheba and Gaza. By 9 December he was in Jerusalem. There was then a prolonged pause. In September 1918 Allenby advanced again, sweeping up through Damascus to Aleppo, Gen. William Marshall (1865-1939), who had taken over after

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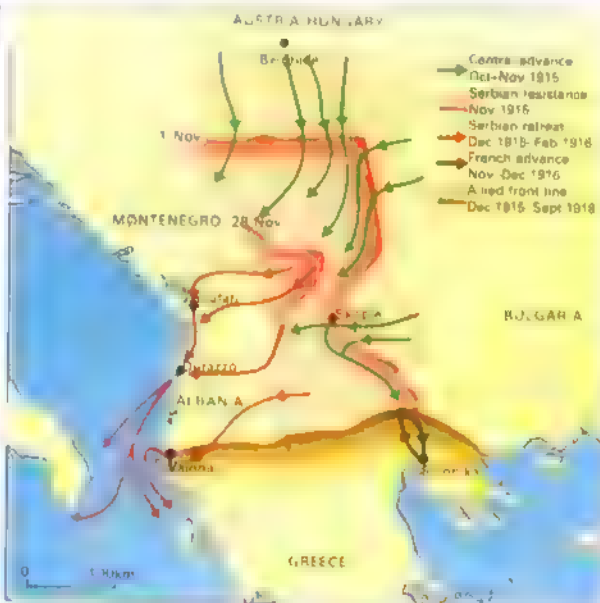


1 British infantry had to endure trench foot as well as regular shell fire when in the trenches. Out of the line they spent their time in working parties. Combat consisted of small

scale raids into enemy trenches and large set piece battles. In the Battle of the Somme in 1916 (this is the front line at Ovillers) there were 420,000 British casualties in four and-a-half months.

2 Serbia repulsed Austrian attacks three times in 1914. In October 1915 the Central Powers tried again. Austria and Germany attacking from the north and Bulgaria from the east. The Serbian army was

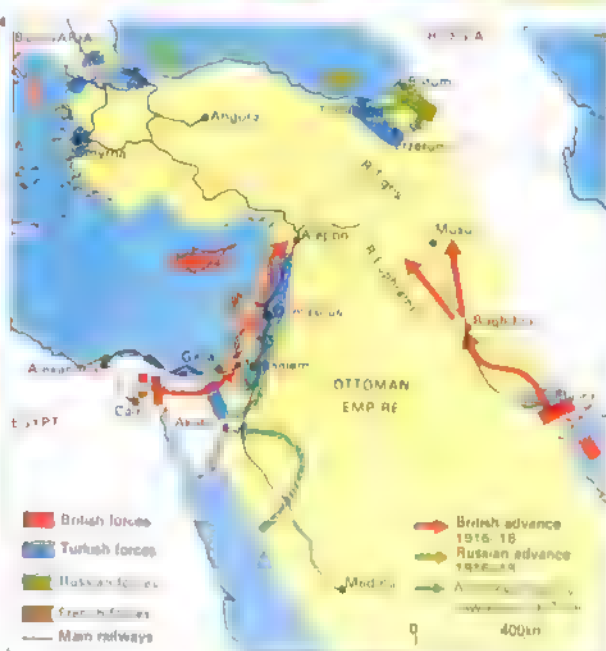
forced to retreat across the Albanian mountains in appalling conditions. Of its 300,000 men, only 135,000 reached the Adriatic. Of 500,000 civilian refugees who accompanied the army only 200,000 survived.



3 Belgrade was taken by the Austrians on 2 December 1914, but recaptured by Serbs under Gen. Radomir

Putnik in 1917. The painting by Oscar Laske shows the last

day's resistance. One consequence of WWI was that in 1918, of what became modern Yugoslavia.



4 In the Middle East disease caused more casualties than enemy action. From January 1915 to the Armistice 503,377 British troops went down with malaria, cholera, dysentery and other fevers whereas only 51,500 were lost by enemy action. The eight-month campaign at Gallipoli in the Dardanelles where the troops also suffered from disease was an attempt to open a route to Russia via the Black Sea. An important consequence of its failure was that Russia was cut off from its foreign markets. One aspect of the desert war later to be highly romanticized, was the exploits of T. E. Lawrence who led Arab forces against Turkish positions and the main railway.

Maude's death headed for Mosul. On 30 October Turkey surrendered.

Three weeks after the war began, a small British force accepted a German surrender in Togoland. In German Southwest Africa (Gen. Louis Botha (1862-1919), the Premier of the Union of South Africa, forced the Germans to surrender on 9 July 1915).

War in Europe

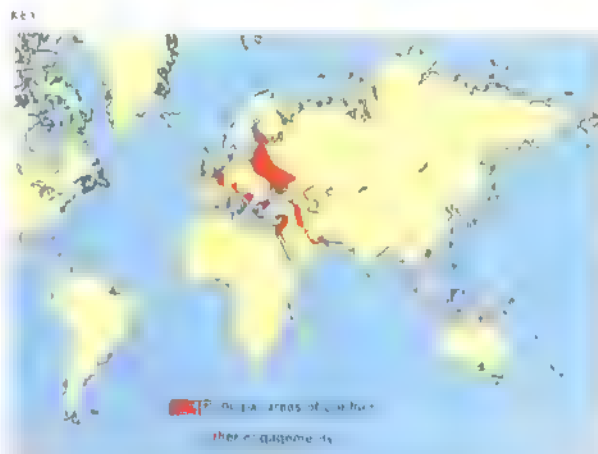
In August 1917 a decision by the German High Command to take the offensive on the Italian front [7] led to the Battle of Caporetto, fought between 24 October and 12 November. The Italians lost 305,000 men, 275,000 of whom surrendered, and five British divisions had to be pulled out of the Western Front and rushed to their support.

Cambrin, the first battle in which tanks were successfully used on a large scale, was yet another Allied attempt to break the deadlock that had existed since the beginning of 1915. In the three years since the Marne, the British had fought the First Battle of Ypres (October 1914, 58,000 casualties); Neuve-Chapelle (March 1915, 13,000),

Second Ypres (April 1915, 59,000) Loos (September 1915, 60,000); the Somme (July-November 1916, 420,000), and Third Ypres (July-November 1917, 245,000).

The stalemate on land in those years had been offset to some extent by success at sea, and in the air. The British blockade of Germany was extremely effective, whereas the German submarine campaign was restricted until late in 1916 by the fear of provoking the United States. When unrestricted submarine warfare was introduced, the British countered with the convoy system (the first sailed from Gibraltar on 10 May 1917) and improved anti-submarine technology. In the air, the Royal Flying Corps [6] received its first aircraft with synchronized guns in April 1916, and ended a ten-month period in which the German Air Services 425 Fokker Eindeckers had created a reign of terror.

By 31 December 1917 there were 177,000 American troops in France, and less than a year later, at the Battle of Amiens (August 1918, 22,000 casualties) the end was in sight. At 11am on 11 November 1918 the shooting stopped.



Britain's major concerns in WWI were France, Egypt, the Suez Canal, Mesopotamia, but British and empire troops fought in the Pacific, Africa and even in China, where in November 1914 they joined the Japanese in the capture of Tsingtao.

New Zealand and Australia took Samoa and Australia took New Guinea in the first two months of November. The raider Emden was sunk off the Cocos Islands. Other naval engagements included one at Dogger Bank in 1915, the historic Battle of Jutland in 1916, and the raid on the U-boats in Zeebrugge in 1918.



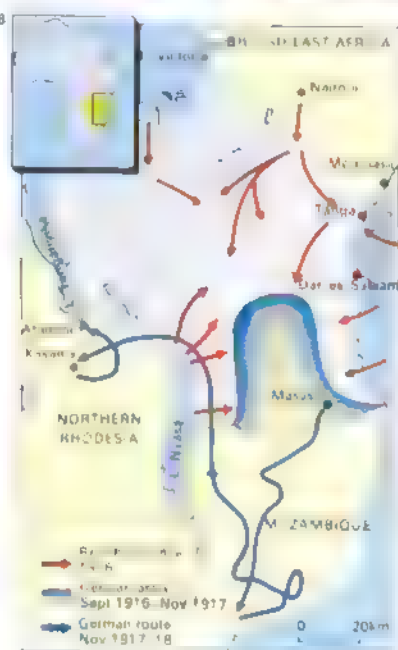
5 Australian and New Zealand cavalry were part of Allenby's expedition to Gaza. The ANZACs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) also fought at Gallipoli, moving to the Western Front in 1916.

6 Captain Albert Ball, VC, was photographed in this SFH at London Colney Aerodrome in March 1917 and killed in it on 7 May. He was 20 years old. Ball shot down 44 German aircraft and 11 Zeppelins.

Major Mick Mannock, VC, who with 73 victories was Britain's top World War I ace, was killed by machine-gun fire from the ground. The Royal Flying Corps sent 48 reconnaissance aircraft to France in 1914; by the end of the war the Royal Air Force (formed on 1 April 1918) had 22,171 serviceable aircraft. The war cost the air services 16,823 killed, of whom 12,782 were officers.



7 Italy joined the Allies in April 1915 and declared war on Austria-Hungary on 23 May 1915. Not until 1916 did it declare war on Germany. Many of the clashes between the Italians and the Austrians took place in the Alps. This Austrian gun is at a height of 3,860m (12,665ft). Of the five British divisions rushed to the Battle of Caporetto, two were withdrawn nine months later, but the troops who remained joined an Italian assault on the anniversary of Caporetto in 1918, which led to the Austrians seeking an armistice.



8 The East African campaign British 19,000 casualties. That it was a costly war, the genius of the German commander Paul von Lettow Vorbeck, who with drastic outmaneuvered forces, fought on until November 1918.

9 Shorts and puttees were standard uniform for troops in East Africa, and provided some relief from the intolerable heat. The torment of tsetse flies, fever, and dysentery made conditions as bad in their own way as they were on the Western Front.

The Peace of Paris

The Paris Peace Conference, formally opened on 18 January 1919, was dominated by the five leading victorious powers of World War I: the United States, France, the British Empire, Italy and Japan. The defeated nations and Russia were excluded.

Conflicting demands

The French delegation, led by Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), was obsessed with the long-term threat posed to France by Germany's larger population and superior industrial potential and demanded the imposition of a harsh treaty that would prevent any further German aggression against France. The French aims conflicted with those of the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) who, in his Fourteen Points (accepted with certain reservations by Britain and France on 4 November 1918), called for a peace settlement based on national self-determination and the League of Nations [2].

Britain's major demands had already been met with the surrender of the German fleet and the British occupation of most of

Germany's colonies and the bulk of the Turkish Middle East. Despite pressure from Wilson that these areas should be administered directly by the League, they were retained by the British Empire under a complex League mandate system [4]. Thus the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George (1863–1945), was in a position to mediate between the French and the Americans.

Italy demanded the satisfaction of its claims under the 1915 Treaty of London in the Tyrol, Trieste and a large part of the Slav-populated Dalmatian coast, including Fiume. The Italians were unable to persuade Wilson to agree to their claim to Fiume, which was assigned to Yugoslavia, leaving Italy with Trieste and the Tyrol [6].

Despite strong opposition from Wilson and the Chinese, Japan secured the former German concessions in Chinese Shantung promised to it by the entente in 1917.

Wilson's ideals compromised

The Republican victory in the November congressional elections in America undermined Wilson's prestige and he was forced to

compromise on some of the Fourteen Points in order to secure the adherence of the other leaders to his League of Nations Covenant. However, neither he nor Lloyd George would accept France's demand for a Rhineland buffer state under French military control. This would have been a clear breach of the principle of national self-determination and, in Lloyd George's view, was likely to breed lasting German resentment. The French accepted a compromise on 14 April whereby the Allies were to occupy a demilitarized Rhineland, including the Rhine bridgeheads, for 15 years, with an Anglo-American guarantee to protect France against German aggression. The French were also given permission to exploit the valuable Saar coalfields.

Despite Wilson's strenuous opposition, France also demanded massive reparations from Germany, not only to compensate for the immense destruction inflicted during the war but also as a means of weakening the German economy [7]. Lloyd George was, by the end of March, becoming concerned at the increasing severity of the Allied demands on

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 The new East European states emerged from the wreckage of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Although founded on the basis of 'national self-determination', they also included

non-contingents, like the Germans in Czechoslovakia. They were a source of constant unrest after 1919. Britain and France divided the former Ottoman Middle East between them, but both faced

rising Arab nationalism and, in Britain, the Arab-Zionist conflict in Palestine. In the Ottoman empire nationalists formally established the Republic of Turkey in 1923.



2 The Allied leaders (from left to right: Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson) were bitterly divided by conflicting policies and temperamental differences. The peace settlement they eventually imposed on Germany was soon condemned by their countrymen and they did not remain in office for long after it. The treaty was signed in 1919 by all the great powers except the United States.



3 Germany's losses and gains from 1919 to 1938 are shown on this map. The Supreme Council had endeavoured to settle Germany's frontiers on the basis of nationality. Its territorial losses, in the east particularly, were a cause of Germany's dissatisfaction of the treaty. Allied disunity and weakness in 1938 enabled Hitler to incorporate Austria into the Reich and to annex the German Sudetenland.



4 Germany lost all its colonies at the end of World War I. Woodrow Wilson hoped that the captured German colonies would be administered directly by the League of Nations. This idea was opposed by the British Dominions and Japan which had conquered them. A compromise was reached by a system of 'A', 'B' and 'C' mandates. 'C' was virtually indistinguishable from annexation. Thus Wilsonian idealism was again frustrated by the other powers.

Eventually a compromise was reached that left the total sum owed by Germany to be determined by an inter-Allied reparation commission by 1921. Meanwhile Germany was forced to accept responsibility for causing the war. The Allies also imposed a substantial measure of disarmament on the German army, navy and air force.

The three leaders could not agree about the settlement of Germany's eastern borders. France supported large territorial gains at Germany's expense by the newly established East European states, especially Poland. After a long struggle Lloyd George managed to reduce Poland's acquisitions by insisting on a League-controlled free port of Danzig, the reduction of the Polish corridor and a plebiscite in Upper Silesia. Czechoslovakia retained the German Sudetenland. Austria stripped of its former empire was forbidden to unite with Germany. In 1920 Hungary lost

The Allies finally presented the draft treaty to Germany on 7 May, giving her 15 days to draw up counter-proposals, the bulk of which were rejected. After further delays Germany signed the treaty at Versailles on 28 June 1919. It was widely regarded in Germany as a dictated peace and a betrayal of Wilsonian principles. Failure to apply the principle of self-determination to the distribution of the German colonies of the former Austrian Empire, in particular, was a major German grievance and one that gave the German nationalists and Hitler's Nazi Party valuable propaganda against the Weimar Republic in the 1920s.¹³

The United States Senate rejected the treaty and the League covenant, and the United States retreated into isolationism. France thus lost the Anglo-American guarantee and became even more determined to insist on German compliance with the treaty, especially the reparations clauses. This intransigent attitude led to considerable friction with Britain.



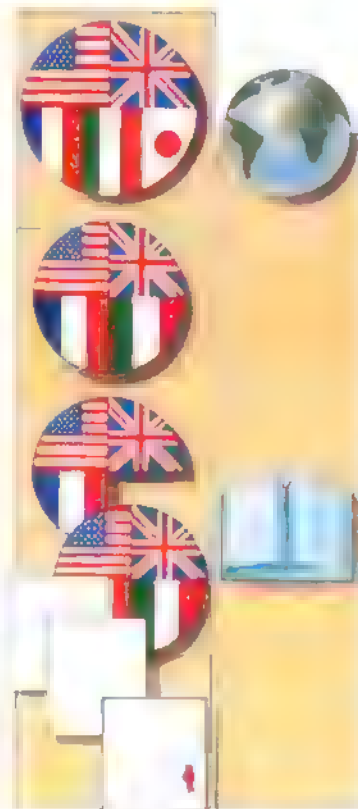
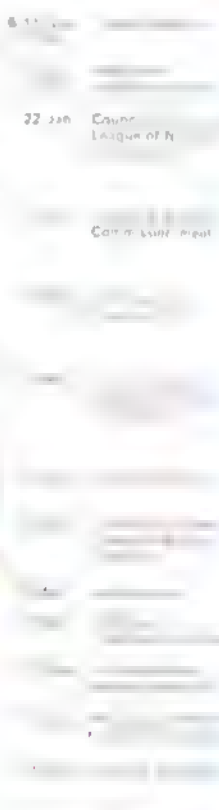
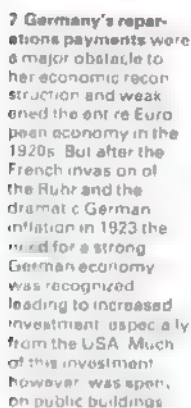
Forest of Conscience
Masha Foksgaard
for the Allies. It
is a good German's

evacuation of occupied territories and a complete cessation of all hostilities.



5 British troops marched along Whitehall, London in July 1919 in a Peace Procession that marked the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. But it's

A quick conclusion to the peace conference was essential to permit European reconstruction. Although attended by most nations and governments (was soon dominated by Britain, France and the USA



8 The League of Nations Woodrow Wilson to be the foundation of a new and peaceful world order. However the USA's refusal to join in 1920 and the exclusion of both Germany and Soviet Russia (until 1934) reduced its prestige. After the admission of Germany in 1926 the League was fairly successful in its failure to prevent the Japanese conquest of Manchuria in 1931 and the Italian conquest of Ethiopia 1935-6.



9 Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and the Treaty of Versailles are not directly connected, but the treaty was used as an important element in Nazi propaganda against the Weimar Republic and the Social Democrats in the 1920s. Hitler's appointment as chancellor was the product both of luck and calculation. His opportunity was provided by general discontent and the economic depression and the inability of Weimar politicians to cope with the

What World War I meant to Britain

World War I is seen as one of the turning points in British history — but it would be wrong to suggest that before the war all was tranquillity and security. A last “golden age” and that after it all was uncertainty and depression. Major political, economic and social changes were already taking place in Britain and the empire before 1914. They would have overturned the old way of life anyway, the war merely speeded them up and made their effects far more shattering than they would otherwise have been.

Optimism and disillusionment

In 1914, Britain had effectively been at peace for almost a century, the Crimean (1854-6) and Boer wars (1899-1902) had had little effect on the population, and had seemed only minor interruptions in the growth of Britain's power. Several generations had grown up who knew little of war and were convinced of the superiority of their country and race. But all levels of British society were becoming more aware of the German threat to British naval and commercial supremacy in the years before 1914, and

the hostility that this caused goes some way towards explaining the enthusiasm with which war was greeted. More than 500,000 men volunteered in the first few weeks, and during the following year 125,000 men a month went gladly to the front [1].

Early hopes that the war would be over by Christmas 1914 faded as both sides dug in. A static war of attrition ensued. By mid-1916 the fighting men were disillusioned by the squalor of the trenches and the mass slaughter. Because new battalions were formed on a geographical basis, whole towns and villages in Britain were almost depopulated by the fighting. On 1 July 1916 the first day of the Battle of the Somme, nearly 20,000 British soldiers were killed in individual battalions suffered heavily, the 10th West Yorkshires, for example, losing almost 90 per cent of its strength. At home there were some shortages and a few air raids [4], but the civilian population never really understood what it was like at the front. At the start of the war the government established a Press Bureau with the task of censoring newspaper reports, and the true progress of

the war was concealed from the public. Instead, the mass of public opinion was coloured by propaganda stories of atrocities.

The economy and government control

The unforeseen demands that the war placed on the British economy forced the state to intervene more actively than ever before. Although attempts were made after the war to retreat from this active state involvement was never lost. The need for vast supplies of munitions, and the inability of private industry to produce them, led to the creation of a Ministry of Munitions in May 1915 with considerable directive powers. In 1916 British Summer Time was introduced to prolong daylight working hours. The need to ensure adequate food supplies led, in December 1916, to the establishment of county committees to direct agriculture and the creation of a Ministry of Food. In 1918 rationing was introduced.

The war brought an end to the free trade policy that Britain had struggled to maintain since the 1840s. The McKenna duties of 1915, putting a tariff on luxury imports

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Voluntary recruiting at first resulted in more men than could be adequately equipped. The outbreak of war was greeted with overwhelming enthusiasm by all classes. Hatred of the Germans was

whipped up by an anti-German press, and the chance of adventure and glory after long years of peace brought men flocking to join the forces. With no conscription, Britain had to rely on volunteers

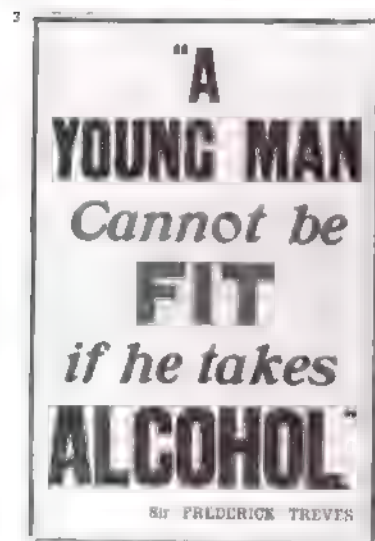
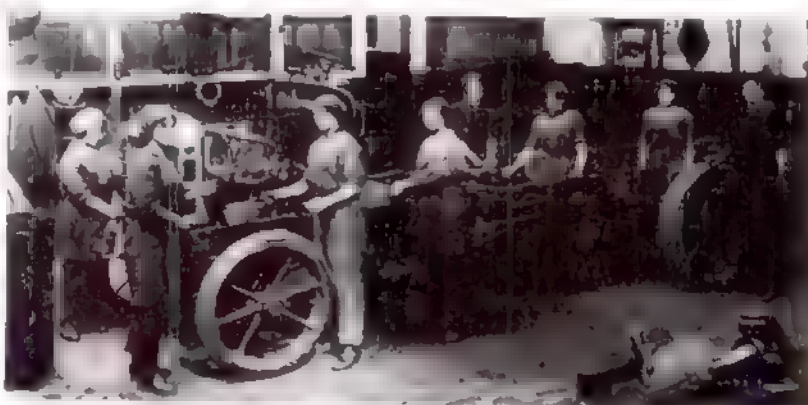
and, in spite of massive losses, the supply of new recruits was adequate for more than a year. But the government introduced conscription by May 1916 in order to reinforce the depleted ranks.

2 These women working in a factory in 1917 testify to the sexual revolution that took place on the home front during the war. As more and more men volunteered or were drafted into the forces, their places in the

major state factories, shops, offices, voluntary services, hospitals, schools and transport were taken by women. By thus ably replacing men at working beside them, women's claims for equality of status and rights were so

widely accepted that in 1918 an Act giving the vote to women over the age of 30 was passed with very little opposition. After so many women had gained social and economic independence, there was no way for the

traditional barriers to be re-erected once the war was over. This radical change in attitudes was reflected later in the 1920s in extremes of fashion and a degree of permissiveness in social behaviour.



3 Watered beer and afternoon closing of the pubs were introduced by the government

because it was felt that the nation's consumption of alcohol was impairing the war effort.



4 Barrage balloons, many spread over London, served as a token protest rather than forming any serious deterrent to German air attacks. London was first bombed by Zeppelins (1915) but these were vulnerable and soon replaced by aeroplanes.

5 Wilfred Owen (1893-1918) and other young poets such as Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967) and Robert Graves (1895-), who had fought in the trenches, wrote about the horror and despair of the experiences through which they had passed.

were retained after 1918, and were followed in 1921 by a Safeguarding of Industry Act to protect certain industries against foreign competition. On the outbreak of war, the Bank of England was authorized to issue banknotes not backed by gold, and there was a rapid and lasting rise in rates of income tax, which themselves had a much more progressive structure. The national debt rose from £650 million in 1914 to more than £7,000 million in 1918.

Shortages of labour caused by the demand for troops made workers realize their strength. Trade union membership rose from 4.1 million in 1913 to 6.5 million in 1918 and 8.3 million in 1920. Similarly, the widespread recruitment of women into industry broke down prejudices and strengthened the cause of the suffragettes [2].

The peacetime boom and slump

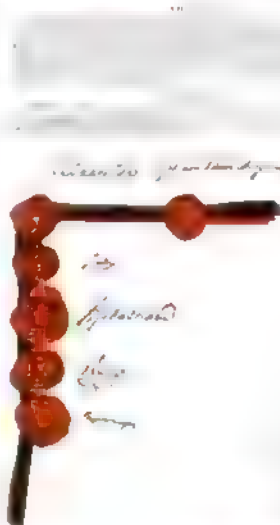
In November 1918 there was little evidence of any widespread demoralization caused by wartime losses – rather a pride in having come through an unprecedented trial. David Lloyd George (1863–1945), who had be-

come prime minister of a Liberal-Tory coalition in 1916, took the opportunity to hold a general election which swept the coalition back into office. There was a brief re-stocking and rebuilding boom, but by spring 1920 it had degenerated into speculation and collapsed [6]. The economy slumped and the numbers of those unemployed rose to more than two million in June 1921 [8].

The government attempted to correct the economy by cutting public spending, wages and prices, all of which only made the problem worse. The war had accelerated the decline of Britain from the industrial and commercial supremacy it had once enjoyed. Traditional export markets had developed their own industries and major exporting sectors of the British economy, such as cotton, coal and shipping, were permanently reduced [7]. The war had given impetus to some new industries, such as chemicals and motor car manufacturing. But these tended to be developed in new regions, far from the traditional centres of industry where the misery and hopelessness of long-term unemployment were at their worst.

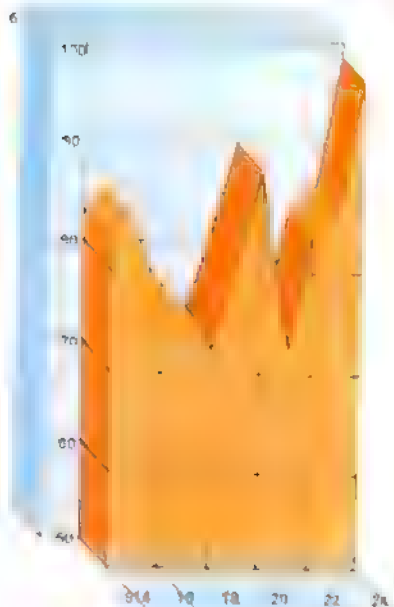
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The "Scrap of Paper"

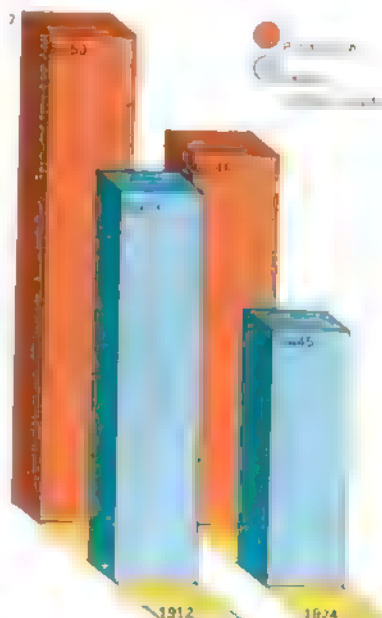


The little "scrap of paper" was a contemptuous phrase used by the German Chancellor in 1914 to describe the 1839 treaty that guaranteed Belgium's neutrality. As a gesture, the Germans asked permission to go through Belgian territory on their way to Paris. King Albert I (r. 1909–34) of the Belgians replied:

Belgium is a nation, not a road, but German troops had already crossed the frontier. During the critical days before the Germans invaded, some sections of British opinion were opposed to Britain's participation in a continental war. But this act of aggression against brave little Belgium united the country in its determination to forcibly intervene against Germany.



6 Britain's gross national product enjoyed a brief boom immediately after the war as industry re-stocked and changed over to peacetime products. But drastic cuts in government expenditure, the loss of export markets and the erosion of favourable economic conditions such as free trade led to a severe slump.



7 Cotton production and exports in the decade from 1912 to 1922 show a postwar slump that was typical of several major British industries. After the war they discovered that many of their markets had disappeared forever. It was a failure to replace the jobs in these industries that was the basic cause of lasting unemployment.



8 Unemployment was not as extensive during the war, but after 1920 an intricate system of relief had to be built up in response to a fundamental change in the attitude of the public. Before the war the un-

employed had been resigned to their fate as an inevitable fact of life. But after the war men expected the government to find them jobs, or to support them adequately until the necessary employment was available.

9 Ex-servicemen hawking their wares in the streets in 1920 symbolized the disillusionment and despair that broke down all the old certainties of British society. There was a dawning and bitter realization that the prodigious feats of government organization and direction that had helped to win the war did not seem to be winning the peace. The poor no longer accepted their fate as inevitable or unalterable, while the middle classes saw their income and status being steadily eroded by higher taxes. The frivolities of the 'Gay Twenties' stemmed from a widespread desire to ignore doubts and difficulties that seemed insurmountable. It amounted to enjoying life for the moment and letting tomorrow look after itself.



10 Striking coal miners in Wigan formed part of a "triple alliance" of miners, engineering and transport unions who were prepared to call a national strike. There was little industrial strife early in the war but various government Acts, such as the

Munitions of War Act of 1915, which set wage ceilings and enforced arbitration, led to widespread strikes in 1917. The government modified its approach but when in 1921 rising unemployment coincided with a withdrawal of government subsidies, support for a

minimum wage and the removal of state control over the mines, the triple alliance was born. But the government compromised: the transport and engineering workers withdrew their support, and the threat of a general strike was ended. The miners came out

alone, but within three months they were defeated, and returned under worse conditions than could have been reached by negotiation. This was followed by the political excitement over the collapse of Lloyd George's coalition government in October 1922.

The Russian Revolution

Russia went reluctantly to war in 1914. Her army was in no condition to face imperial Germany and early enthusiasm for the war waned with a shattering defeat by the Germans at Tannenberg within a month of hostilities commencing. But only the Bolsheviks vehemently opposed the war, the five Bolshevik deputies in the Duma (Parliament) being banished to Siberia. Their leader, Vladimir Il'yich Lenin (1870–1924) nevertheless saw the defeat of imperial Russia as the surest way of furthering revolutionary goals.

Impact of the February Revolution

The longer hostilities lasted, the more incompetent the imperial administration appeared. It was astonished by the revolution in March 1917 (dated as February by the old style calendar), but then so were its opponents. Power was transferred, by hungry peasants, disenchanted aristocracy and mutinous troops, from Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918) [3] to a provisional government that was intended to be a temporary caretaker administration until a Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution and

appointed a legal government. The first provisional government (there were four in all) fell because of its failure to end the war.

Peace and the redistribution of land were closely connected. If Russia left the war the soldiers (who were mostly peasants in uniform) would descend on the countryside and demand more land, if the peasants were granted land while war continued the soldiers would desert to seize their portion. The government had also to contend with the emergence of genuinely democratic institutions, the soviets (councils). The most famous of these were in Petrograd and in Moscow, but they sprung up spontaneously everywhere after the revolution. Despite support from the moderate socialists – the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) – the provisional government was opposed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. In July, armed workers and soldiers tried to seize power in Petrograd [4, 5]. Denounced for accepting German money, Lenin was forced to flee to Finland when the demonstrations were unsuccessful. On 16 July, Alexander Kerensky

(1881–1970) became premier and tried to restore order in the capital [2, 6]. But Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), a leading figure in the Petrograd soviet, organized armed insurrection under the cover of soviet legitimacy. Lenin slipped back into Russia and on 7 October (25 November, old style) he and his Bolsheviks [7] swept away Kerensky.

The October Revolution and after

Some workers hoped that the new Russia would be ruled by the soviets but events soon dictated otherwise. Given their narrow political base (there were fewer than 300,000 Bolsheviks in November 1917), Lenin and his supporters faced widespread opposition on every front [8]. There were those who advocated a revolutionary war to advance socialism in the rest of Europe, there were Bolsheviks who wanted money abolished and a socialist economy overnight, there were the peasants who wanted to be left alone with the land now redistributed, and there were the dispossessed of the former regime.

The treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 ended the war with Germany, in the

CONNECTIONS

See also

10.10



3 On 15 March 1917 Tsar Nicholas II shown here with his family, was persuaded

to abdicate and the first provisional government was formed in Petrograd.

1 Russia paid a fearful price in human life for her incompetence in waging a long modern war. More than 15 million men had been mobilized by 1917. About 1.7 million men perished on the battlefield, 4.9 million were wounded and 2.4 million were taken prisoner. Russia was superior in strength to Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary, but was outmatched by the only Germany.



2 Alexander Kerensky played a major role in shaping policies of the provisional governments in 1917. He was a minister in the first two provisional governments, prime minister from July onwards, and after he had suppressed an army revolt in September he took over as commander-in-chief. His failure to solve the twin problems of land and peace paved the way for Lenin's victory in October.



6 General L.G. Kornilov (1870–1918). Kerensky's commander-in-chief marched his troops on Petrograd in August 1917. This was seen by Kerensky as a right-wing attempt to take power and he turned to the Bolsheviks for help. The plot dissolved but it emphasized the growing political divisions that Kerensky could no longer bridge.



4 Demonstrations during the 'April Days', 1917, against the war led to the fall of the first provisional government and the resignation of Foreign Minister Milyukov (1859–1943). But Russia's war effort continued, and in the soviet support for the Bolsheviks grew at the expense of the moderates. Calling for peace and a complete transfer of power to the soviets, further demonstrations in June showed the growing influence of the Bolsheviks and the declining support for the provisional government.



5 Clashes broke out in Petrograd on 16–18 July 1917 when armed workers demon-

strated for a transfer of power to the soviets but were suppressed by the government.



7 The Winter Palace was taken by the Bolsheviks on 7 November 1917. Lenin had secretly returned to Petrograd to forward Bolshevik plans for the overthrow of the provisional government, the collapse of which seemed imminent as unrest mounted. With the almost bloodless seizure of the palace, Kerensky fled and other members of the provisional government were arrested.



Stalin's Russia

The Soviet Union's evolution between 1917 and 1953 was dominated by two men: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) and Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) [Key]. While Lenin was alive he was the main driving force behind events. Nevertheless there were other important personalities such as Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) [1], Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1948) [2], Mikhail Tomsky (1880-1936), Grigori Zinoviev (1883-1936) and Anatoli Lunacharsky (1875-1933), to name only a few. All made an original contribution to Soviet development. Lenin, a man of outstanding intellectual ability, would listen to an opposing point of view if it came from one of his supporters, but had noticeably less respect for the views of his outspoken political opponents.

The policies of Stalin

Lenin realized the importance of consolidating the revolution. Stalin developed and extended the means. He sanctioned the revolutionary violence of the Cheka and extended the primacy of the party in state affairs. His doctrine of "Socialism in One

Country" meant that all foreign communist parties became subservient to Soviet interests through the Comintern (Communist International). Furthermore, he continued to hold the show trials of a number of so-called counter-revolutionaries. The first took place in 1922 and were directed at the Socialist Revolutionaries.

Nevertheless, there were major differences between the two men. Stalin was an intuitive anti-intellectual. His intellectual insecurity did not permit him to envisage a policy and then take on his opponents in open debate. Instead he sought to outmanoeuvre them in labyrinthine intrigue. Lenin was good at placing labels, often misleading ones, on his opponents. Stalin was a past master at the art. Lenin used the Cheka and the show trial against non-Bolsheviks; Stalin used them against the Communist Party as well.

The achievement of power

Stalin built up his power by his administrative skills and filled the leading party bodies with workers, but he did take the precaution of first briefing them on how to vote.

1 An outstanding theorist. Trotsky was, however, a poor politician, ill at ease with the minutiae of government. Although expected to succeed Lenin, he was inept at intrigue and was defeated. It was his

failure to perceive the machinations of his fellows that soon led to his exile and death. He was an unequalled speaker but his independent, critical attitude was not tolerated by Stalin.



2 Lenin called Bukharin "the darling of the whole party" and its "most valuable and most powerful theorist". Bukharin was the leading party writer on economic subjects. He sided with Stalin

against Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev and was a leading defender of the New Economic Policy. He was swept aside at the end of the 1920s when collectivization became the new official policy.

4 Soviet power was insecure without a strong industrial and military base. Ambition ran riot as the first Five Year Plan got under way in 1928. Production goals were pushed up in the belief that a revolutionary spirit could perform miracles. Heavy industry was favoured at the expense of light industry and agriculture. Wonders were performed, but at appalling cost. Enthusiasm waned after the first plan and labour discipline became severe with saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries unmasked everywhere. Living standards dropped as millions flooded to the cities where accommodation was primitive. Both food and clothing were also in short supply.



3 The New Economic Policy was a compromise on the way to socialism. It permitted the blossoming of private farming and since four out of five Soviet citizens lived in the countryside

there was a risk of the capitalist ethic proving attractive. Lenin had preached co-operation and Bukharin ably elucidated his views after 1924. When agricultural production climbed back after

1924 to the level of 1913, the Soviets were faced with a choice - allow private agriculture to develop and provide the basis for overall economic growth, or socialize agriculture and base economic

growth on industrial development. They chose the latter out of fear that private agriculture could overturn the socialist state and Stalin wanted food supplies for the urban worker.



5 The tractor was the symbol of Soviet power in the Russian countryside. The collective farm or kolkhoz became the

dominant enterprise in socialist agriculture after 1928. Much virgin land was brought into cultivation in the 1930s and sovkhozes

or state farms were usually set up in new areas. Collective farm peasants were permitted a small private plot

and some animals. They received a share of the produce in proportion to the net income of the kolkhoz.

Stalin's journey on the way to supreme power can be divided into three stages, the completion of each marking a significant step forward. The first, terminating in 1928-9, saw him with almost total control over the apparatus of the Russian Communist Party which, because of the events of the immediate post-October period, had inherited the dominant role in the state. Victory over the party was not sufficient to permit Stalin to reach out to every corner of the Soviet Union. This he did during the 1930s when collectivization and industrialization transformed the scene. The peasants lost their land and their livestock and were brought under complete state control [3]. The foundations of great industrial advance were laid with heavy industry, vital for defence, receiving top priority [4]. A terrible massacre of real, putative, imaginary and potential opponents of Stalin's dictatorship took place. No one was secure, whether top party official (a major target were the Old Bolsheviks, those who had seized power with Lenin in October 1917), military leader, writer, peasant, worker, engineer or foreign

CONNECTIONS

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communist leader living in exile in the USSR. More than ten million people perished, including the great majority of the class of kulaks (well-to-do peasants).

When this period ended Stalin was master of all he surveyed in Soviet Russia, he controlled the party, the government and the police. Through the agency of foreign communist parties he could influence the internal politics of other countries. The third phase, which began with the outbreak of World War II and ended with Stalin's death in March 1953, saw Stalinist Russia reach the peak of world influence.

Stalin exhibited great tactical skill in the 1920s in overcoming his competitors one by one. In 1923-4 he allied himself with L. V. Kamenev (1883-1936) and Zinoviev against Trotsky, in 1925 he sided with Bukharin against Kamenev and Zinoviev, in 1926-7 still with Bukharin (who realized too late that Stalin's allegiance was merely tactical) against Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev and finally in 1928-9 he was strong enough to oppose Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykov (1881-1938) by himself. By 1929 Trotsky

was in exile and the others living on borrowed time. Most were to perish in the purges of 1936-8 [6, 7]. Trotsky, exiled in Mexico, was murdered by Stalin's executioner in 1940.

Russia's development

Russia's industrial effort in the 1930s made great progress. The bases of a thriving heavy industry were established and were to prove of vital importance when war came. Stalin took a long time to learn foreign affairs [11]. He indirectly helped Hitler gain power in Germany; then saw the danger and launched the Popular Front, inviting the collaboration of all democratic forces. He again put his faith in National Socialist Germany in 1939 and almost paid with the annihilation of the USSR after the German attack of June 1941.

Stalin's war record, except for the opening days of the war when he lost his nerve, is admirable. He led by example and his ruthlessness steadied his armies. Stalin played a vital role in the victory of the Allies. But had he allied Soviet Russia with Britain and France in 1939, it is possible that Germany would not have attacked Poland.

KEY

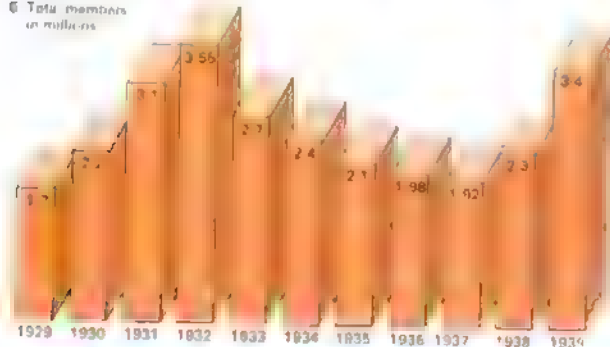


'Lenin is the Marx of our time' was the slogan when Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (left) was alive. Soon a new

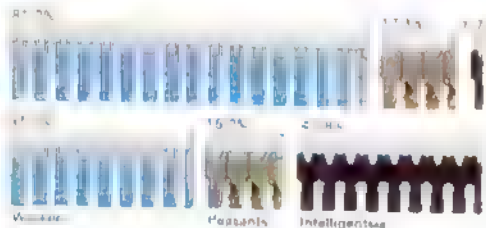
form appeared. Stalin is our Lenin'. Stalin became the main interpreter of Marx's chief Russian

disciple. Those who threatened his supremacy were soon removed from positions of power.

6 Total members in millions



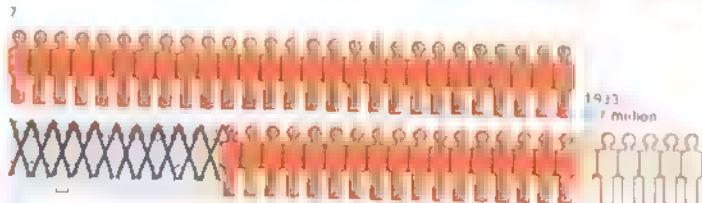
Composition of recruits 1929



6 The composition of the Communist Party's membership changed markedly between 1929 and 1939. In 1929 four-fifths of party members were workers; ten years later that proportion had dropped to two-fifths. The dif-

ference was made up by a massive recruitment of the intelligentsia, partly because of a campaign to recruit the best people to the party because a party card was needed to qualify for a number of important

posts in industry and the administration. The proportion of peasant members remained fairly constant. The dramatic change in membership reflects the policy behind the 1933-8 purges as well as their effects.



7 The 'purges of the 1930s' were in fact composed of many different operations. These gathered momentum and reached a crescendo in the 'Yezhovschina' named after Yezhov the head of Internal

Affairs of 1937-8. The first purge was launched by the party in January 1933. In 1935 a 'verification of party documents' was ordered. About one member in five was expelled including recent

workers and peasant recruits. About 8% had been purged before the 'show trials' ushered in the devastating Great Purge of 1936-8, when millions perished in the party and populace alike.

**БЕСПОЩАДНО
РАЗГРОМИМ
И УНИЧТОЖИМ
ВРАГА!**



11 Stalin majored fascism in the early 1930s but when he realized the danger he launched the 'Popular Front' policy in 1935. All progressive forces were to unite against the common enemy and posters declared 'Let's mercilessly rout and destroy the enemy'. This policy did not deter Germany and Stalin, thinking he understood Hitler, signed the pact of August 1939. Stalin intended to intervene opportunely in the impending war when Hitler had become over-committed on the Western Front. Stalin was so thunderstruck by the invasion of June 1941 that he lost his nerve and failed to provide resolute leadership during the first days of the war. The failure of the German Blitzkrieg in 1941-2 to overrun the USSR means that the war of attrition, which Germany could not win because of inadequate resources, became inevitable. Major battles were Moscow and Stalingrad.



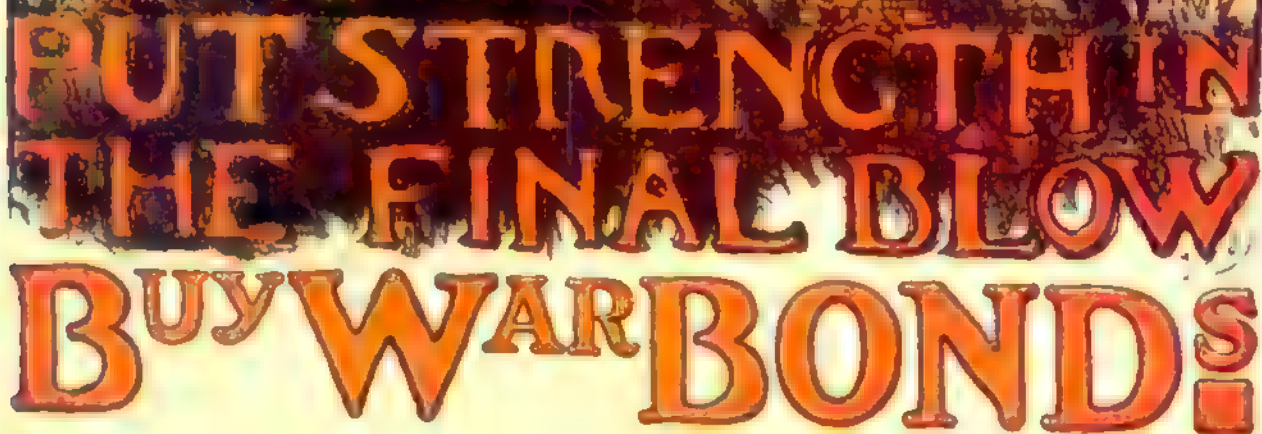
8 Vyacheslav Molotov (1890-) became a full member of the Politburo in 1926. He was instrumental in shaping the non-aggression pact with the Nazis and he remained a loyal servant to Stalin. He was also involved in party construction.



9 Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) was on the Moscow party committee between 1932 and 1938, when he took the key post of First Secretary of the party in the Ukraine. He became a member of the Politburo in 1939 where he backed Stalin.



10 Lazar Kaganovich (1893-) became a full member of the Politburo in 1930. He headed the Moscow party committee 1930-35 and was minister of transport 1935-44. A loyal supporter of Stalin, he retained favour during the years 1930-53.



Picasso's Weeping Woman painted in 1937 the year he began experimenting with Cubism



Origins of film

Moving pictures began as a technical novelty based on the brain's inability to detect a fractional gap between a rapid series of still photographs. Nobody at first suspected that a toy would become the most significant medium of communication, entertainment and art of the twentieth century.

The illusion of movement

Asian shadow plays, European magic lantern shows of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and devices such as Emile Reynaud's Praxinoscope, which projected images from a spinning drum, were early methods of producing the illusion of movement on a screen by back-lighting and magnification. After the patenting of the Eastman roll film, the way was open in 1891 for W. K. L. Dickson of the Edison laboratory to photograph vaudeville acts at 46 frames a second on a perforated film and run them back in a peepshow machine the Kinetoscope. Louis Lumière (1864-1948) and his brother Auguste (1862-1954) combined this with magic lantern techniques to project the first public cinema show in Paris on 28 December 1895.

Within the next five years the techniques of double exposure, fast and slow motion, reverse projection, fades, dissolves and close-ups were all discovered, many of them by Georges Méliès (1861-1938) who became fascinated with film magic after he observed a bus turn into a hearse when his camera jammed while he was recording a street scene. Filming from a fixed position, Méliès pioneered a cinematic fantasy linked to the artifice of the theatre [1].

One of the first film-makers to recognize that the camera could move freely and build up stories by a kind of visual shorthand was Edwin Porter (1869-1941). His two 1903 films, *The Life of an American Fireman* and *The Great Train Robbery* [2], had a sensational impact on the public, largely as a result of editing innovations.

The early film industries

Beginning in cheap nickelodeons patronized by the poor migrant populations of America's cities, the American film industry quickly became a medium of mass entertainment, turning out simple one- or two-reel

morality sketches. The fledgling European industries sought greater artistic respectability by using well-known stage actors in film versions of the classics. Comedians such as Max Linder (1883-1925) at the big Pathé studios in France began to break away from this literary form of cinema, establishing a basis for the style of visual slapstick that would soon make Charles Chaplin [Key] and Buster Keaton (1895-1966) famous. In Italy, the nine-reel *Quo Vadis?* (1912) and the still more spectacular *Cabiria* (1914) introduced the idea of long feature films [3]. In America, D. W. Griffith (1875-1948) [4] was encouraged to make *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), a massive interpretation of the Civil War which incorporated techniques he and others had been developing since 1908. Working almost like a novelist, Griffith composed his story by inter-cutting close and long shots, flashbacks and parallel action to create powerful emotional effects.

The creative influence of Griffith and such directors as Thomas Ince, the huge popularity of Mack Sennett's slapstick Keystone comedies [7] and the damaging

CONNECTIONS

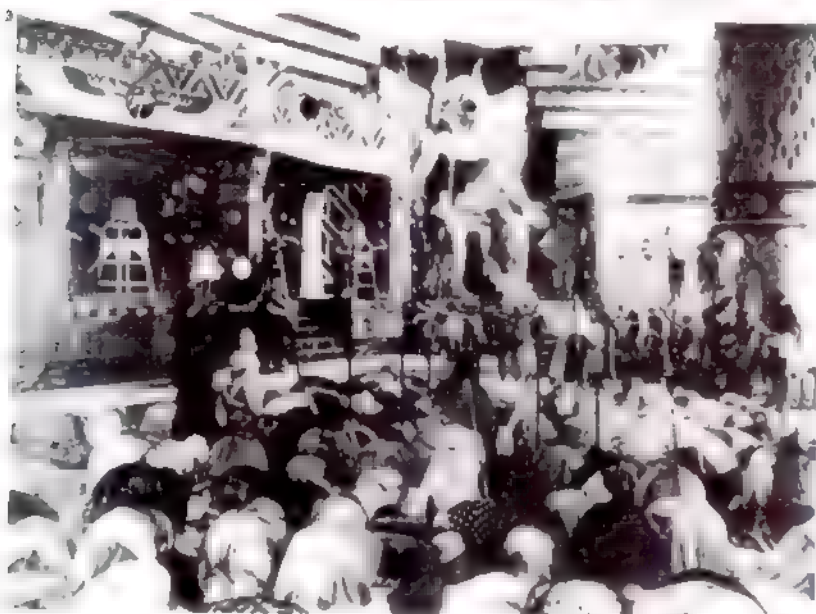
See also



1 Georges Méliès's poster for his 1901 film *The Man with the India-rubber Head* captures the delight in novelty and magic that led Méliès to pioneer many cinematic tricks. A theatre proprietor, he saw film mainly as a marvellous new medium for illusions such as the pumping up of a head to the point of explosion. He also had considerable gifts of fantasy and comedy best seen in *Journey to the Moon*.



2 Edwin Porter's juxtaposition of images in *The Great Train Robbery* created a sense of movement and speed that transformed film technique and led to endless imitations. He switched from outdoor shots of bandits making off with their loot (top) to interior shots of a telegraph operator being released and bursting in to a dance hall to alert the local citizenry and lead the pursuit (bottom). The freedom with which Porter moved his camera and edited separate shots into a thematic relationship astonished audiences who were used to watching only the progression of events within a fixed scene. His "Western" ran for 10 minutes in 15 shots.



3 The first genuine film epic was *Cabiria* (1914), running four hours and deploying massive scenic resources to capture the splendour of ancient Rome. It was the culmination of the Italian cinema's prewar interest in historic themes, which

had already produced the nine-reel *Quo Vadis?*—a film that convinced American producers that the public wanted long feature films instead of one- or two-reelers. *Cabiria*'s director Giovanni Pastrone achieved an impressive silent spectacle

4 David Wark Griffith [centre] was the acknowledged master of silent film in 1919 when he was photographed with two of the highest paid stars of the day, Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks. In *The Birth of a Nation* and *Intolerance*, Griffith

used the resources of cinema on a scale and with an emotional intensity that profoundly influenced most other directors. Although he experimented boldly, his greatest achievement was the expressive quality he brought to the telling of a screen story.



effect of World War I on the European film industries, all combined to make the fiercely competitive American industry dominant by 1920. Hollywood [5] became the cinematic capital of the world and profited from the escapist hedonism of the jazz age. By the mid-1920s it was financially powerful enough to raid Europe for the talented directors who had emerged in a postwar flowering of film art.

Under the influence of its Expressionist painters, Germany was pre-eminent with directors such as G. W. Pabst, Ernst Lubitsch, Fritz Lang and F. W. Murnau whose *The Last Laugh* (1924) astounded Hollywood by its technical versatility and psychological penetration. Surrealism, Dadaism and Impressionism all had an impact on the more subtle cinematic tradition of France where Abel Gance had led developments and where René Clair and Luis Buñuel were beginning work.

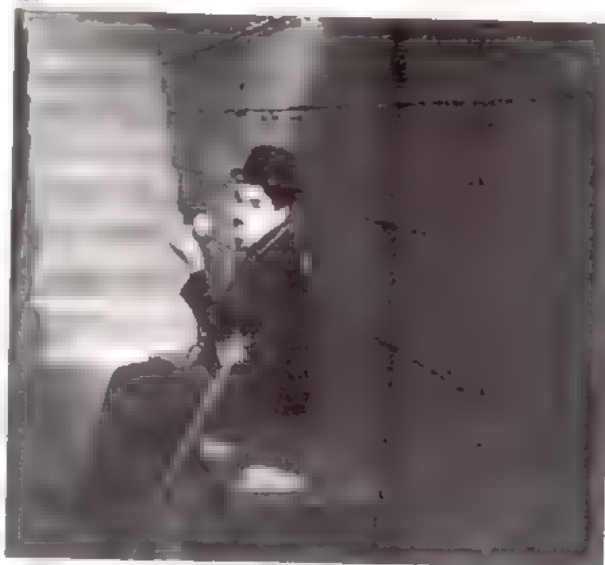
In Sweden Maury Stiller and Victor Sjöström had explored the possibilities of filming in natural settings. And in Russia Lenin's declaration that the cinema was the

most important art led to the first nationalized film industry. To express the message of the Soviet revolution, montage editing was brilliantly refined by Vsevolod Pudovkin and by Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948), who moved his film forwards in a series of shock "cuts" [6].

The arrival of talkies

With the spread of radio, Hollywood recognized by the mid-1920s that to hold its audiences the cinema would need greater depth than could be provided by mime backed with titles and orchestral or piano music. Workable sound systems had existed from the early days of film, but recording and amplifying systems now became efficient enough to make synchronized sound-on-film fully practicable. Although businessmen feared re-equipment costs and problems in marketing English-language films abroad, the success of *The Jazz Singer* (1927) precipitated events in Hollywood [8]. Within three years the American film industry switched to talkies and was amply rewarded with a 50 per cent rise in audience numbers.

KEY



Charlie Chaplin's little tramp (poignant in *City Lights*)

was the first immortal screen character. Beginning in 1913,

Chaplin (1889-1977) touched millions with his superb artistry.



5 Hollywood began according to screen legend, in a barn in which Cecil B. De Mille seated in a humble box directed *The Squaw Man* in 1913. The barn (later enshrined in the Paramount lot) had in fact been used for earlier short films, but *The Squaw Man* was the first big commercial success filmed there and Hollywood soon began to mushroom.



6 The Odessa steps sequence from *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), is a landmark in the history of films as an art. Sergei Eisenstein intercut shots of advancing Cossacks with close-ups of the impact of their bullets - a blinded woman, a runaway pram - to convey the drama and horror of revolution.

7 Film stunting and slapstick were born in the Keystone studio of Mack Sennett (1880-1960) who in 1912 got together former music

hall comedians, acrobats, cowboys, dare devils and other unfortunates, put them into policemen's uniforms and sent them

on an endless series of surrealistic escapades as the Keystone Kops. Sennett's one-reelers were fast, furious, funny - and

dangerous. They invariably ended in a chase sequence with cars, trams or other vehicles careering into screen infinity.



8 Al Jolson bleeked up for his part in *The Jazz Singer* (1927), told audiences "You ain't heard nothin' yet" and the line became immortal as the first sound dialogue to be heard in a feature film. Sound had been tried as early as 1900 and Fox

studios had produced a dialogue "short" before *The Jazz Singer* but it was the huge popularity of the songs and the few lines of dialogue in the Jolson film that persuaded Hollywood businessmen that the daunting cost of re-equipping for sound

would be recouped at the box office. The first all-dialogue film was Warner's *The Lights of New York* in 1928. Sound revolutionized the cinema but it was some years before technical improvements restored the artistry achieved in the silent era.

Dada, Surrealism and their legacy

World War I had a twofold impact on the development of twentieth-century art. The centres of activity moved from France and Germany to New York and neutral Switzerland. Meanwhile the rejection of established artistic values (postulated by the Cubists and the Expressionists) acquired a new political relevance in the light of the war, which many intellectuals saw as the logical culmination of the whole ethos of the nineteenth century.

Shock the bourgeoisie!

Dada, a complex international movement, was essentially an attack on both artistic and political traditions. There remains some controversy as to the origin of the name, but it was certainly in use by the middle of 1916 to describe the activities of the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich, which included performances and recitations intended to outrage the conventional. One of the early associates was the Franco-German artist Jean (Hans) Arp (1887-1966). A refugee from the war, he was making wood reliefs based on organic forms so simplified as to appear ridiculous, in his own words they were "designed to show

the bourgeois the absurdity of his world. Meanwhile in New York, Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) [1] was questioning established artistic procedures – and, by implication, the context in which they operated – by exhibiting "ready-mades" such as a bottle rack or urinal.

After the end of the war Dada spread to other centres. Its varied guises had in common nihilism and a desire to shock by whatever means possible.

The collage technique developed by Picasso and Braque was employed by many Dadaists for their own subversive ends. Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948) made art from rubbish [2] and Max Ernst (1891-1976) assembled fragments of photographs and engravings to create irrational compositions. This latter method was to lead Ernst back to the art of painting when, in 1921, he embarked on a series of paintings in an illusionistic academic manner that presented suggestive and disturbing juxtapositions of images [3].

As the Dada manifestations died down, a group of writers and painters including Ernst and Arp assembled in Paris around the poet

André Breton (1896-1966). While sharing Dada's disgust for bourgeois values, they rejected its nihilism and adopted a strongly positive philosophy inspired by the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939).

They believed that society repressed man's true nature and that in both life and art it was necessary to give full rein to the imagination. In the *First Surrealist Manifesto* of 1924 Breton defined Surrealism as "pure psychic automatism" and decreed that Surrealist literature was to be achieved by writing without conscious control.

Chance and imagination

When applied to painting, this procedure led Surrealism away from illusionism. Joan Miró (1893-) in his paintings of 1925 laid down highly diluted paint in a fairly arbitrary fashion that would simply suggest the lines of a more controlled composition [5]. Ernst sought inspiration in the textures of wood grain which he transferred to the surface of the paintings by rubbing. Both painters were exploiting chance in order to provoke the

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Marcel Duchamp's "Bicycle Wheel" (1913) was the first of his "ready-mades", attacking the almost religious reverence given by society to original art works. An artist's choice of object, in this instance reflecting an interest in move-

ment shared with the Italian Futurists, was enough reason to give it artistic status, to place it on a pedestal here represented by a stool. By 1964 this rebel had been accepted sufficiently for an edition of replicas of this work to sell well.

2 Kurt Schwitters, a Hannover Dadaist made his "Merz" pictures, such as "Das Sternbild" (1920) from rubbish. They contrast strongly with the neat collages of the Cubists. Their texture is rich, their design strong.



3 Max Ernst's "Two Children Threatened by a Nightingale" (1924) is an early Surrealist attempt to render in paint an experience of dreams. Ernst uses both paint and wood relief; the latter breaking out of the illusionist space of the picture surface to spill

across the frame, perhaps an analogy for the transition from the nightmares to the waking world. Birds are an obsessive motif in the art of Ernst. The threat of the nightingale represents here both an external menace and fear at discovery of sexuality.



4 "Song of Love" (1914) by Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978) is one of his mysterious scenes that anticipate the dream pictures of the Surrealists. However, he rejected their psychoanalytic interpretation of his art and was concerned

with creating a heightened "metaphysical" awareness of reality without any desire to shock in the Surrealist manner. Indeed, our surprise at the juxtaposition of the plaster head and the rubber glove stems from the confounding of expectation

with creating a heightened "metaphysical" awareness of reality without any desire to shock in the Surrealist manner. Indeed, our surprise at the juxtaposition of the plaster head and the rubber glove stems from the confounding of expectation



imagination to broaden into new directions.

By the end of the decade Surrealism had returned to the illusionism of the earlier Ernst, largely as a consequence of the impact made by the work of Salvador Dalí [Key] (1904–) who painted sensational subject matter deriving from psychoanalysis in a highly accomplished academic manner. The Belgian René Magritte (1898–1967) rejected automatism in favour of the presentation of startling visual paradoxes [6].

Generally the Surrealists of the 1930s tried to express the unconscious by highly conscious artistic means. At the same time they turned increasingly to the making of "object-sculptures" in order to create disturbing images in a more tangible form than was possible in the most illusionistic painting.

Examples include Miró's combination of a stuffed green parrot, an artificial leg and a bowler hat, and Macret Oppenheim's fur lined teacup. This tendency reached its climax in the Paris Surrealist exhibition of 1938. A total Surrealist environment was created here with a row of fantastically garbed mannequins, for the setting Duchamp

6 René Magritte's "On the Threshold of Liberty" raises paradox to a point where our notions about the way we understand a picture are much

undermined (just as Surrealist philosophy threatened established morals by making desire, although violent or perverse, the final criterion of all value

judgments). The openings in the surrounding space are contradictory. The woman's torso and the cloudy sky cannot both be real. Which, if any

represents liberty? Perhaps they are all just painted panels on an imprisoning wall? The only way to find out for sure would be by firing the cannon

covered the ceiling with coal sacks and the floor with moss.

World War II forced Breton and many other Surrealists to flee to the USA. Young painters there, most notably Arshile Gorky (1905–48), took great interest in the automatic aspect of Surrealism and the way in which in the works of Ernst and Miró semi-abstract forms could bear a potent sexual charge [8]. This led Gorky to a highly personal manner of loosely painted, contorted forms which influenced Jackson Pollock (1912–56), whose "action painting" was in itself a form of automatism.

Surrealism today

After the war Breton returned to Paris and continued to organize Surrealist exhibitions, but the real heritage of the movement lay elsewhere. The "combine-paintings" of Robert Rauschenberg (1925–) [9] have the irrational rightness of the best Surrealist objects, while the Dada assault on art and society has been continued by, for example, the self-destructive machines of Jean Tinguely (1925–)

KEY



Salvador Dalí's "Rainy Taxi" (1938) had live snails climbing over the face and chest of the mannequin. The dis-

turbing eroticism is characteristic of Surrealism and Dalí's particular adeptness here, plus his genius

for publicity, marked him in the public mind as the Surrealist leader long after he had left the movement



7 Pablo Picasso was never a member of the Surrealist group, but his "Woman in a Garden", unifying as it does images of both flowers and the female body within one structure, was the kind of metamorphosis that appealed strongly to the Surrealists. They were eager to claim him as an antecedent and ally because of his great prestige, his love of visual metaphor and the strong erotic content of much of his art. These factors became particularly apparent in the late 1920s, when his work turned towards great violence of expression after a period of serene classicism. He had found an ideal vehicle for fantasy in the new sculpture



8 "Agony" (1947) was painted by Arshile Gorky. Armenian-born Gorky was strongly influenced by Miró, whom he met as a refugee in New York during World War II. By 1944 Gorky had arrived at a more original style based on automatic procedures, highly diluted paint dribbled down the canvas while retaining suggestions of organic form. His final works, such as "Agony", were more tightly handled, and brought to abstraction unprecedented emotional force



9 Robert Rauschenberg's "Monogram" (1961) is almost a posthumous compendium of Surrealist preoccupations. The unusual stuffed animal was sometimes presented as a "found object" in Surrealist exhibitions, here as

usual, it is given an unexpected context. The accumulation of letters and images on the base suggests the "Merz" pictures of Schwitters, and the Surrealist automatism survives in the vigorous smears of paint. The implications of

the juxtaposed goat and tyre and the red paint on the face make it clear that the subject is a traumatic birth. Veiled presentation of taboo themes was a constant element in the shock tactics adopted by the Surrealist group

Abstract art

Abstract art is the most dramatic manifestation of the attempt by twentieth-century painters to overturn the assumption that art must represent appearances. By 1900 photography had already begun to replace realistic painting. The developing use of photography coupled with new ideas about the expressive potential of painting and sculpture resulted in the genesis of abstraction.

The beginnings of abstract art

Between 1910 and 1918 abstract art evolved in several places. In Munich, Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) achieved almost total non-representational painting in 1912. He possessed a first-hand knowledge of the work of Gauguin, Van Gogh and the Neo-Impressionists as well as a profound admiration of "primitive" Bavarian glass-painting and Russian icons. He worked spontaneously, abstracting from images inspired by landscape, legend and biblical themes [1].

It was in Amsterdam and Moscow that artists first made works that were composed of "pure" forms without being consciously abstracted from nature. In Moscow Kasimir

Malevich's (1878–1935) "Suprematist" compositions of 1915–19 [2] were the product of an attempt to define an "alphabet" of simple geometric shapes which, set on a white background, seemed to be imbued with movement in infinite space.

At the same time Vladimir Tatlin (1885–1953) launched Constructivism with dynamic constructions of glass, metal and wire, sometimes suspended across corners. These works were free of any mystical content. They led Tatlin to an art based on the tangible qualities of materials assembled in space. By 1921–2 Tatlin, joined by the Russian painter and typographer Alexander Rodchenko (1891–1956) and others, was making structures directly related to engineering; celebrations of an emerging socialist industrial society. Many of the structures were inspired by Tatlin's own wooden model for a metal structure (which was never built) taller than the Eiffel Tower, his "Monument to the Third International" [3].

Piet Mondrian (1872–1944) in the Netherlands was the other artist to arrive at an abstract art that was not abstracted from

natural objects. His friends in the Amsterdam-centred de Stijl movement geometrised observed forms but Mondrian began to compose works with straight black lines and colour patches during the years 1917 and 1918. He dabbled in theosophy, but behind his rigorously ordered paintings lay a more rational idea of life. His philosophy of life became so fixed that the style he arrived at in 1920–21 remained unchanged for nearly 20 years [4].

Biomorphic and geometric styles

Alongside these developments the Albanian artist Jean (Hans) Arp (1887–1966) introduced organic forms in an abstract style called "biomorphic". He made a series of painted wooden reliefs when he was a Dadaist in Zürich (1916–18). His early Dada truculence led him to give his reliefs and sculptures comical titles like the 1926 "Navel Shirt and Head" [6], and his links with the Surrealists in Paris after 1924 ensured a strong biomorphic line in Surrealism, with Joan Miró (1893–) and Yves Tanguy (1900–55) as its best known exponents.

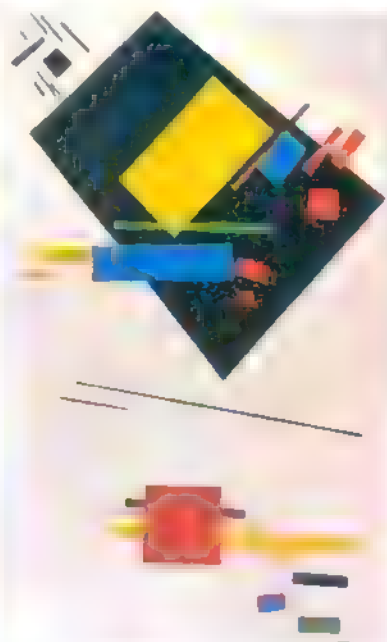
CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Kandinsky's 1911 "Composition IV" is abstracted from a fairy tale scene. In the centre is a blue mountain crowned by the jagged outline of a castle. To the left riders fight, their mounts leaping at each other over a rainbow. Although the forms can be interpreted thus, in 1913 Kandinsky wrote that he meant us to read no narrative into them. The story is a conflict of abstract elements, shrill yellow against deep blue, swelling curve against angular, linear action.

3 This is a reconstruction of Vladimir Tatlin's "Monument to the 3rd International" (1919) which influenced sculpture as much as architecture.



2 In 1915 Kasimir Malevich exhibited a simple black square on a white ground. The painting shown here, "Suprematist Painting" (1915) combines geometric shapes which by their overlappings, their different sizes and their colour create the illusion of movement in space.

4 "Composition I with red, yellow and blue" is one of the paintings with which Piet Mondrian established his complete abstract style in 1921. Mondrian held that life was change and that change was created by the reconciliation of opposing forces. He therefore deliberately reduced painting to a conflict of the most basic visual oppositions.



Henry Moore in moving from his strongly figurative work of the 1920s to a highly abstracted style (1931 onwards) took Arp's direction a step further [7]

After 1922 Russian Constructivism moved in a utilitarian direction, and the mystical art of Malevich was left to die. At the Bauhaus in Germany, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946) backed Constructivist developments and Kandinsky too moved towards geometry. In France artists such as Cesar Domela (1900-) and Jean Gorin accepted the more static line followed by Mondrian, while in London, from 1933, Ben Nicholson (1894-) developed a geometric style [5] as did Burgoyne Diller and Fritz Glarner (1899-) in New York.

Abstract Expressionism

Neither geometric nor biomorphic abstraction died during the 1940s, but in New York there was a further major development in abstract art - Abstract Expressionism. This was not a style but rather a group of individual styles, the most influential artists being Jackson Pollock (1912-56) after 1943 and

Willem de Kooning (1904-) after 1947. Behind this development lay the Surrealist emphasis on the creative process itself coupled with a desire to break with the confining strictures of geometric abstract art and Cubist structure.

After 1947 Pollock's "drip paintings" [8] focused attention on the movement of the painter's hand and decisively challenged the tight shapes of twenties and thirties abstraction, both geometric and biomorphic. Thus an entirely new kind of abstract painting was created. Among the artists to follow Pollock's direction without sacrificing individuality was Franz Kline (1911-62), who in 1950 began to produce black-and-white paintings, such as "Chief" [Key], which were in effect hugely magnified brush drawings. They evolved out of calligraphic figurative drawings done over the previous few years. Less explosively exciting, but equally free of the shaping and the spatial structures of Cubism and geometrical abstraction, were the huge expanses of colour produced by Clyfford Still (1904-), Barnett Newman (1905-70) and Mark Rothko (1903-70).

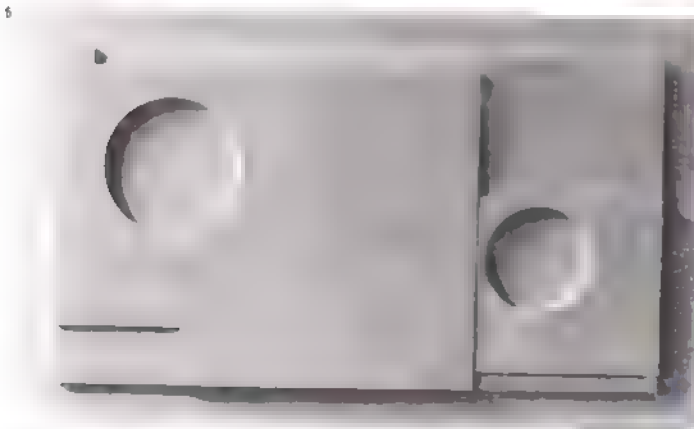
KEY



"Chief", by Franz Kline (1950) is one of the artist's earlier black and white large abstracts. Up to the late 1940s Kline was painting

city scenes, but he made a rapid change. The resemblance to Chinese calligraphy is misleading. Kline stated clearly "I paint the white as

well as the black and the white is just as important". His later experiments with colour did not lead him back to a full use of it again.



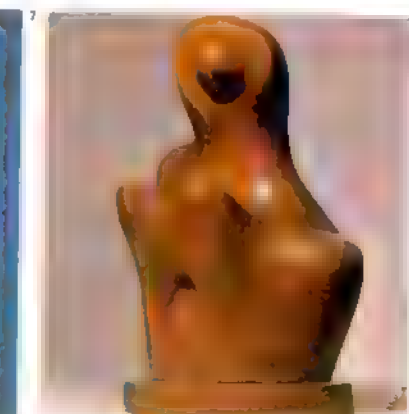
5 Ben Nicholson carved and painted this "White Relief" in 1935. In 1933 he visited Mondrian in Paris and then painting's tight geometric forms, its simplicity and its exact balance are

in sympathy with Mondrian. There is, however, a personal feeling for the wood from which the shapes have been cut and a pleasure taken in the depths of surface that is peculiar to the artist.

5 "Navel Shirt and Head" (1926) is a painted plywood relief by Jean Arp, anticipates his later free standing sculpture. The first true three dimensional work. Head with Three Annoying Objects

appeared in 1930. Arp wanted to make things that seemed alive and were the product of hand, eye and intuition, yet that repeated the form of no known living things. He never abstracted from observed

forms and disliked the term "abstract art". His connections with the Surrealist movement were made possible by his dislike of reason and calculation and by his spontaneous way of working.



7 In 1931 Henry Moore (1898-) began to use bones, flints and pieces of wood as the inspiration for his sculptures, which were evocative of the human figure. He made sheets of drawings to explore the fig-

urative possibilities in these natural forms arriving at images which he then carved in stone or, more rarely, as in this small "Figure" of 1931, in wood (beech). Several are more abstract than this.



8 Jackson Pollock's first attempts to create "automatically" without the intervention of conscious control, used archetypal symbols from Jung as their starting-point. But here in "Autumn Rhythm" (1950) he did not require the impetus of symbolic imagery producing by the swift action of hand and arm sweeping trails of paint which cross over one another to form a whirling mesh of movement. For some critics, paintings such as these are expressive through the action of the painter's hand they recorded hence the description "action painting". For others, they were significant for the new type of abstract composition - having no sense of object or background - that they introduced

Modern architecture after 1930

In France, Germany and The Netherlands leading architects developed, during the 1920s, a new architectural vocabulary that was to become known as the International Style. Its main features are the asymmetric arrangement of simple geometrical forms, extensive glazing that often turns corners and in open plan – all features that were possible because of developments in the use of steel reinforced concrete and glass. Within a few years the style had spread throughout Europe and across continents, not only in homes but for other types of building such as Owen Williams's [1] 1935 Pioneer Health Centre in Peckham, London, Alvar Aalto's Paimio Sanatorium in Finland (1929–33) and Howe and Lescaze's Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building, USA (1932).

Mass housing and its architecture

World War II brought architecture effectively to a standstill in most of Europe, in contrast South America – especially Brazil – was able to assimilate and develop the International Style. Le Corbusier (1887–1965) had visited Brazil in 1936 and

vitaly influenced Lucio Costa, whose team's building for the Ministry of Health and Education (1937–43) in the city of Rio de Janeiro marks the beginning of modernism in South America.

In 1945 some 40 million new homes were needed in Europe, largely in London, Berlin, Warsaw, Rotterdam and other cities devastated by the war, the rapid building of new homes was the priority and stylistic innovation had to take a back seat. The general formula was the repetition of large-scale units, a system that found less favour in the 1950s. Examples of this change are the Hansa District development in West Berlin (1946–50), Alton Estate in Rochampton, London. In building complete new towns the architect has increasingly taken on the role of planner.

The Unité d'Habitation, Marseille (1946–52) [Key], by Le Corbusier, and the Lake Shore Drive Apartments, Chicago (1948–51) [2], by Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969), are the two major monuments of the postwar period. In contrast to the smooth, white concrete finish of the 1930s, Le Corbusier, still working in concrete, chose

to exploit the nature of the material by leaving it as it was found after the removal of the wood in which it was cast. The acceptance of this treatment – roughcast concrete – has radically changed the appearance of world architecture. Nevertheless, the importance of the Marseille structure was as an ideal for mass housing, that was adopted and adapted in countries such as England, Scandinavia, South America, Japan and India.

Structure and function

The Lake Shore Drive Apartments demonstrate primarily a search for precision in glass and steel in which the importance of the structure overrides its function. This search has given rise to the anonymous tower block that can accommodate home or office with no exterior differentiation.

By the mid-1950s skyscraper building was not confined to the United States, but was also gaining wide acceptance in the New World, with notable developments in Venezuela and Mexico. With Lever House, New York (1951–2) [5], Skidmore, Owings and Merrill had established the characteristic

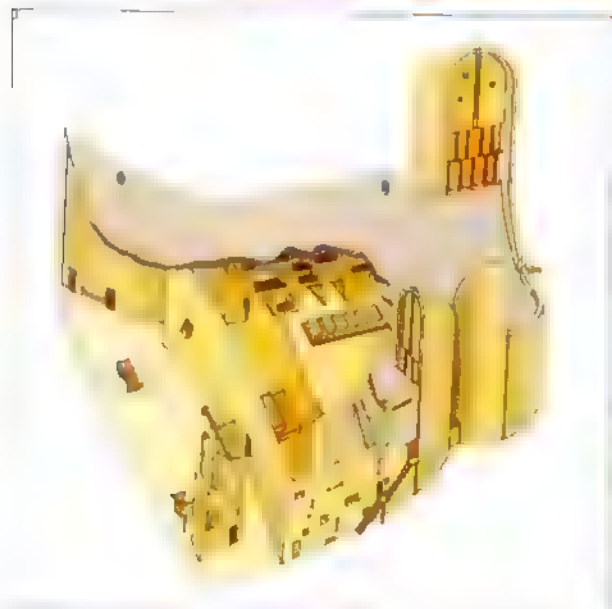
CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Health preserved rather than *improved* was the theme of the Pioneer Health Centre (1935) London, designed by Owen Williams. Amenities included a swimming pool, sewing and reading rooms and facilities for medical research. The building's wavy form and its use of new materials symbolized the optimism of this new ideal. Contemporary British developments tended to be much more tentative.



2 Two identical towers, at right angles to each other, make up the Lake Shore Drive Apartments, Chicago, by Mies van der Rohe. The building has 26 floors with apartments grouped round a central core for stairs and lift. The structure is a load-bearing steel frame, fireproofed with concrete and filled in with glass. The black frame and pale blinds behind the glazing add interest to an impersonal facade. Unlike the Unité of Le Corbusier, the major characteristics are a highly efficient technology and simple forms, an important development in building using factory produced components and setting a new standard to which architects aspired for the next 20 years. Of immense significance was the concept of a home in an anonymous box with flexible planning and mechanical services.



3 Chapel of Notre Dame-du-Haut, Ronchamp, is the climax of Le Corbusier's tendency to Formalism seen previously in the Villa Savoye and the roof of the Marseille Unité. While other forms had been constrained within a geometrical

framework, here the *atmospheric* curves dominate. Built of reinforced concrete and set among hills, the design of the chapel echoes the forms of the surrounding landscape. With the Unité, the chapel provided an

Miesian austerity. The 'irrational' aspect it seemed to pre-empt was seen by architects and critics as a deliberate gesture against the right angle and straight line, which had come to represent both honesty and rationality.



4 The Jaoul Houses, Paris, designed by Le Corbusier, are two homes on one rectangular site. Their use of crude materials, rough brickwork and ribbon slabs of concrete inside and out, presaged International Brutalism. Stirling and Gowen's 1956 flats at Ham Common, London, were the first significant reinterpretation of the idiom. The shallow arches on the exterior reflect tiled vaults inside, a feature often imitated for decorative effect.

office block format of a tower block on a podium, often with a plaza below to create an urban environment at street level. European skyscraper building has never been as convinced or refined, but important examples include Ponti's 36-storey Pirelli Building in Milan (1957-61).

In 1953 Brutalism - possibly derived from Corbusier's *beton brut* (roughcast concrete) - was first aired as a concept by Alison and Peter Smithson and demonstrated in their Secondary School, Hunstanton, England (1949-54). At that stage Brutalism's main aim was a search for visual honesty. It required the form of the building to reflect its purpose and refused to conceal functional items such as plumbing and electrical ducts. International Brutalism, from about 1958, shifted the emphasis from the image of the building as a whole to a greater concern with details, based not on Mies but on Le Corbusier and his *Jaoui Houses*, Paris (1954-6) [4]. International Brutalism was distinguished first by the rugged use of materials, for example in Tange's Town Hall Kurashiki, Japan (1958-60) [7], and secondly

by the separation of different functional elements as in the Engineering Building at Leicester University, England (1963) [9], by Stirling and Gowan. But a shift towards Formalism, in which the emphasis is more on aesthetics than on making plain the function of the building, was to mark a distinct trend in the architecture of the 1960s.

Aesthetics and function

Formalism and Brutalism are not entirely opposed, their differences are complementary and it is only with the free forms in the work of the masters that the Expressionism of the 1920s is evoked - in, for example, the chapel at Ronchamp (1950-55) [3] by Le Corbusier and the Guggenheim Museum (1957-9) [6] of Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959) in New York.

The Formalism of the 1950s and 1960s tended to be within a strict geometric framework and often referred back to earlier designs, as in Oscar Niemeyer's public edifices in Brasilia (1958-60) [8], which exploit the curves of traditional Brazilian Baroque architecture.

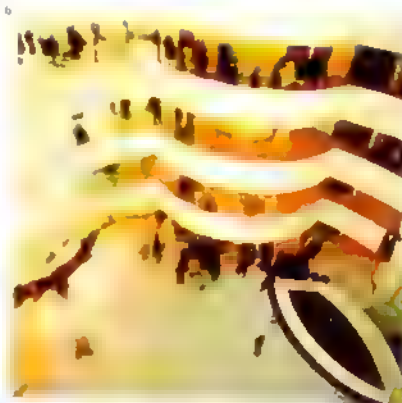
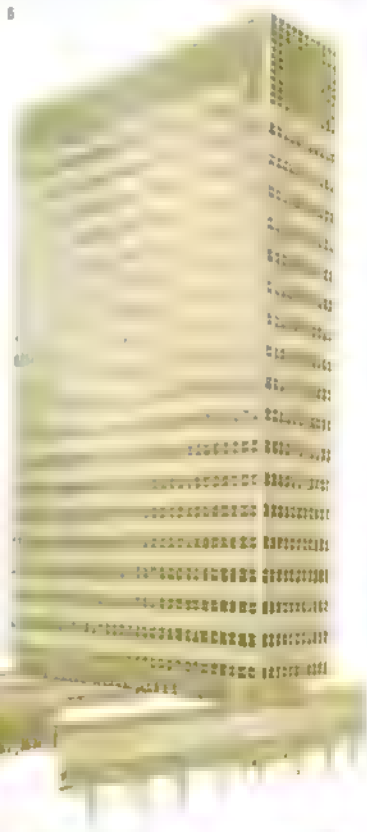


Design for living by Le Corbusier - in Unité d'Habitation Marseille. 337 two-storey flats are slotted into a

massive concrete frame with amenities added to complete the community. Bright coloured balcony side walls

accentuate the raw concrete and huge supports (*pilotis*) leave the ground free for recreation and movement.

5 Lever House in New York, designed by Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, is an important example of the glazed curtain wall. The main tower, at right angles to the street, rises from only a portion of the structure, thus creating its own space in the city; the podium stands on piers leaving the court free for pedestrians. Although skyscraper buildings depend on a highly developed technology, the economic necessity of such structures - using a minimum amount of ground space at a premium in cities such as New York - was an equally powerful motivation.



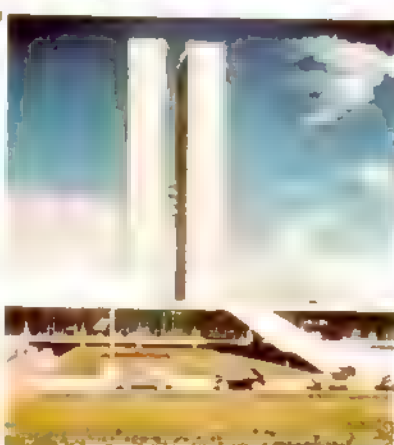
6 The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York by Frank Lloyd Wright, is designed as a continuous spiral ramp surrounding an open well. The spiral widens in diameter as it rises towards a glass dome 28m (91ft) above the ground. The dome is a main source of natural light on the exhibits. Wright believed that the curving walls of the museum which are quite plain inside and out, were the best surface for

showing pictures and, although there has been some criticism of the building, it is widely felt that it is apt for its purpose. It is cast in concrete with a smooth finish that recalls buildings of the International style. Although, as with Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp the fluidity of the shape appears to be a comment on industrial values, the building could not possibly have been realized without the technology of the 20th century.

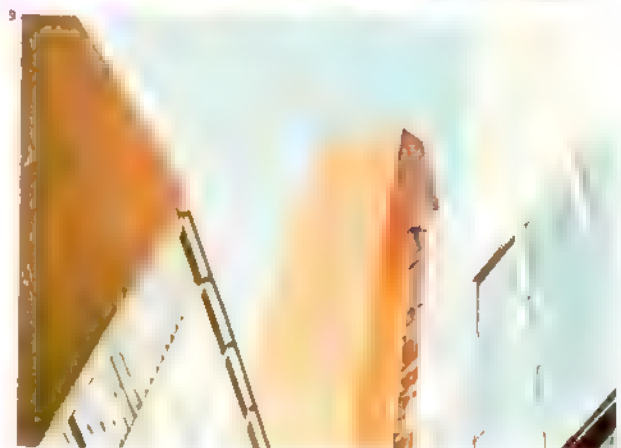


7 Kurashiki Town Hall, designed by Kenzo Tange, is constructed from the roughcast concrete of International Brutalism and incorporates Corbusian features. Japanese architecture, surprisingly, has favoured rugged Le Corbusier rather than the clean lines of the Miesian idiom. The Town Hall facade is nevertheless an essentially Japanese interpretation of the Brutalist manner.

8 Brasilia the Senate, Secretariat and Assembly building by Oscar Niemeyer was designed for the new capital. The design combines technological sophistication on the curved lines of Brazilian Baroque and simple grandeur - a successful attempt to transcribe modern architecture into something peculiarly Brazilian. Although impressive this monumental Formalism illustrates the dangers of architectural design lacking scale or texture.



9 The Engineering Building, Leicester University, shows how different functions of a building can be stressed by its forms - an idea inherent in International Brutalism. The picture shows from left to right laboratories, lift shaft, administration tower and one of two projecting lecture theatres. The lack of symmetry reflects strong contemporary interest in a variety of geometric shapes - an affinity with the early 20th century.



The twenties and the Depression

The years from 1919–38 were dominated by an economic depression that troubled Europe for most of the time and affected the rest of the world most heavily in the 1930s. The aftermath of World War I was notable for an attempt to return to "normalcy", a term coined by the American President Warren Harding (1865–1923), and in Britain the immediate postwar years witnessed a boom in industrial production and living standards. After 1922, however, trade and industrial activity fell off, creating unemployment in the major heavy industries of the British economy [1]. Germany, the other great industrial economy of Europe, was unable to recover from the effects of the war and the impositions of the peace settlement [2]. The result was to depress the economy of Europe, which needed the prosperity of German industry. With the problems of inflation, political instability and the heavy reparations to contend with, the German economy did not begin to make a major recovery until the mid-1920s.

The war had left the United States as the major creditor nation, supplanting the posi-

tion Britain had once held. A large proportion of the world's gold reserves had accumulated in Fort Knox, providing the basis for a large-scale expansion in American output. The growth in credit and consumption which these gold reserves allowed enabled a boom in manufacturing output to take place [3].

The twenties saw a wave of prosperity in the United States. It combined with a sense of release after war years to create the hectic atmosphere of the "roaring twenties". To a lesser extent this was felt in Europe towards the end of the decade, when an economic revival helped to popularize American music, dances and films.

Aspects of social life

Socially, the twenties had a paradoxical air. On the one hand, the end of the war heralded new freedoms, particularly for women. They had worked in many new occupations during the war and began to reap the benefits in terms of political and social emancipation. Fashions became more practical, there was a greater knowledge about birth control and

there was a wider range of job opportunities. The twenties in America also saw Prohibition, which restricted the sale of alcohol, and created a boom in illicit alcohol.

Crisis and deflation

The more optimistic economic climate of the late twenties was, however, brought to an end by the Wall Street Crash of October 1929. The American boom had already begun to falter by the summer of 1929 with a downturn in the economic indices. The slide in share prices that followed became a panic [5]. In America, unemployment soared as credit dried up, consumption declined, and bankruptcies and redundancies multiplied. Compounding the Depression, agricultural prices fell disastrously for farmers in many other countries. World unemployment doubled within a year, in the United States it reached six million by the end of 1930.

For two years the Depression deepened throughout the industrialized world. By 1932, more than 12 million people were out of work in the United States and whole communities were at a standstill. The impact of

CONNECTIONS

See also

1914–18

1918–19

1919–20

1920–21

1921–22

1922–23

1923–24

1924–25

1925–26

1926–27

1927–28

1928–29

1929–30

1930–31

1931–32

1932–33

1933–34

1934–35

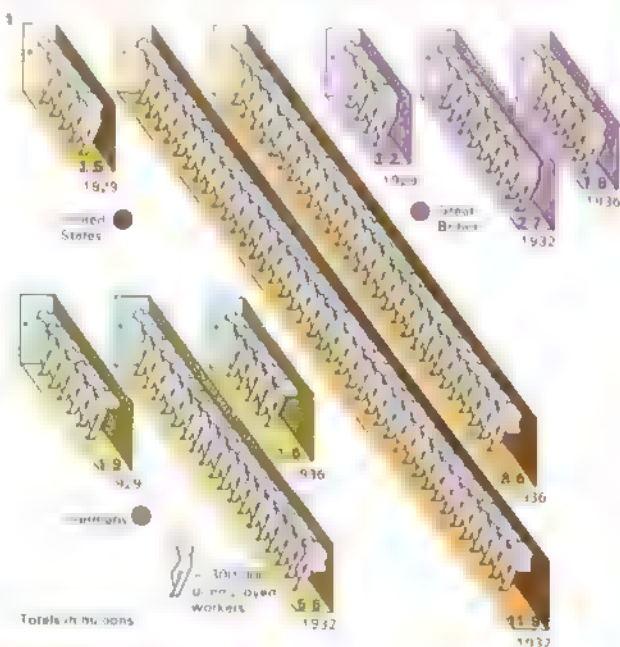
1935–36

1936–37

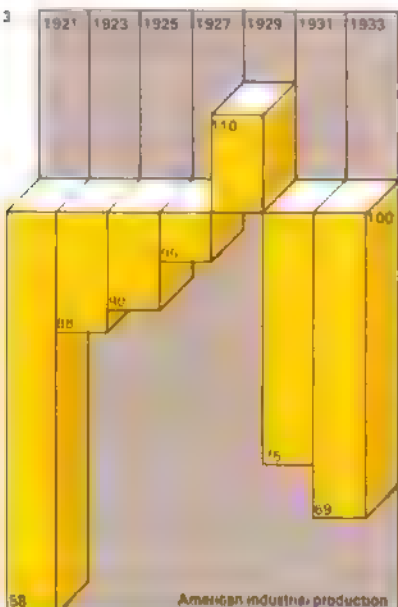
1937–38

1 After World War I

Britain suffered from the decline of her basic industries and the rise of competition, while Germany needed several years to recover from the war and reparations. The USA enjoyed a boom period in the twenties, which was brought to a halt by the Great Crash of 1929 and the decline in financial confidence and world trade. It brought a dramatic rise in unemployment in the industrial West as shown here.



3 The American economy boomed in the twenties with a rapid growth of heavy industries. The industrial production index here shown is based on an average index of 100 for 1935–8. Rising consumption and easy credit fuelled the boom until 1929.



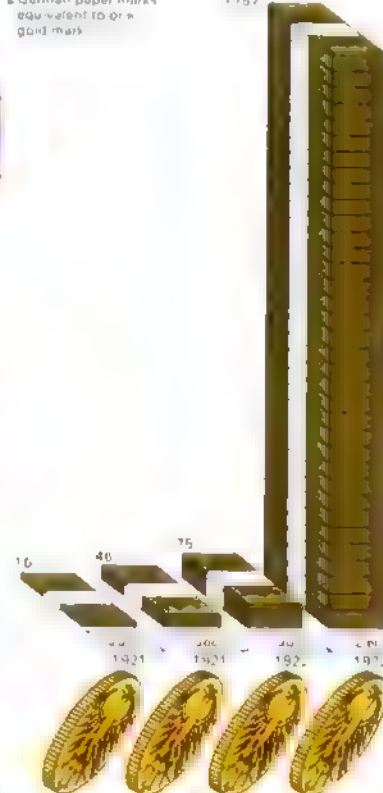
4 The motor car industry grew to major importance in the interwar period. Although invented and produced before 1914, cars remained expensive luxuries.

By 1932, the assembly lines and conveyor belts, which had created the cheap, popular cars for a wider market, had come to a halt leaving thousands jobless.



2 German paper marks equivalent to one gold mark

1932



2 The German economy was thrown into severe difficulties by the effects of the war and the peace settlement. The loss of major industrial areas and reparations depressed the economy and created preconditions for inflation. With French occupation of the Ruhr because of Germany's default of reparation payments, massive inflation was triggered off, wiping out all savings, until a loaf of bread cost millions of marks.

5 Thousands rushed to sell their shares on Wall Street in the panic selling of 1929. In two months share values had declined by a third and a paper loss of \$26 million was registered. The growth in the American economy had been accompanied by a major speculative boom in share prices, involving small investors and large trusts. By 1929 industrial production began to peak and share prices slumped, causing the panic.



the Great Crash was equally disastrous on European economies, many of which depended on United States credit.

Current economic thinking decreed that a crisis of this kind could be cured only by a harsh dose of deflation, to balance budgets, reduce surplus capacity, and ride out the storm. In Germany the government of Franz von Papen (1879-1969) applied ever tougher doses of deflation and this pattern was followed in Britain, under the National Government of Ramsay MacDonald (1806-1937), and in the United States under President Herbert Hoover (1874-1964). Although the British economist J. M. Keynes (1883-1946) was in the process of formulating alternative policies, in which emphasis would be placed upon increased government spending and rising consumption to revive economic activity, his radical views were not generally available.

Political repercussions

The Depression had important political repercussions. In the United States dissatisfaction with the performance of Presi-

dent Hoover and his management of the economic crisis was reflected in the victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) with his promise of a "New Deal" [7]. In Britain, the effects of the deepening depression in 1931 brought about a financial and political crisis for the Labour Government of Ramsay MacDonald. A National Government was formed after the 1931 general election, with a massive Conservative majority, but under the leadership of MacDonald and a small group of Labour followers. In Germany, the mounting unemployment and fear of social breakdown engendered support for the Nazi Party and undermined the basis of the Weimar Republic [8]. France was affected later than the rest of Europe because her large agricultural sector disguised unemployment and her industrial base was smaller than that of other countries.

Although the Depression dominated the thirties in Europe and the United States, recovery began in 1933, so that by the outbreak of World War II some considerable advances had been made in living standards in the period as a whole for those in work.

KEY



Drought and low prices for farm produce forced many farmers and their

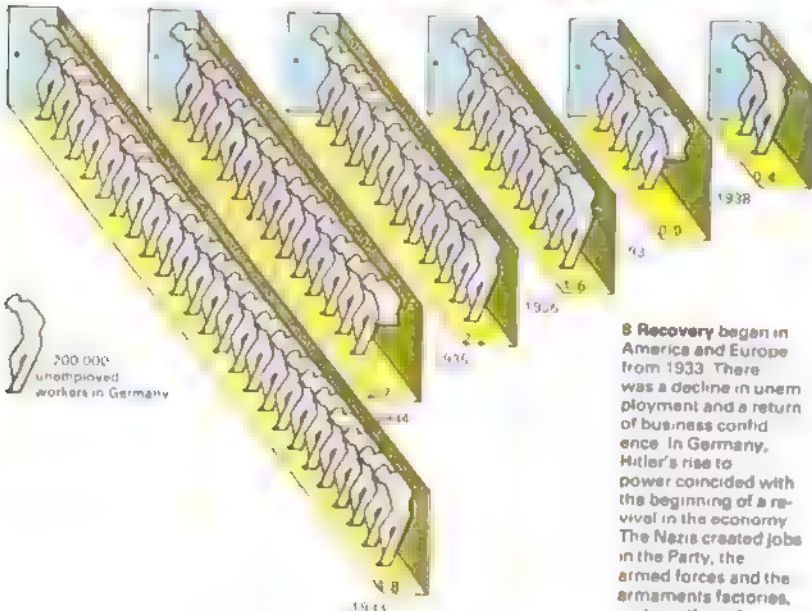
families to migrate from the American Midwest to California. Their hardships are

mortalized in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, symbolized the Depression.



6 In Britain, the Depression led to hunger marches such as that of 1936 when 200 men from Jarrow marched to London seeking work. In America, unemployed ex-servicemen marched to Washington in 1932. The action of police in dispersing them and leaving some dead caused much resentment.

7 Under Roosevelt's "New Deal" a number of ambitious projects were started to bring work to the unemployed and to stimulate the economy. The Tennessee Valley Authority sought to revitalize the economy and living conditions of a whole region by prestige projects such as the Hoover Dam, shown here.



Totals in millions

8 Recovery began in America and Europe from 1933. There was a decline in unemployment and a return of business confidence. In Germany, Hitler's rise to power coincided with the beginning of a revival in the economy. The Nazis created jobs in the Party, the armed forces and the armaments factories, and significantly reduced unemployment, as shown here.



9 Franklin D. Roosevelt brought a new period of prosperity to the United States after the worst years of the Depression when he became President in 1933. He won a landslide victory over Herbert Hoover on a programme for a "New

Deal" for America, consisting of welfare legislation, public works, agricultural aid and planning, and an end to Prohibition. Roosevelt's confident style was almost as important as his legislation, bringing a measure of optimism and stability to the

business and commercial world. His "fireside chats" on the radio helped to reassure the public that the government was acting to help the ordinary people. He went on to be elected for a second and third term. He died in office in 1945.

The British labour movement 1868–1930

The driving force behind the British labour movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the trade unions which had been given restricted legality in 1825. Until the advent of the so-called "new unionism" in the 1880s, most trade unions were associations of skilled workers of varying political allegiance. Nonetheless, by the 1880s they had established a relatively secure position for themselves. In 1871 trade unions had been given legal recognition and in 1875 peaceful picketing was legalized.

 unionismo

The period from 1875 to 1900 saw rapid growth in trade unions. This resulted partly from the rising prestige of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) which was founded in 1868, and partly from the efforts of a generation of new unionists who preached a much more militant form of trade unionism and organized semi-skilled and unskilled workers, such as dockers and gas workers, into new industrial unions [Key]. These unions were prepared to take strike action with much less hesitation than before [2]. The result

was the growth of working-class solidarity, an increasing dissatisfaction with the Liberal Party and the spread of genuinely socialist ideas among working men.

The growth of socialism had been demonstrated in 1888 when James Keir Hardie (1856-1915) and R. B. Cunningham Graham (1852-1936) founded the Scottish Labour Party. It was given national expression in 1893 when Hardie [3] founded the Independent Labour Party (ILP) with the aim of encouraging trade unionists and socialists to join forces for the creation of an independent political party with working class representation in Parliament. A non-revolutionary path to socialism was also sought by the Fabian Society which was founded in 1884. Among its best known exponents were Sidney (1859-1947) and Beatrice (1858-1943) Webb and the writer George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950). In 1900 the Fabians, with the ILP, the Marxist Social Democratic Federation and trade unionists, set up the Labour Representation Committee (LRC). Its aim, to quote Hardie, was to form a distinct Labour

group in Parliament. Its first secretary was James Ramsay Macdonald (1866–1937).

The LRC's programme was a moderate one – it avoided commitment either to socialism or to the class war. As a result, in 1901, it lost the support of the Marxist Federation, but it did gain considerable trade union support, largely in reaction to the Taff Vale decision by the House of Lords in 1901 which found trade unions liable for losses incurred through strikes. In 1906, therefore, the LRC saw 29 out of 50 of its candidates elected to Parliament; later that year, the LRC was renamed the Labour Party.

The growth of the Labour Party

From 1906 to 1914 the Labour Party supported the social reforms of the Liberal governments, which in turn passed legislation benefiting the trade unions. The Trade Dispute Act of 1906 reversed the Taff Vale decision of 1901 and the Trade Union Act in 1913 allowed trade unions to support the Labour Party financially. Nonetheless from 1910 to 1914 trade union militancy increased [4] as a result of rising prices and the spread.

1 The London match girls came out on strike in 1888. The appalling working conditions had previously been exposed by the Fabian lecturer Mrs Annie Besant (1847-1933) in her paper *The Link*. With her help and that of other socialists the match girls were eventually victorious and won recognition for their union. This was one of the first examples of the wave of new unionist activity and organization that spread among the semi-skilled and unskilled workers from 1889. It clearly indicated the hard conditions that had to be endured by these people who made up by far the bulk of the British working class.



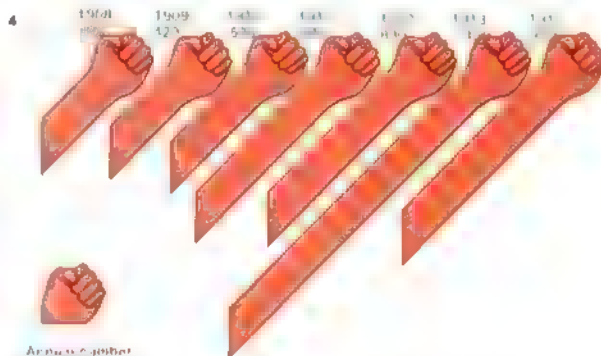
2 The London dock strike (1889) the first major action of its kind by unskilled workers, lasted five weeks. It ended in victory for the dockers who won their claim for a basic 5d 12 1/2 an

hour (the dockers' tanner'). The most significant aspect of the strike however was the widespread support won by the dockers from skilled workers and other sections of the community. The

dockers advertised their case skillfully and thus notably advanced the cause of working-class solidarity. Their militancy also highlighted the spread of socialism among British workers.



3 James Keir Hardie was one of the leading and best-loved figures in the British labour movement. Born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, he worked as a coal miner from the age of ten and in 1886 formed the Scottish Miners' Federation. He was the first chairman of the Scottish Labour Party (1888), and in 1897 became the first workers' representative in Parliament when he was elected as an independent Labour MP. Through his selfless efforts he was involved in the foundation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893, and the Labour Representation Committee in 1900. He lost his seat in 1895 but was re-elected in 1900 as Labour MP for Merthyr Tydfil, south Wales, which he held until his death.



Armed & dangerous
at all times

4 Industrial unrest

characterized the years 1911-14. In 1908 there were 380 strikes; in 1913 there were 1,450. Dockers, seamen, railwaymen and miners all struck between 1911 and 1914. There were militant and bitter

conflicts and the men often held out for long periods in support of their demands. The strikes were prompted by various factors - the restoration of trade unions' legal immunity in 1905, falling standards of living, the apparent failure of the Labour Party to

protect the interests of the working class and the growth of Marxist and syndicalist ideas among working men. With the onset of the war in 1914 unrest declined because most union leaders and men here chose to back the war effort.

from France and the United States, of syndicalist ideas that advocated a general strike to destroy capitalism.

The Labour Party continued to co-operate with the Liberal Party in Parliament and during World War I Arthur Henderson (1863-1935), who succeeded MacDonald as leader of the Labour Party in 1914, sat in the war cabinet of the coalition government. Various other Labour members also held administrative posts. By 1918, however, the Labour Party stood for a more independent policy, and influenced by events in Russia, adopted a more socialist constitution.

After the war the Labour Party soon became the second party in the country. Disillusionment, unemployment, and political strife within the Liberal Party meant that the Labour Party became the official opposition in Parliament in 1922. In 1924 Ramsay MacDonald became prime minister at the head of a minority government. His administration lasted only ten months. Publication of the so-called "Zinoviev letter" - instructions for a communist uprising in Britain apparently sent by Gregori Zinoviev

(1883-1936), chairman of the Communist International - severely damaged the Labour Party. Although the letter was later proved to be forged, Labour fell before the Conservatives in November 1924.

The second Labour Government

In 1926 the trade unions challenged Conservative rule when the TUC supported the General Strike on behalf of the miners [7] but the government successfully resisted the challenge and in 1927 outlawed general strikes and attempted to reduce trade union subscriptions to the Labour Party.

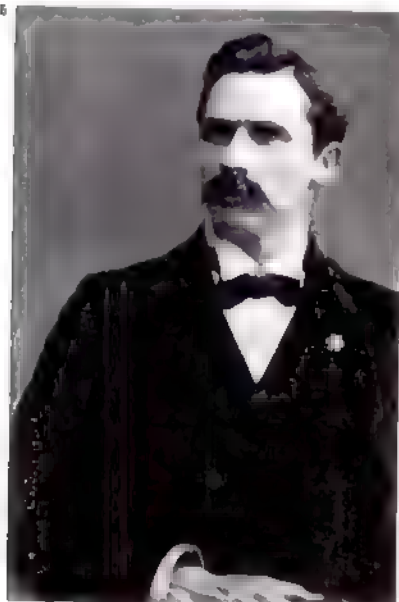
In 1929, with the onset of the Depression, Labour returned to office with Ramsay MacDonald once again at the head of a minority government. His cabinet was divided over economic policy. Because socialist legislation was impossible in the midst of the economic slump, in 1931 MacDonald formed a coalition national government. In doing so he forfeited the support of the Labour Party, whose parliamentary representation dropped sharply in the 1931 general election.



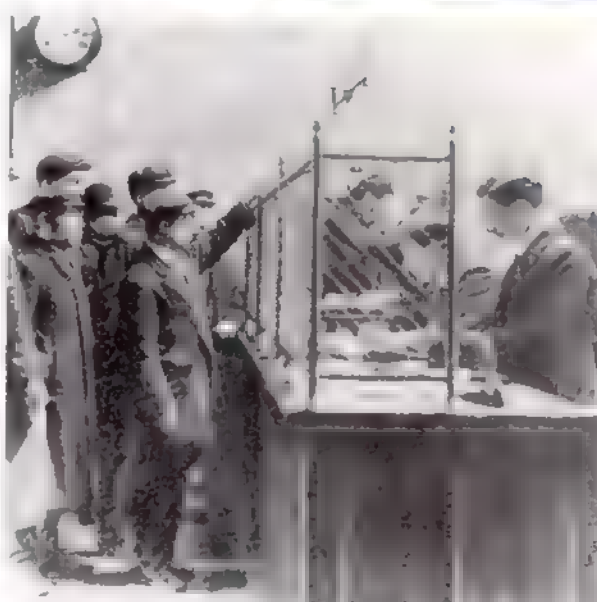
By the 1870s trade unions had achieved legal recognition.

They had followed no specific political viewpoint but from the 1880s the movement took a new turn. Influenced by socialist ideas,

the new unions increasingly stressed the political role. They introduced a minimum wage an 8-hour day and the right to work. Although unemployment continued until after World War I, the new unions' political activity led to the General Strike of 1926, with the establishment of the Labour Party by 1906. Unemployment was increasingly to be dealt with by more conventional parliamentary channels.



5 Tom Mann (1856-1941) was one of the leading "new unionists" of the late 19th century. In 1881 he joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and by 1886 had become involved in the socialist movement. In that year he published a pamphlet arguing that a more militant attitude should be taken by trade unionists. In 1889 Mann helped to organize the London dock strike and from 1894-7 was secretary of the Independent Labour Party. He emigrated and in 1902 was active in the Australian labour movement. In the 1920s, after his return to England, he became a founder of the British Communist Party, feeling that the existing unions could not be militant enough.



6 Labour exchanges

were introduced into Britain in 1910 by Winston Churchill (1874-1965), then Liberal President of the Board of Trade. Advocated by the Poor Law Commission of 1909 and by the economist William Beveridge (1879-1963), labour exchanges were intended to provide a service for workers seeking employment and for employers seeking labour. They also prepared the way for a system of social insurance. Initially they were not as effective as the Unemployment Registrar. Unemployment was not compulsory so that only one-third of vacancies were filled through the nationwide exchanges.



7 The 1926 General Strike lasted nine days (4-12 May). In the face of government resistance the Trades Union Congress ended the strike. The miners held out in vain until August.

8 Ramsay MacDonald was the Labour Party's first prime minister. In 1894 he joined the Independent Labour Party and was its chairman from 1906 to 1908. He helped to found the Labour Representation Committee and in 1924 became the first Labour Party premier. In 1929 he again became prime minister but was rejected by the Labour Party when he formed a coalition national government. In 1931, the only way he saw of keeping Labour in power



Socialism in the West

Socialism developed from a group of thinkers especially Robert Owen (1771-1858), Henri de Saint Simon (1760-1825) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837), who criticized industrialism because of the suffering and hardship it caused the working class. But it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that socialism developed a mass following as a direct result of the growth of industry in different parts of Europe and the related rise of an urban working class.

Early developments

As the first industrial nation, Great Britain took the lead in the development of workmen's organizations [7]. Despite legal restrictions and occasional persecution such as the transportation to Australia of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in 1834 for trade union activity, unions flourished by the middle of the nineteenth century, especially among skilled workers. The political ideas of this "labour aristocracy" were largely Owenite emphasizing co-operation and reformist political activity. Attempts to establish a Grand National Consolidated Trades Union

had failed by 1834, and following this the Chartist movement attempted to enlist the mass of factory operatives in the cause of political rights, which were enshrined in the People's Charter presented to Parliament and rejected three times. Under reformist leaders British trade unions concentrated upon securing gradual concessions in the political and social sphere during the period of prosperity after 1851.

In Europe the slower progress of industrialization hampered the growth of organized socialist movements. Trade unions remained illegal in France until the middle of the nineteenth century and socialist support was divided between the followers of revolutionary leaders, reformists and anarchists. Although workers participated in the overthrow of Louis-Philippe (1773-1850) in 1848 there was no organization to unite them. In Germany too the workers who supported the revolution of 1848 remained divided and dominated by middle-class liberals. The German risings of 1848 did however see the emergence of Marxism in the *Communist Manifesto* written by Karl Marx.

(1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95), the manifesto provided a coherent intellectual basis for many later socialists.

The First International

Although socialist ideas played little part in the revolutions of 1848 and Chartism was defeated in Britain in the same year they did mark the emergence of the first important mass movements of workers in Europe. In 1864 socialist groups came together in the first International. Although racked by dissension, the International provided a vehicle for Marxist ideas and encouragement to socialist groups throughout Europe. In France in 1871 the rising of Parisian workers and the lower middle classes in the Commune was proof of the growing strength of socialist ideas. The International was liquidated in 1876 following quarrels between the anarchists and Marx. In the less developed parts of Europe, especially Spain, Italy and Russia, anarchist ideas propagated by Mikhail Bakunin (1814-76) had a strong appeal and led to risings in Spain and terrorist acts in Russia [2].

CONNECTIONS

See also



Two reformers
Sidney (1859–1947
and Beatrice Webb
(1858–1943) adapted
socialism to the cause
of social reform
which they sought
to achieve gradually
through democratic
procedures. They
formed the Fabian
Society in 1884. It
attracted many middle-
class and intellec-
tual figures such as
George Bernard
Shaw. The British
Labour Party
adopted the ideals of
Fabianism for its
philosophical basis.



2 In Russia, anarchism inspired the opponents of the tsarist regime to become a campaign of terrorism, including the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. Anarchism grew out of the ideas of Pierre Proudhon (1809-65) among

others. It contacted a
authority in its search
for a self-governing
idea in which men
could totally fulfil
themselves. The most
famous 19th-century
exponents were Rus
sians, especially
Mikhail Bakunin and
Prince Peter

Kropotkin (1842-1921)
in France anarchism became blended with trade unionism and in Spain anarchist groups played an important part in the political upheavals of the early 20th century, including the Spanish Civil War

3 The years before

World War I were marked by labour militancy and violent strikes throughout Europe and the USA. In Britain there was a wave of bitter disputes and troops had to be called out in South Wales during the coal strike of 1912. The trouble was caused by the rise of organized labour, the spread of militant ideas and a slight downturn in living standards after a period of improvement.



4 Jean Jaurès 1859–1914) was a most eminent French socialist. A successful politician and moderate Marxist, he brought unity to the fragmented socialist groups in France before being assassinated by a fanatic for opposing the war with Germany in 1914.

5 Polish born Rosa Luxemburg, with Karl Liebknecht led the Marxist Spartacist movement which sought to end the 1914-18 war through revolution. They were both assassinated by reactionary troops in Berlin during the revolt of 1918-19.

6 Like these London-
ers, the discovery
what protested in
1927 at death penalties
imposed on two US
anarchists, Nicola
Sacco (1891-1927) and
Bartolomeo Vanzetti
(1888-1927). Many be-
lieved their conviction
for murder was
politically motivated.

After 1870 the German socialist movement became the most powerful in Europe. In 1890, in spite of laws restricting its operation, the Social-Democratic Party was the largest in the Reich. Although divided between Marxist and "revisionist" groups, the socialists continued their rise up to 1914. In the aftermath of Germany's defeat an alliance between the social-democrats and the army was formed to set up the Weimar government and to frustrate the challenge from the Marxist "Spartacists" led by Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919) and Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919).^[5] In France the socialist movement remained fragmented. French workers turning aside from party politics were attracted to syndicalist ideas of control being achieved by workers through strikes.

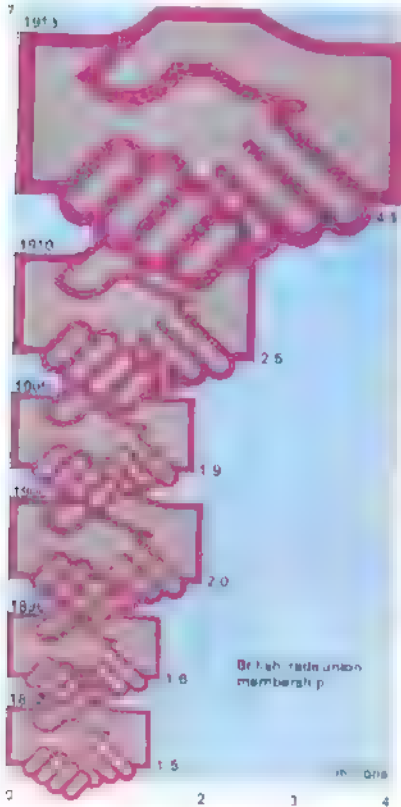
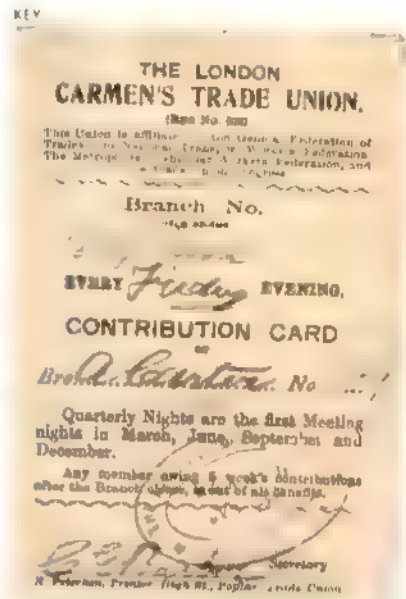
The Second International

The Second International, formed in 1889, was severely divided between reformist and revolutionary groups, and was not strong enough concerted to oppose World War I. Nonetheless, by 1914 socialism was a powerful political force in Europe and had also

spread to Latin America and the United States. Although it was never as strong in the USA as in Europe, a socialist candidate for the presidency, Eugene Debs (1855-1926), polled 900,000 votes in 1912, while the militant Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) mounted a series of bitter strikes. The war caused a breakup of the international socialist movement because its members had to choose between patriotism and allegiance to the socialist ideals.

The Russian Revolution led to a revival of left-wing militancy in the aftermath of World War I, but the inter-war period saw the socialist parties of Britain, France and Germany playing a prominent part in parliamentary politics, and the triumph of socialist parties in Scandinavia. Although the Depression and the rise of fascism led to suppression, as in Germany, Italy and Spain, they also led to a revival of socialism in middle-class and intellectual circles. The Spanish Civil War^[9] provided a rallying point for the left and the triumph of the Allies in World War II left socialist parties in a prominent position in nearly all the countries of Europe.

By 1914 the trade union movement representing millions of working people, was a growing force in the major industrial countries. The years between 1900 and 1914 saw an increase in the number and intensity of union strikes. Generally, employers still disputed the right to strike and often still challenged the union's right to exist. Bitterness and hostility underlying strikes often led to open violence. However, trade unions were often narrowly sectional in their interests while generally supporting a socialist political stance. Contribution cards such as this for the Carmen's Trade Union were proof of full union membership.

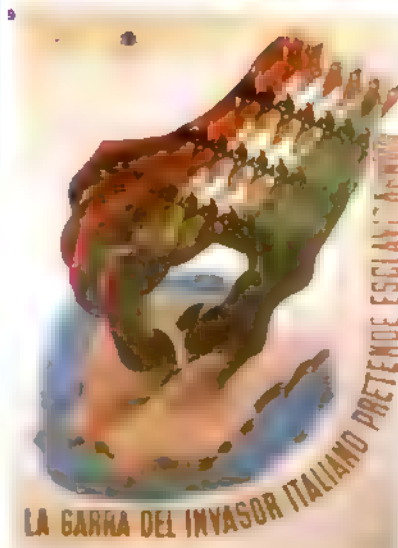


7 Before 1914 there was a surge in trade union membership because of industrial development in Britain. The number of unionists more than doubled between 1905 and 1914, mainly as a result of the organization of unskilled and semi-skilled workers such as the dockers and railway workers as opposed to the labour aristocracy who had created the unions. In 1893 the Independent Labour Party (ILP) was formed, later to become the Labour Party (1906).

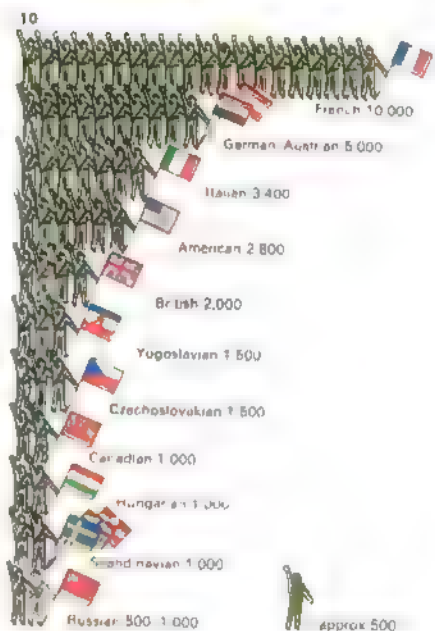
9 The Spanish Civil War (1936-9) was a rallying point for left-wing forces in Europe. The attempt by Franco's Nationalist forces to topple the Spanish Republic with aid from Italy and Germany resulted in cooperation between many divided communist and socialist parties. Although the war was a complex battle between various Spanish groups, it seemed to many socialists to symbolize the threat of fascism and the need for a united front.



8 The concept of the general strike became widespread in the early years of the 20th century under the influence of syndicalist ideas. In Britain, the reformist character of the Trades Union Congress, formed in 1868, made it reluctant to use the general strike as a weapon, but in 1926 it called the General Strike in support of a bitter dispute in the coal industry. After a tense confrontation with the Conservative Government of Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947) the strike was defeated. Because of the Government's fear that food supplies would be looted, imports were collected from the London docks by armed convoys.



10 As a result of widespread concern for the Spanish Republic among left-wing groups, the International Brigade was formed to fight in Spain. It was drawn from many different nationalities and consisted mainly of Communist Party members, trade unionists and sympathetic intellectuals. The Brigade was recruited through the Communist Party, which organized training, equipment and transport to Spain. The volunteers played an important part in preventing an early victory by Franco's forces and his German and Italian allies, but they suffered heavy casualties. Their role symbolized the wider significance of the civil war and its emotive appeal for a whole generation.



East Asia 1919-45

The history of East Asia from 1919 to 1945 is dominated by two related themes: the rise of Chinese nationalism in the 1920s and the spread of Japanese imperialism after 1931. Both developments were influenced by Western imperialist presence in the region. Chinese nationalism was complicated by the diverging interests of the two major political parties, the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Rise of Chinese nationalism

The year 1919 is a watershed in Chinese history. Demonstrations against the Paris Peace Conference's granting of former German concessions in China to Japan - which the Chinese government accepted - developed into an unprecedented national movement [1]. Sensing the revolutionary mood, Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) reorganized his Nationalist Party into the disciplined KMT. With both a socialist ideology and a party-dominated army under Chiang Kai-shek [Key], the KMT received help from the Comintern and collaborated with the fledgling CCP formed in 1921. Both parties

sought to end the division of China and its exploitation by foreign powers.

These privileges were little diminished by the Washington Conference (1921-2) which achieved only partial withdrawal by Japan. Chinese dissatisfaction coalesced with labour unrest, particularly in the treaty ports, culminating in a 15-month strike and boycott of foreign trade in Hong Kong in 1925-6. Against this background, Chiang Kai-shek led a northern expedition to unite China under the National Government set up in Canton. In 1927 Chiang clashed with party leftists, especially the communist bloc within the KMT. Purging the areas under his control [3], he succeeded in reunifying the KMT at the expense of the left and the CCP, setting up his own government in Nanking and bringing Peking and much of China under his control in 1928.

By 1930 extension of Nationalist authority put Chinese nationalism and Japanese imperialism on a collision course. Japanese privileges secured in Manchuria since 1905 were threatened by China's reassertion of its sovereignty there. Not only

was Manchuria a buffer against Soviet ideology and military power, it also represented a considerable economic investment and had a million Japanese subjects.

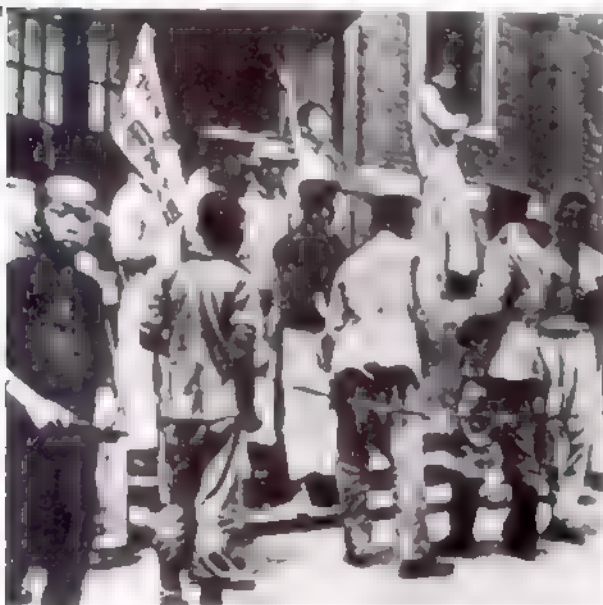
Japanese imperialist expansion

Japan of the 1920s was characterized by paternalistic capitalism with limited democracy at home and co-operation with the great powers abroad. But in the 1930s ultra-nationalism and militarism fostered ideas of an autonomous economic empire as an answer to the Depression, which had exacerbated tensions in Japanese society. As confidence in politicians waned, popular support grew for the militarists who were close to Emperor Hirohito [5]. Japanese officers in Manchuria used the Mukden Incident of 1931 [4] to create a situation that led to the establishment of a Japanese puppet state, Manchukuo, in 1932. Expansion southward in 1935-6 was designed partly to create a subservient North China to protect Japan's rear in the event of war with the USSR.

Japan's encroachment brought a temporary truce between the KMT and CCP in

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The May 4th Incident in 1919 was a demonstration by 3,000 students in Peking, protesting at the Paris Peace Conference that left Japan in control of German possessions it had seized in China. Spreading protest forced government changes and foreshadowed a new Chinese nationalism.

2 Japanese naval power grew rapidly in east Asia after 1919 despite the 1922 Naval Treaty limiting replacement of capital ships by the US, Britain and Japan to a 5:5:3 ratio. Ratios for auxiliary ships set in 1930 were: heavy cruisers 10:10:6, light cruisers and destroyers 10:10:6, submarines, parity.

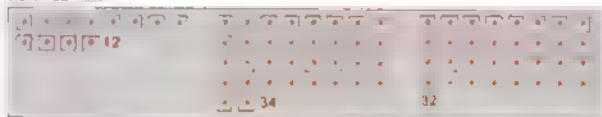
2 Battleships and cruisers



Built by Japan 1919-20



Built 1921-5



Built 1925-28



Built 1928-32



Destroyers



Submarines



3 Communists were massacred in Shanghai on 12 April 1927 when Nationalist troops, police and secret agents disarmed workers and pickets and dissolved labour unions. The

culmination of a power struggle between the left and right wings of the KMT, the purge spread elsewhere with more massacres of the Chinese left wing and communists.

4 Japanese troops marched into Manchuria after the Mukden Incident of 18 September 1931. Acting without the authority of their government, Japanese forces occupied

Mukden using the pretext of a bomb on the Japanese-run South Manchurian railway and a skirmish with Chinese patrols. The speedy occupation of Manchuria (shown here) followed.



1936. Chiang had dislodged the communists from their southern rural bases and forced them to undertake the Long March [6]. But the CCP leader, Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), urged on by Russia, now sought a united front against Japan and Chiang was forced to agree. When full-scale fighting broke out in 1937, the powerful Japanese army forced the KMT to retreat to Changking in the south west. The fall of Nanking in December [7] was followed in 1938 by the announcement of Japan's "New Order" with Japanese army rule in occupied parts of China and a puppet government in Nanking (1940).

Japan's empire in World War II

To secure access to South-East Asian raw materials and to block Western aid for Chiang, Japanese troops entered Indochina in 1940 and moved southward in 1941. America, Britain and Holland responded with a near total embargo on exports to Japan in July 1941, reducing oil supplies by 90 per cent. Japan soon put into operation its contingency plan to achieve economic self-sufficiency by force. Allied to Germany and

Italy, and envisaging the imminent collapse of Britain and China, it tried to eliminate American interference by sinking the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

By August 1942 Japan had seized a vast oceanic and continental empire [8]. It was not until early in 1944 that Allied sea power reversed these successes. While the Chinese Nationalists and communists tied down large numbers of Japanese troops in a war of attrition and Allied supply lines were restored in Burma, American amphibious offensives in the Philippines and Gilberts established bases from which air power could be brought to bear on Japan itself. In 1945, after atomic bombs had destroyed Hiroshima (6 August) and Nagasaki (9 August), Japan agreed to unconditional surrender on 2 September [9].

Japan's defeat left China divided between a Nationalistic administration gravely weakened by the war and the communists who had gained in strength. Japan was transformed under American occupation into a democratic state. In east and southeast Asia the old empires were never to recover their shattered prestige and power.

KEY

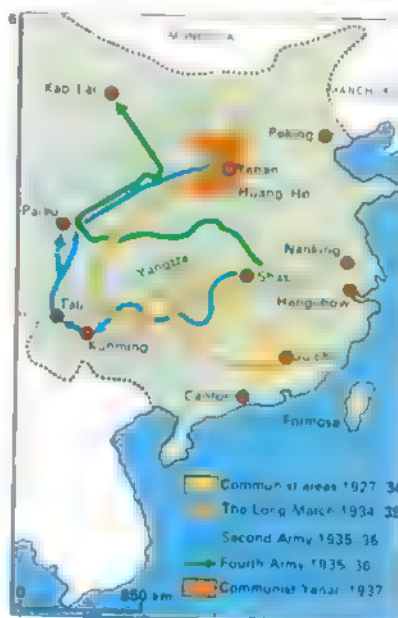


Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) was the leading military aide of Sun Yat-sen by 1919. After Sun's death in 1925 he dominated the Kuomintang and became president of a large reunited Republic of China in 1928. But his authority was contested by the Communist Party and threatened by the Japanese. Recognized by the Allies as China's wartime leader, he secured the abolition of extra-territorial rights in China in 1943 and in 1945 a seat for China in the UN Security Council. Renewed postwar conflict with the communists led to his defeat and the withdrawal of his government to Formosa (now Taiwan) in 1949.



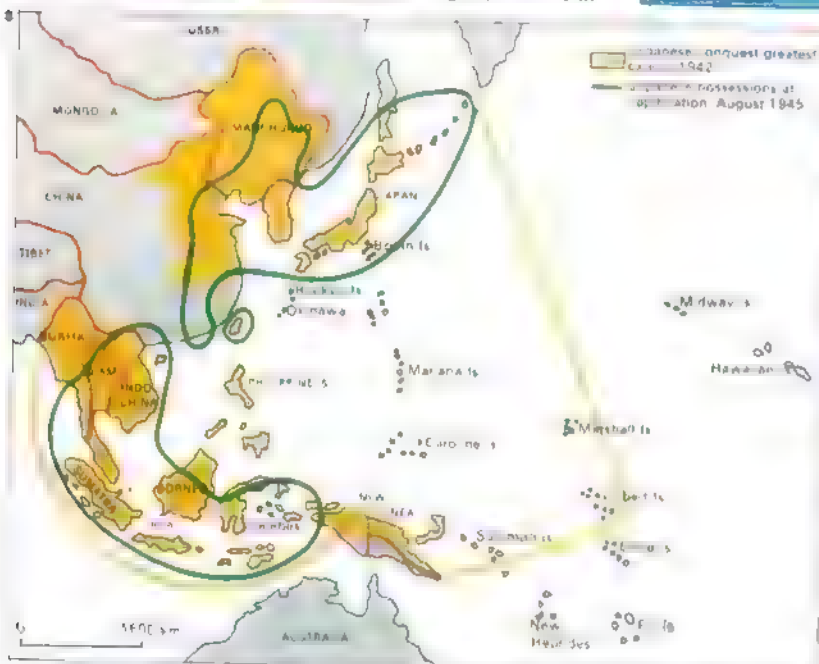
5 Emperor Hirohito (1901-) came to the Japanese throne in 1926, having been named regent in 1921. Under the Meiji constitution his position was both sacred and sovereign although there is little evidence to show the part actually played by the Emperor in Japanese policies.

6 In the Long March about 85,000 communist soldiers and 15,000 officials left Kiangsi province under pressure from Chiang Kai-shek, in 1934. A year later 30,000 survivors regrouped near Yenan after a march of 8,000 km (5,000 miles). The communist 2nd and 4th armies also had to regroup in the north.



7 The fall of Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek's capital, on 12 December 1937 was followed by the massacre of some 100,000 people by Japanese troops. Known as the "rape of Nanking", this

atrocious was revealed at the International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo. The city's fall came after three months of stubborn opposition by Chiang's army to the advance of the Japanese.



8 Japan's territorial acquisitions in World War II reflect its initial aims to conquer China before dealing with the USSR and to control the south-west Pacific. Later the military priority shifted to include invading India in preference to defend-

ing Pacific islands. Before the Allies entered the war against Japan, China traded space for time. Once deep in Chinese territory Japanese troops, although controlling most industrial areas, were surrounded by a host in the countryside.

9 Japan's surrender was signed aboard the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945 with General Douglas MacArthur representing the Allies. The Japanese decision to surrender on 14 August 1945 came from the Emperor.

Indian nationalism

In 1900 British rule in India appeared more secure and more permanent than ever. Lord Curzon's years as viceroy (1898-1905) emphasized the determination of the British to remain the governors of India. The efficiency of the administration, the maintenance of peace and order, and the spread of railways [3] and the telegraph, all seemed to confirm Britain's grip on India, while in the wider world British foreign policy was geared to the retention of the Indian empire as the second great base (after Britain itself) of British world power. Yet within fifty years that same Indian empire had been split up and the British rulers dismissed.

Growth of nationalism

Part of the reason for this reversal lay in the growth of a nationalism which drew support from Indians all over the subcontinent. This nationalism had risen from modest beginnings in the late nineteenth century with the foundation of the Indian National Congress Party and was at first approved by the British for its attempt to break through the divisions of caste, religion and region that stilled

efforts to modernize India. But before long they came to see it as a potent threat to British power and a stimulant to disorder and anarchy. Anti-British terrorism before 1914 made many officials deeply hostile to the call of nationalists for more Indian participation in government. The British believed that the Congress was the tool of ambitious and unscrupulous westernized Indians, seeking not independence and unity but self-advancement, regardless of the poor.

The first great triumph of Indian nationalism came in the years immediately following World War I when Mahatma (Gandhi) (1869-1948) [Key] emerged as a charismatic leader pioneering the technique of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the government through peaceful demonstrations and refusal to pay taxes. Gandhi was helped in showing the British that many Indians rejected their authority by the effects of India's involvement in World War I. Higher taxation, the recruitment of thousands of Indians for the army, and the use of that army to defend Britain in northern France united Indians of diverse interests in

the belief that the British were placing new and unfair burdens upon them and breaking the terms on which British rule was accepted. They turned for protection to the Congress Party. To the British, Gandhi's campaign was deeply worrying. Some of them believed a second mutiny was imminent (the first mutiny in 1857-8 had resulted from unrest amongst the sepoy[soldiers], but was suppressed by the British) and it was in a climate of panic that the notorious shooting of unarmed Indian demonstrators - the Amritsar Massacre [1], occurred in 1919.

Divisions among the Indians

For all its successes between 1918 and 1922 Indian nationalism faced enormous problems in trying to destroy British power. Once India had settled down after the war and its aftermath, non-co-operation fizzled out. Many Indians were profoundly suspicious of the politicians who ran the Congress Party. The rural landowners who wished to keep the social status quo disliked the urban and westernized Indians who dominated the nationalist movement. They feared that it

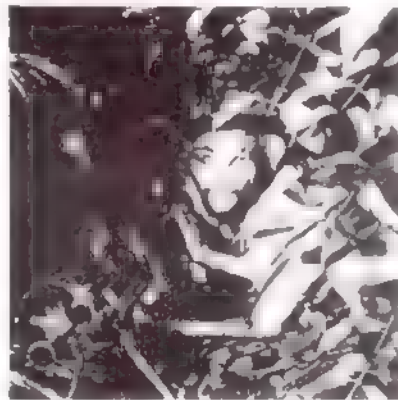
CONNECTIONS

See also

1919 Amritsar Massacre
1922 Non-co-operation
1930 Salt March
1931 Poona Pact
1939-42 Quit India



1 At Amritsar on 13 April 1919 British troops shot dead over 300 unarmed Indians during an illegal demonstration. The Indians were forced to apologize publicly after the riot because the British thought this would encourage them to be orderly and respectful. Here a Sikh is arrested.



2 By origin, Gurkha soldiers, still a distinctive element in the British army, were mountain tribesmen from Nepal who were defeated by the British in the Gurkha wars of 1814-16. They became famous for their endurance, loyalty and courage and for their kukri, a deadly broad-bladed curved knife that they carry.

3 By 1948, India had the fourth largest railway system in the world. The railways had originally been constructed to serve British purposes: to help control India's vast expenses cheaply and

efficiently and to open up the hinterland to trade. But they also helped to unify India economically and politically and thus lay the foundations for an Indian nationalism on the subcontinent.



4 Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) was the first prime minister of independent India. Educated in England, he emerged as a leading figure in the Congress Party in the 1930s and as Gandhi's heir.

5 Mohammed Jinnah (1876-1948) was the architect of Pakistan, which resulted from the partitioning of the old unified India into two states. He believed this was the only way to safeguard Muslim interests.



6 As well as the provinces which they ruled directly, the British retained ultimate power over nearly 600 autonomous princely states. The Victoria adopted the durbars traditionally in

India a gathering of vassals to do homage to their ruler, to symbolize the allegiance of the Indian princes to the British monarch. The 1911 durbar was attended by King George V in person.



such men became strong enough to throw out the British their next target would be the conservative gentry still so powerful in the countryside. And not all Indians wanted democracy and one man, one vote. Hindus living in areas where the majority was Muslim, and vice versa, were fearful that popular government would threaten their interests and maybe their lives.

This meant that the British still had an advantage. They were willing to give Indians a greater say in running their internal affairs so as to avoid trouble – and they found that delegating some power to some Indians was a convenient method of preventing all Indians from combining against them. They hoped by this to keep India united in a federation which in international matters would still be tightly bound to Britain, and they wanted to go on using the Indian army.

These clever calculations were swept away by two “accidents”. The first was the outbreak of World War II – once again involving India – which aroused more resentment among Indians than World War I. Meanwhile British prestige was undermined

by humiliating defeats by the Japanese. The second “accident” was the resolve of the leaders of the large Muslim communities of north India to insist upon the creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim state.

Independence

Thus India gained independence in a way quite unintended by the British. The division of the subcontinent wrecked the delicate mechanisms of federalism through which they had planned to influence India in her international role as a pillar of the Empire Commonwealth. Deprived of Indian help the British Empire east of Suez withered away in less than 20 years. In India itself independence left vast problems unsolved: the overpopulation of the countryside, the failure to increase food production sufficiently, the desperate poverty of village and city alike. The British had lacked the means and the nerve to modernize Indian society properly. The victory won by Indian nationalism in 1947 was, therefore, beginning the building of a modern nation state lay ahead.

KEY



Gandhi adopted the symbol of the spinning wheel in 1920. He believed that

India should make her own cloth, thus threatening British textile exports to

India and giving Indians the self-confidence necessary for independence.



7 The Indian Army was an enormous asset for the British in the defence of their vast empire. In World War I, Indian troops fought on the Western Front; while in the period 1939–45 they were

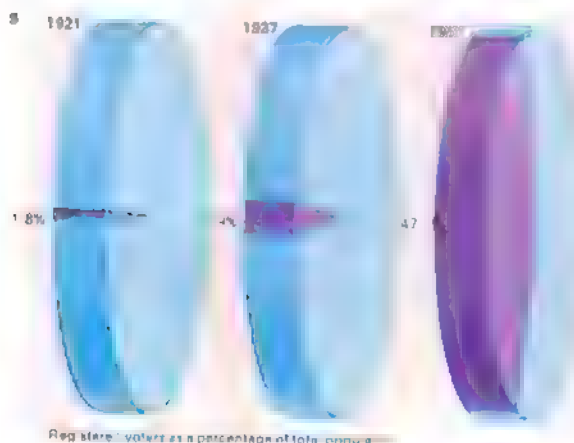
used in Burma, the Middle East, the Mediterranean and North and East Africa. The loss of these troops after independence in 1947 placed a great strain on Britain's own military resources.

8 Lord Louis Mountbatten, 1900–1979, was the last Indian Viceroy. His political gifts, much needed in the transition of India and Pakistan to independence, had been shown in SE Asia in World War I.

9 Political democracy in India was extended in the reforms of 1919 and 1935 when the British gave the Indians the right to participate in government. Universal suffrage was achieved in 1947.

10 As independence drew nearer, the tensions between different communities in India became acute. The most serious were those between Hindus and Muslims, especially in areas where their numbers

were almost equal and the proposed partition caused great bitterness. The aftermath of bitter riots in Calcutta in 1946, when at least 4,000 people died in the communal fighting, is illustrated here.



British foreign policy since 1914

Britain's aim in World War I (1914-18) - to prevent the domination of Europe by any single power - was achieved by the peace treaties imposed in 1919 on Germany and its allies. But then the Allied coalition that won the war dissolved: the United States withdrew into isolation, Russia, under communist control, campaigned against the West, and France disagreed with Britain on the treatment of Germany [1]. Between 1925 and 1930 British governments welcomed a short-lived reconciliation between France and Germany, helped by the flow of American money into Europe. But by 1931 the world was hit by a grave economic crisis.

The age of appeasement

The economic slump propelled Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), leader of the National Socialists, into power in Germany in 1933 and ended the liberal regime in Japan. This provided Britain with two major foreign-policy problems in the 1930s: the satisfaction of German pressure for revision of the Treaty of Versailles 1919, especially its reparation and disarmament clauses, and the expansion

of Japanese militarists into Manchuria, which they annexed in all but name in 1931-2, and into China proper in 1933-7.

Britain was handicapped in dealing with these problems by three factors. First its economic weakness, expressed in long-term unemployment; second, a public opinion stunned by the losses in World War I and nervous about rearmament; finally the sheer inability of Britain and France, with no help from isolationist America, to control Germany and Japan, as well as a restless Italy under Benito Mussolini (1883-1945).

A confrontation became unavoidable after the Munich Agreement in September 1938 [5]. Britain and France thereby agreed to German occupation of the Sudetenland which was Czech territory accepting that this was Hitler's "final" demand, but on 15 March 1939 German forces cynically abrogated the agreement by taking over the rest of Czechoslovakia. Almost the only benefit derived by Britain from this short-sighted policy of appeasement was time to build up its pitifully weak defences. When Hitler confidently invaded Poland on 1 September

1939, the British government finally honoured their treaty obligations and declared war on Germany two days later.

Policy during World War II

After the collapse of France in June 1940 Britain faced Hitler's Europe alone. The military situation was transformed when Germany invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 and when the United States entered the war after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. But the diplomatic situation was complicated. The United States' President, Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945) agreed with the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill (1874-1965) on general war aims in the Atlantic Charter signed in August 1941, but had no interest in preserving the British Empire. At the Yalta conference (4-11 February 1945) the two met Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) and Roosevelt seemed to side with Stalin on imperial questions against the British.

Churchill, an old opponent of communism, willingly accepted Stalin's territorial claims in eastern Europe, but he was worried

CONNECTIONS



3 Winston Churchill was a backbench MP during the 1930s, and an outspoken critic of the National Government's policy of appeasement towards Germany. Public opinion favoured a vague pacifism in

the face of German rearmament and growing Italian and German aggression. Such was the desire for, if not faith in, peace, that British rearmament did not seriously begin until after 1938.

1 On 11 January 1923 French and Belgian forces, despite British protests, occupied the German industrial Ruhr (until August 1925) as a penalty for alleged non-payment by Germany of coal reparations in the aftermath of World War I. Britain and France disagreed over the treatment of Germany. Britain, in tent upon economic recovery, wanted Germany leniently treated. France demanded strict enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles.



2 At the League of Nations, Geneva, in March 1925, Britain rejected a major attempt to enforce the peaceful settlement of international disputes in refusing to sign the Geneva Protocol. France sought to strengthen the League's powers of collective action against aggression by providing for compulsory arbitration of disputes. But Britain was wary of the protocol's absolute commitment to armed intervention.

5 The Munich Agreement of 29 September 1938 typified Britain's policy of appeasement. Britain, France and Italy agreed that the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia should be ceded to Germany. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), shown here on his return from Munich, made an agreement with Hitler to consult on any future Anglo-German questions. A year later Britain and Germany were at war.

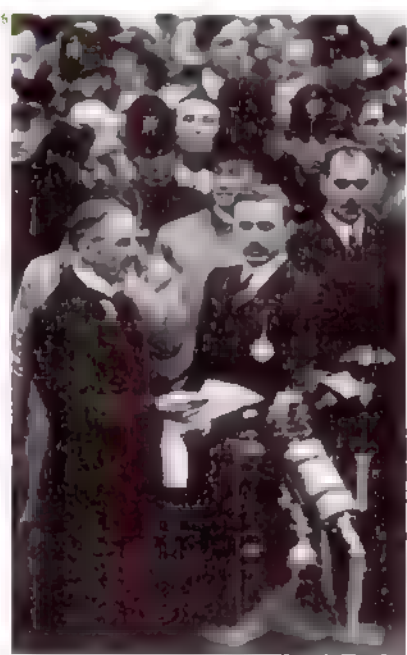
ster Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), shown here on his return from Munich, made an agreement with Hitler to consult on any future Anglo-German questions. A year later Britain and Germany were at war.



4 The Spanish Civil War was fought between the Nationalist rebels on the one hand, helped by Hitler and Mussolini, and the Spanish Republican Government on the other, from 1936 to 1939. The war seems to have presaged the later conflict waged

between Fascism and democracy in World War II. But in 1936 the British Government was chief sponsor of an international agreement for non-intervention which was signed by all the major powers. This was adhered to by all countries except

Italy, Germany and the Soviet Union - the last named sent some aid to the Republican forces. Public opinion in Britain was divided: some illegally went to Spain to fight, mostly for the Republicans, whose British International Brigade numbered about 2,000 men.



how far into western Europe Soviet influence would penetrate and whether the United States would help to resist it

Loss of world power

Britain's Labour government of 1945-51 hoped fervently for co-operation between the Soviet Union and the West after the war. But when the East-West cold war developed with disagreements about the revival of Germany and about Soviet communization of Eastern Europe, Labour ministers took Britain first into the Brussels collective defence pact of March 1948 with France and the Benelux states - Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg - and then into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) signed on 4 April 1949, with Canada, the United States and nine other states of Western Europe. At the same time, Britain received economic assistance from the United States through a £1000 million loan in December 1945 and then through the Marshall Aid programme of 1948-52.

Britain strove continuously to moderate East-West tensions, by urging restraint on

the United States during the cold war, but its credibility was undermined by recurrent balance-of-payments difficulties and later by severe unemployment and inflation. These called into question the basic assumption of British policy after 1945 that Britain remained a world power, not with the strength of the United States or the Soviet Union, but still with an assured presence at conference "top tables".

In January 1968 the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson (1916-), decided to terminate the East-of-Suez role by December 1971, i.e. the maintenance of British forces in the Persian Gulf and at Singapore. The effect of this was to reduce Britain to the level of an essentially European and Mediterranean power.

The change in Britain's international position was symbolized in January 1973 by its entry into the European Economic Community. By that time Britain's empire, which once embraced a quarter of the world's population, had been gradually transformed into a loosely knit Commonwealth of politically independent states.



Anti-British feeling in Cyprus (1955-60), typified the strains of decolonization in areas where Britain's handover of power

after World War II was complicated by divisions in the local community. In other colonies the transition to inde-

pendence was often peaceful. But areas of violence included mandated Palestine, India, Kenya, Malaya and Aden.

6 British troops were sent to Korea in 1950 as part of a United Nations force to repel a North Korean communist invasion of South Korea. The UN force had been formed despite the opposition of the Soviet Union which supported North Korea's claims to South Korea. At that time the cold war had reached its height and the UN was deeply divided by the East-West tensions that had emerged since 1945.



7 The nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956 by the Egyptian Government was part of a policy that aimed to unite the Arab world and end foreign control. Britain and France tried to inter-

nationalize the Canal and when this failed they attempted to seize the Canal by armed force. The troops seen here were landed in November, but as a result of US pressure a ceasefire took place.

within two days. The incident was a major blow to the international prestige of Britain and France. Anthony Eden (1897-1977), the British prime minister, who had pressed for the use of force, resigned in the following January.



9 Ian Smith (1919-) Prime Minister of Rhodesia, unilaterally declared independence from Britain on 11 November 1965 after rejecting British terms for granting independence. Smith shown here following

discussions with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson in October 1965, wanted to maintain white supremacy in Rhodesia although the white population was outnumbered 22 to 1 by black Africans.



8 The Anglo-American "special relationship" was a principal feature of British foreign policy after 1945. Two of its chief exponents were Harold Macmillan (1894-) (left) British Prime Minister (1957-63) and John F. Kennedy

(1917-63) (right) US President (1961-63). Here they are shown after talks in Washington in 1961 that were aimed at controlling the spread of the H-bomb and increasing unity among the countries of the Western alliance.



10 The leaders of France and Britain Georges Pompidou (1911-74), (right) and Edward Heath (1916-) (left) cleared the way for Britain to enter the EEC in January 1973. When the Community was first formed in 1957 Britain refused to

join, fearing the EEC's supranational powers. Two subsequent applications for membership, in 1961 and 1967, were both blocked by Pompidou's predecessor President De Gaulle. Final talks had begun after De Gaulle's resignation, in 1969.

Nkrumah [5], who became prime minister in 1952, refused to recognize any impediment to the early transfer of power, advocated positive action to cripple the forces of imperialism and popularized the slogan 'self government now'. When the Gold Coast gained its independence British Togoland joined it to form the new nation of Ghana. In 1960 Ghana became a republic with Nkrumah as president. The 'wind of change' speech by the British prime minister Harold Macmillan (1894-1971) in 1960 reflected the new attitude of the British Government towards Africa.

The newly independent countries chose to remain in the Commonwealth, despite the fact that they lacked the ethnic and common historical origins of the older members. They believed that their participation in the Commonwealth would bring them economic and diplomatic benefits and enhance their international influence. But they did not feel the special attachment to the monarchy that the older members had felt. And in 1949 India was the first state allowed to retain its membership as a republic while accepting the

British monarch merely as the symbol of the free association of the members.

All members participate in the Commonwealth system of consultation and co-operation that covers a multitude of activities at governmental level. Periodically the heads of government meet [8] in conferences.

Expansion and the loosening of old bonds

Nevertheless, the old bonds of Commonwealth are not as strong as they used to be, and much of the informal intimacy of earlier years has been lost as the association has expanded. Disillusionment with the Commonwealth was apparent among many members in the 1960s and 1970s - notably in Britain. The modern Commonwealth however, continues to function as a flexible system of co-operation between states enabling its member countries to confer with one another in an unusually frank, friendly and relaxed manner. As an association it represents the fulfilment both of the nationalist aspirations of colonial peoples and of a policy of constitutional evolution pursued by the imperial power.

KEY



George V was called 'King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, and Emperor of India'. His title illustrated the special position of his authority and also emphasized India's special position in the British Empire.

ions beyond the Seas, and Emperor of India". His title illustrated the special position of his authority and also emphasized India's special position in the British Empire.

4 The character of colonial government varied in detail from one territory to another, but each was expected to follow much the same series of stages on the way to independence. And the advance through

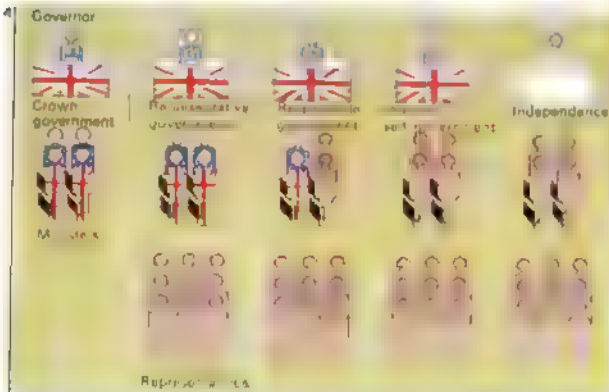
responsible government to dominion status by the old European colonies of settlement became the model. But in the final period of decolonization, the stages were not always as clearly defined as earlier.

5 By campaigning strongly for 'self government now' in the Gold Coast, Nkrumah 1909-72, helped destroy the concept of gradual transference of power in the rest of African colonies.



6 Conflict broke this out against the idea of self government. National unity could be

endangered and often parliamentary democracy was replaced by one-party rule and an autocratic president.



7 Until colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere became independent after

World War II, the Commonwealth 'family' here assembled in 1926 - was a small

intimate group, all subscribing to British traditions and acknowledging one Crown.



8 As membership of the Commonwealth grew, the informality of heads of government meetings became more difficult to maintain.

But the members still felt that the meetings were valuable for the discussion of problems and improvement of mutual understanding.

When other capitals (here Singapore in 1971) began to offer to be host, this further emphasized that the majority

Commonwealth was no longer 'British' but a unique, worldwide association representing many races, creeds, and cultures.

The rise of fascism

Fascism developed in the years between World Wars I and II to become a major ideological and political force in many European countries, most notably in Italy and Germany. Expressed as an intense nationalism, often with strong social and collectivist overtones, it had the support of many different groups of people in countries that were suffering from, or seemed threatened by, a total breakdown of both their economy and their society.

Fascist ideology

Although fascism shared many characteristics with reactionary nationalism and more conservative, authoritarian regimes, it had distinctive characteristics of its own. These were derived from its rejection of nineteenth-century individualistic liberalism.

Fascist ideology embraced many thinkers, often distorting and misapplying their ideas. Indeed, fascism was never to formulate a clear ideology in the same way as Marxism but remained open to a number of different interpretations, in which the component elements received varying emphasis. Among the

most important contributors to fascist ideas were Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), who stressed the need for dynamic ‘supermen’; Henri Bergson (1859–1941), who stressed instinct above reason; and Georges Sorel (1847–1922), who emphasized the moral value of action.

Italian fascism and Mussolini

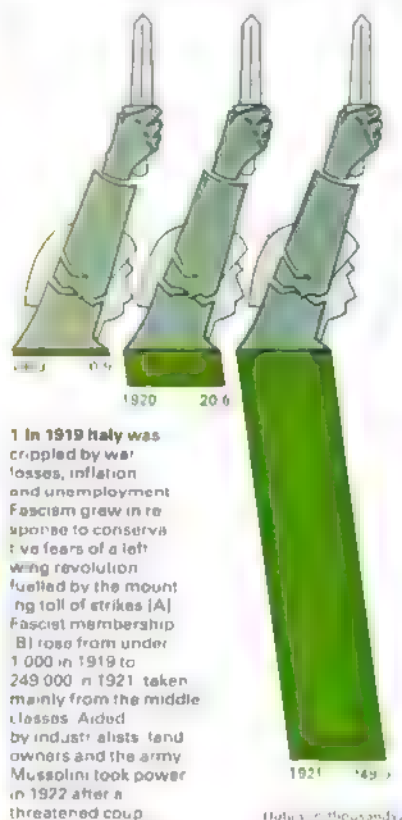
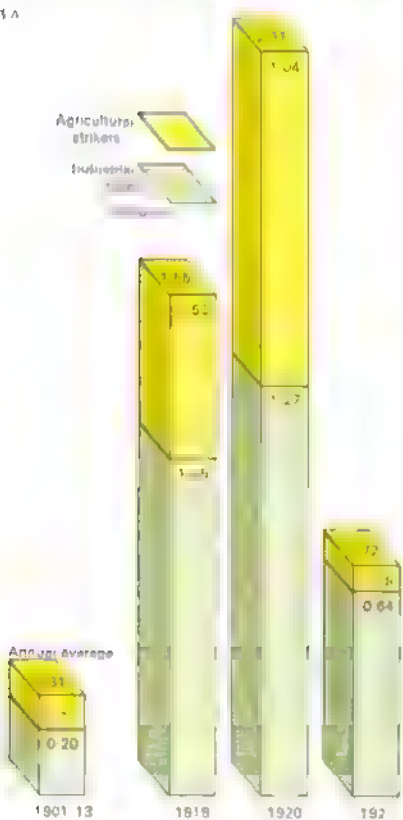
Italy emerged from World War I disappointed and frustrated by her war losses and the failure of the Versailles settlement to fulfil the treaty promises that had induced her to enter the war. Unemployment, strikes and violence [1] provided the background to the breakdown of parliamentary government. Right-wing groups, such as that led by Gabriele d’Annunzio (1863–1938), seized the port of Fiume on the Adriatic coast in 1919 in defiance of the Versailles settlement. In city and countryside riots, estate seizures by the peasants and countless sit-in strikes created a menacing and unpredictable revolutionary atmosphere.

In this situation Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) [Key], an ex-socialist school

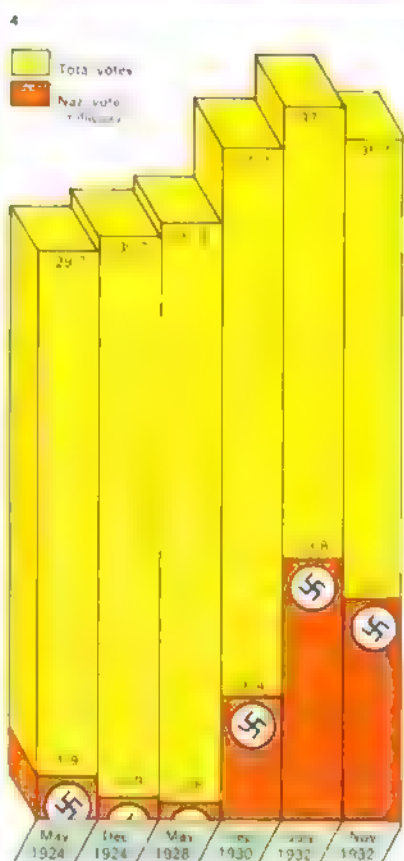
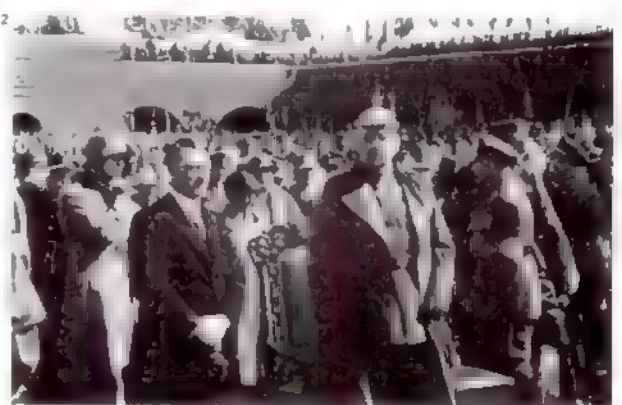
teacher, organized anti-socialist *fascios* to combat left-wing groups by strong-arm methods. He received support from diverse conservative elements and by 1921 there were more than 800 branches of his ‘black shirts’, the *Fasci di combattimento*. Taking advantage of the disorganization of left-wing forces, he organized a ‘March on Rome’ which ended with his installation as prime minister in October 1922.

Mussolini concentrated on liquidating and terrorizing opponents, establishing the Fascist Party in power and building up his personal position. Press, courts and unions were brought under his control and he established a concordat with the Roman Catholic Church. He inaugurated public works, such as the draining of the Pontine marshes, and mounted a drive for self-sufficiency for Italy. Increasing state intervention marked Mussolini’s economic policy after 1925 as he tried to create a ‘corporate state’ in which industrialists and workers co-operated for the good of the nation. Combined with his expansionist foreign policy demonstrated both in the Abyssinian War and also his

CONNECTIONS



1 In 1919 Italy was crippled by war losses, inflation and unemployment. Fascism grew in response to conservative fears of a left-wing revolution fuelled by the mounting toll of strikes [A]. Fascist membership [B] rose from under 1 000 in 1919 to 249 000 in 1921 taken mainly from the middle classes. Aided by industrialists and army officers, Mussolini took power in 1922 after a threatened coup.



2 Field-Marshal Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) a national hero of World War I was President of the Weimar Republic from 1925. Under nationalist pressure he made Hitler Chancellor in 1933.

4 The fluctuation in votes for the Nazis reflected the economic fortunes of the Weimar Republic. In May 1924 the Nazis gained 1.9 million votes and 32 seats in the Reichstag. With the recovery of the Weimar Republic from its postwar difficulties and the inflation of 1923, the Nazi vote declined to its lowest point in 1928 when they held only 12 seats in the Reichstag. Under the impact of a renewed depression after 1929 and with the rise in unemployment and the polarization of the middle classes, the Nazi vote rose rapidly. By 1932 the Nazis were the largest party with 13.8 million votes. Although they lost votes, Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933.



3 The Nazis based much of their propaganda upon virulent anti-Semitism. In which the Jews were used as scapegoats for Germany’s economic difficulties. The Nazis conducted boycotts of Jewish shops, attacked synagogues and assaulted individuals but were unable to adopt formal measures until Hitler’s accession to power in 1933. Anti-Jewish laws promoted emigration and denied civil rights. Many Jews had left Germany or were in camps by 1939.

involvement in aiding Francisco Franco (1892-1975) in Spain. Mussolini's policies not only antagonized other European nations but also exhausted Italian resources.

Hitler and German fascism

In Germany the Nazis (National Socialist Party) were founded in the disillusionment and economic chaos in the years following World War I. Joined by Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) [Key] in 1919, who expanded and transformed it, the party gained some seats in the Reichstag [4]. In 1923 Hitler tried, unsuccessfully, to overthrow the Bavarian government in a *putsch* in Munich, for which he was imprisoned.

Votes for the Nazi Party declined as the Weimar Republic recovered in the middle and late 1920s but the onset of the worst phase of the Depression after 1929 swelled party ranks with the young, the unemployed and frightened middle-class and conservative elements. For Hitler and some of his followers, anti-Semitism [3] formed an important part of the programme, the Jews being cast as scapegoats for Germany's misfortunes

and as intruders in a purely Aryan Germany.

Support for the Nazis, however, seemed to have reached its peak towards the end of 1932 and the party was running into financial difficulties as funds from major industrialists dried up. In January 1933 Hitler was put into office through a coalition with the right-wing Nationalist Party, who hoped to control him. After the Reichstag fire [6], Hitler was able to assume dictatorial power. The rule of terror through the Gestapo gave the regime a more vicious character than Mussolini's in Italy. Like Mussolini's fascism, however, Nazism also offered an aggressive foreign policy and a solution to unemployment through public works and rearmament [5].

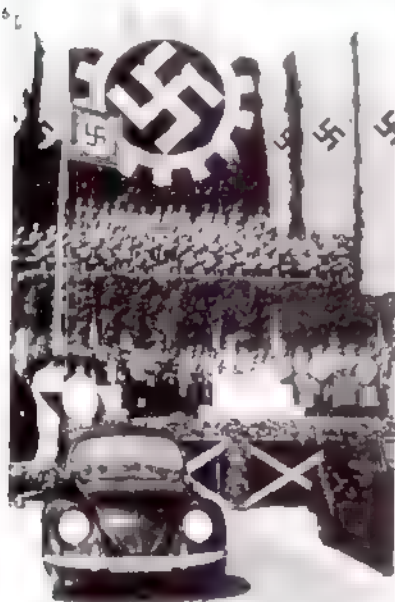
Fascist parties grew up in many other countries. In Spain [7], the Falange provided support for Franco, while in Eastern Europe the Romanian "Iron Guard" and the regime of Admiral Horthy in Hungary had strong fascist elements. In Western Europe the blackshirts of Oswald Mosley (1896-) in Britain and the *Croix de Feu* in France [8] appeared, temporarily, to threaten the overthrow of democratic government.



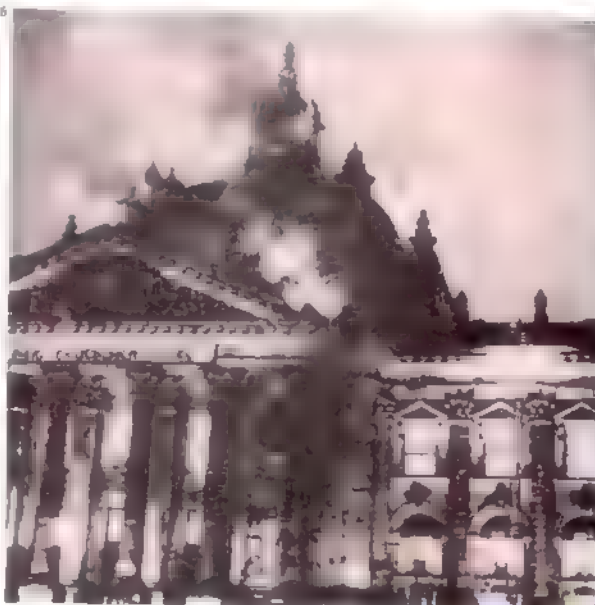
By 1934 Italy and Germany were ruled by fascist dictators. Mussolini (right),

assumed power much earlier than Hitler (left) but the latter dominated

international politics in the 1930s. The Rome-Berlin Axis was formed in 1936.



5 Hitler aimed to satisfy public opinion by cutting unemployment and creating a prosperous Germany. Public works, such as the building of the autobahn network, then the most extensive in the world, provided an advertisement for the regime in reply to the criticism of its domestic and foreign critics and also served the purposes of the military. To increase vehicle building capacity, while also providing a cheap automobile for the population, the 'people's car' or Volkswagen was launched in 1938. By the late 1930s, however, living standards had begun to stagnate as arms expenditure rose.



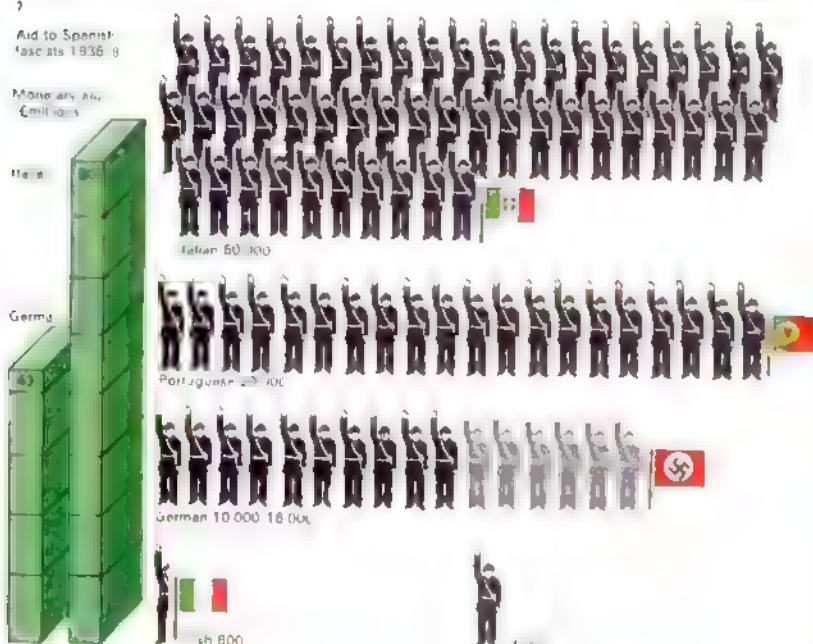
6 Hitler's rise to power was only half completed with his accession to the chancellorship. He awaited the opportunity to introduce emergency laws to strengthen his position and this was offered when a young Dutchman, Marinus van der Lubbe, set fire to the Reichstag on 27 February 1933. The Nazis were suspected of starting the fire, but it appears they merely took advantage of it to promulgate emergency decrees, banning rival political organizations, imprisoning opponents and vesting power in Hitler and the Nazi Party. Although the Nazis failed to achieve a majority, they were supported by the Nationalists.

7 Aid to Spanish fascists 1936-9

Millions

Italy

Germany



7 By 1936 both Italy and Germany were expanding their influence in international politics. The outbreak of civil war in Spain provided diplomatic and military advantages for both countries. Mussolini hoped to gain military bases in the western Mediterranean. By 1937 Italian war production was beginning to show signs of strain. Hitler hoped to sow dissension between Britain and France while binding Italy close to him. He used Spain as a training ground for his air force, including the Condor Legion, a force of 6,500 men consisting mainly of air force units but with a few supporting ground units. From 1937 Spain became more of a show



8 Political instability in France promoted anti-Semitism

particularly in magazines such as *Le Cahier Jaune*.

Britain 1930-45

Between 1930 and 1945 Britain experienced the deepest economic depression in its history, and the massive mobilization of resources required for total war. In 1929, when a Labour government was elected under Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937) Britain was already suffering from depression in its staple heavy industries: coal mining, iron and steel, textiles and shipbuilding.

Consequences of the Depression

The Labour government was pledged to tackle the problem of unemployment, which stood at more than one million insured workers [4]. No sooner was the government formed, however, than the Wall Street crash plunged the major western industrial economies into deeper depression. By 1931 the government was faced with more than two-and-a-half million unemployed and a heavy drain on its resources to meet the cost of unemployment benefits. The Labour government had little to offer as a solution to the economic depression. Radical voices such as that of Oswald Mosley (1896-), a junior member of the Labour government

and Lloyd George (1863-1945), leader of the Liberals, offered solutions along the lines later advocated by John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), but were ignored in the pursuit of orthodox economic policy. This dictated that the government should curtail its expenditure and raise business confidence in the hope that normal trading conditions would begin to reduce unemployment. The recommended cuts in expenditure included a reduction in unemployment benefit.

In 1931, the Labour cabinet was deeply divided over implementing the cuts. The government was forced to resign over the issue, but MacDonald and a group of Labour MPs joined with the Conservatives and Liberals to form a coalition, the National Government. A general election was then called which led to a resounding victory for the new administration [1].

The National Government introduced cuts in government expenditure, especially in unemployment benefit and the pay of state employees such as teachers and civil servants. Gradually the coalition was converted into a Conservative administration which triumphed

phed at the general election of 1935.

In spite of the absence of major economic initiatives from governments in office after 1931, the economic situation began to improve from 1933 onwards. Unemployment reached a peak of almost three million in the winter of 1932-3 and remained at more than a million until the outbreak of war in 1939, but it was falling from 1933-4. Revival was concentrated in a range of new industries such as electricity supply, motor vehicles [2], consumer durables and chemicals. These industries brought increased employment to the southeast and the Midlands, while the older industries of the 'distressed' areas remained depressed and only slowly began to recover.

Political unrest and social change

The rise in prosperity in some areas helps to explain the failure of the extremist parties to obtain greater support before the war. Oswald Mosley [8] formed the British Union of Fascists in 1932, after leaving the Labour Party and adopted the style of continental fascist parties. The party espoused radical

CONNECTIONS

See also

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1 Unemployment was the major issue of the early 1930s. In October 1931 the National government formed the previous August, sought a mandate from the electorate for its economic policies designed to deal with the Depression. Under Ramsay MacDonald, the ex-Labour premier, the National government campaigned for a restoration of business confidence and reduced unemployment. In a mood of deep national crisis the electorate swung heavily towards the National candidates. Only 46 Labour MPs were returned compared with 554 National government MPs. Every Labour ex-cabinet minister lost his seat, except George Lansbury (1859-1940).



2 Mass production methods, pioneered in the United States, were adopted in Britain during the interwar years. They brought the first cheap motor vehicles within the reach of the middle classes. By 1939 there were nearly two million motor vehicles in Britain and the 'motoring revolution' had begun. Car production for the home market increased each year up to the war, with the exception of 1932.

4 The thirties witnessed a rapid growth in commercial air transport and routes were set up across the world. Imperial Airways, a government subsidized amalgamation of several privately owned companies, was established in 1924. One of its main aims was to routes through out the empire. Airmail was as important as passenger services; by 1938 Imperial Airways carried all first class mail to the empire.



3 The communist-led National Unemployed Workers' Movement organized several "hunger" marches on London in the thirties to protest about the plight of the unemployed. The marches however, had little effect on government policy.



5 Private house building expanded greatly in the 1930s and was a principal factor in the economic recovery during the last half of the decade. Despite government cuts in building programmes, private investment in housing boomed, especially in the thriving regions of the Midlands and the south east. Nearly three million houses were built between 1930 and 1939. This expansion in building led to a boom in other industries such as electrical and household goods.

economic ideas but earned a reputation for violence and anti-semitism that cut it off from mass support.

The thirties witnessed the rise of new social patterns, with an enormous growth of suburban living, a housing boom [5], slum clearance, and ameliorative social legislation. Opportunities for leisure activities such as the cinema [6] and dance halls, expanded and provided cheap entertainment. Another influential and inexpensive source of entertainment was the radio. The BBC broadcast hours of popular music daily and did much to enhance the reputations of some of the great dance bands of the 1930s. The rise of the football pools, with their lure of instant wealth, was another social phenomenon of the times.

There was a profound distrust and loathing of war in the thirties. Peace movements flourished and the governments of Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) pursued a policy of appeasing the dictators. But rising international tension led to gradual rearmament from the mid 1930s, helping to revive the economy.

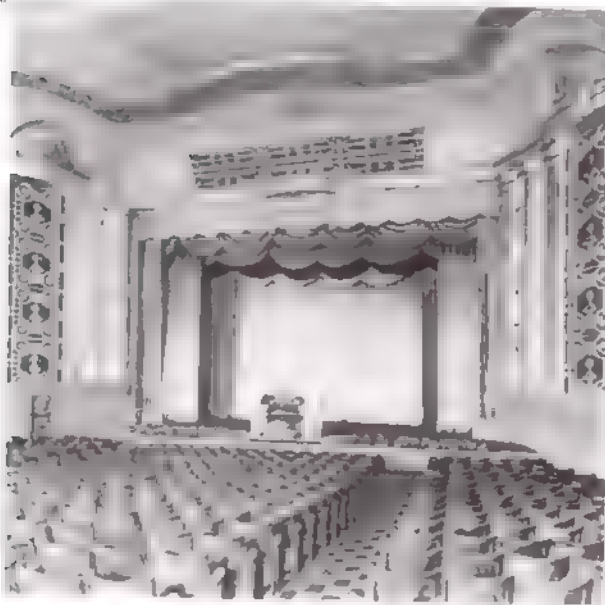
The experiences of the Depression and thirties followed by total war helped to create a new mood in Britain. The Beveridge Report of 1942 advocated a high level of employment and the creation of a welfare state. Even before the end of the war, the Butler Education Act of 1944 made free secondary education available to all.

Postwar optimism

World War II witnessed an acceleration of many of the trends evident in British politics and society before 1939. The war further stimulated new industries as well as reviving the old ones, and led to widespread recognition of social problems such as poverty and unemployment. Widespread and vigorous debate about the nature of postwar British society paved the way for a Labour victory at the 1945 general election. The Labour government inherited considerable goodwill from the electorate. Demobilization caused far less resentment than it had in 1918 [10] and Labour's programme seemed to meet the demand for new policies and an avoidance of mass unemployment.



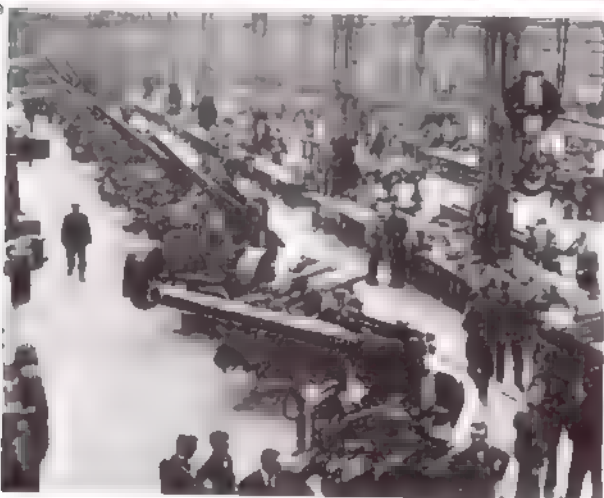
Edward VIII (1894-1972) came to the throne on 20 January 1936 with considerable popular support accumulated during his years as Prince of Wales. Public interest in his life showed the wide spread devotion to the monarchy even during the worst years of the Depression. But the king's continuing relationship with an American divorcee, Mrs Wallis Simpson (1896-), precipitated a constitutional crisis following her second divorce. In October 1936 the king wanted to marry her, but the prime minister, Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947) advised that she was unacceptable as a Queen. In spite of considerable popular support for Edward, he abdicated in December.



6 The cinema was one of the most important forms of cheap mass entertainment in the 1930s. By 1939 there were 5,000 cinemas in Britain and more than 20 million cinema tickets were sold each week.



7 Rising living standards for those in work as well as a more widespread introduction of paid holidays contributed to a growth in holiday making. The first holiday camps were opened in 1937.



9 Britain was slow to rearm in the thirties. Limited rearmament was undertaken from 1934, mainly in the air force and navy, although German expansion

on arms was sometimes exaggerated. The government delayed thoroughgoing rearmament until after 1938 on the assumption that

public opinion, as manifested in the Peace Ballot (a household-to-household poll) and by-election results, would not stand for sterner measures.



8 Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists held many demonstrations and marches in the years before the war. Their use of uniforms and violent methods aroused widespread hostility and more particularly their anti-semitism. In 1936 the Public Order Act was passed for bidding the use of uniforms and strengthening police powers against political demonstrations and mass meetings.

10 The immense war effort in Britain put eight million people into uniform. In World War II over 300,000 members of the armed forces and on the home front about 60,000 civilians lost their lives in the conflict. In contrast with 1919 demobilization went relatively smoothly although in the Far and Middle East British troops often became involved in local police-keeping and occupation duties, such as in Cyprus, that continued for some time after 1945.



Causes of World War II

The inter-war years in Europe saw the rise of fascist dictators [Key] in Italy and Germany. Their nationalistic and expansionist policies increasingly undermined the credibility of diplomatic negotiation.

The rise of the dictators

World War I had left a bitter legacy in the crippling reparations and arbitrary divisions of territory that were features of the Treaty of Versailles (1919). Its effects were influential in the rise to power of Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) and Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). Italy had suffered losses in World War I and disappointments in the peace settlement at Versailles, and Mussolini owed a large part of his support to a policy of militant nationalism which was bound to create tensions in the postwar world [6]. Hitler also gained support from a policy of extreme nationalism that was determined to reverse the penal aspects of the Versailles Treaty and unify the German-speaking peoples in eastern Europe territorially [4].

The isolationism of the United States meant that the major initiative for peace lay

with France and Britain as the two strongest European powers. Both nations were fearful of renewed war. They felt that war in 1914 had arisen out of the diplomatic system's inability to cope with international crises, so they believed that they must negotiate with the dictators.

During the 1920s faith was placed in the League of Nations and the pursuit of policies of disarmament, policies that foundered on mutual distrust among the great European powers. By the early 1930s it was increasingly clear that the League of Nations was unlikely to act as a guarantor of peace. Japan's invasion of Manchuria and then more seriously, the Abyssinian crisis (1935-6) and the Spanish Civil War (1936-9) were patent indications that the League was incapable of restricting international aggression by powerful states.

A policy of appeasement

For much of the 1930s, statesmen in both France and Britain believed that Hitler's policies were designed solely to satisfy Germany's legitimate demands for revision of the

Versailles settlement. In spite of Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936 [2] and virtual control of Austria [1], Britain in particular maintained the hope that war could be averted by concession. The efforts of both Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947) and Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) to negotiate with Hitler were supported in large part by a populace afraid of another war and resentful of expenditure on armaments in a period of economic depression. Left-wing forces in Britain were convinced that policies of disarmament must be pursued to lessen the risk of war. Chamberlain was operating from a position of weakness when Hitler was busy rearming [3]. France was also beset by weakness, internal political divisions prevented a firm foreign policy and the country's losses in World War I inclined it to follow a defensive policy, enshrined in the construction of the Maginot Line.

Although Hitler's long-term aims cannot be determined with certainty, he exploited the confusion and weakness of the Western European powers to reverse the Versailles Treaty and further his plans for conquest in

CONNECTIONS

See also

- World War I
- League of Nations
- Disarmament
- Appeasement
- Rearmament
- Maginot Line
- The division of Europe
- 1914-1945

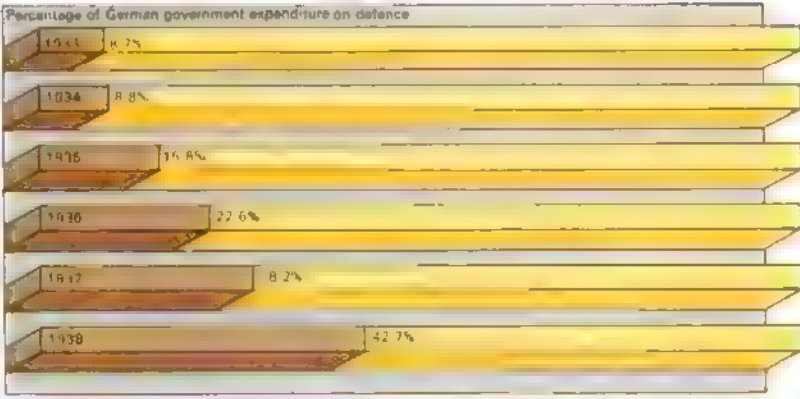


1 Chancellor Dollfus of Austria was murdered in 1934 on Hitler's orders as the first stage of Germany's Austrian annexation. Virtual control was achieved in 1935; the take over came in 1938.



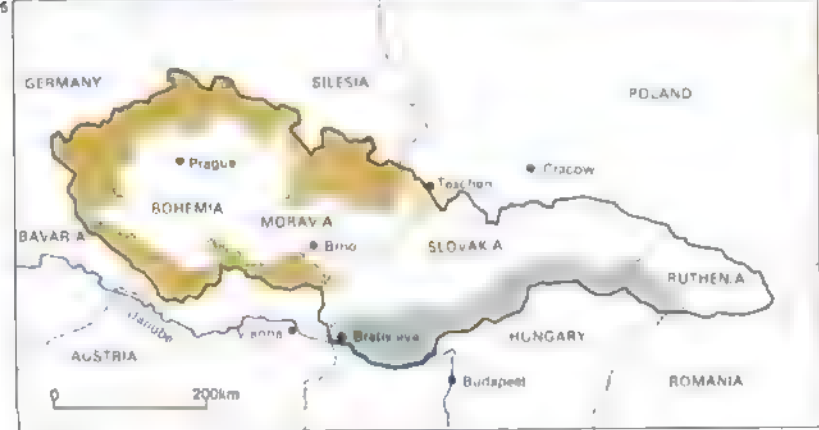
2 The Versailles Treaty had excluded German forces from the Rhineland. In March 1936 German troops reoccupied it in defiance of France and Britain; neither was prepared to risk war to prevent this.

3 Expenditure on defence increased five-fold for Hitler's Germany between 1933 and 1938. Spending reached a peak in the latter stages of World War I. Germany started rearming immediately after Hitler came to power, but this drive became dominant only after 1936. Then the adoption of a four-year plan for rearmament directed more of the German economy to war than was the case in any other European country.



4 Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was written while he was in prison following his abortive 'Beer Hall' revolt in 1923. It contained a demand for *lebensraum* (living space) for the German peoples in the east. Expansion into eastern Europe and the USSR had long been a part of right-wing

German thinking and Hitler adopted it as a major feature of his political policy. Its true place in his plans is much debated, but his conquests in eastern Europe by diplomacy and ultimately by war, backed by propaganda like this poster, fulfilled his professed policy.



the east at a later date. The reoccupation of the Rhineland was followed by the Austrian *Anschluss* and demands for the cession of the German-speaking Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia [5]. After threatening war, Hitler was placated by an agreement in 1938 that virtually dismembered Czechoslovakia in return for promises not to occupy the non-German-speaking areas of the country. Chamberlain's surrender was hailed as a triumph that had avoided war. But the occupation of Prague in March 1939 broke the illusion upon which appeasement had been based - that Hitler's demands were limited and had been satisfied.

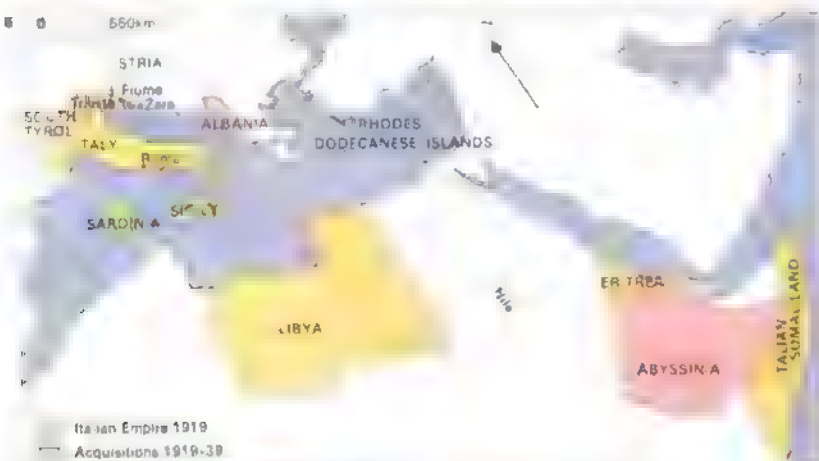
The influence of peripheral powers

Resistance to Hitler had been confused by suspicion of the Soviet Union's intentions. Coming out of isolation in the mid-1930s, the Soviet Union was concerned to prevent an alliance of Western European states against her, but became increasingly fearful of the rise of fascism in Germany with its implied threat to herself. The USSR sought to bring the Western powers into an anti-fascist

alliance, but was frustrated by the faith in appeasement and widespread mistrust of the USSR in conservative circles. The actions of Britain and France over Czechoslovakia encouraged the USSR to form a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939.

In the Far East, the rise of a militantly aggressive Japan provided an additional strain upon the fragile peace [7]. Japan's occupation of Manchuria (1931-2) and its war with China from the mid-thirties illustrated the weakness of the League and increased Japanese self-confidence and territorial ambitions.

Britain's guarantees in 1939 to Poland and Romania were a last attempt to restrain Hitler's actions. But he had agreed with the USSR to dismember Poland on the pretext of annexing the Polish Corridor [9]. Hitler probably expected Britain and France to back down once again as they had over Munich. Instead they presented Hitler with demands to withdraw. When the British ultimatum expired on 3 September 1939, Britain declared war on Germany, and France followed suit a few hours later.

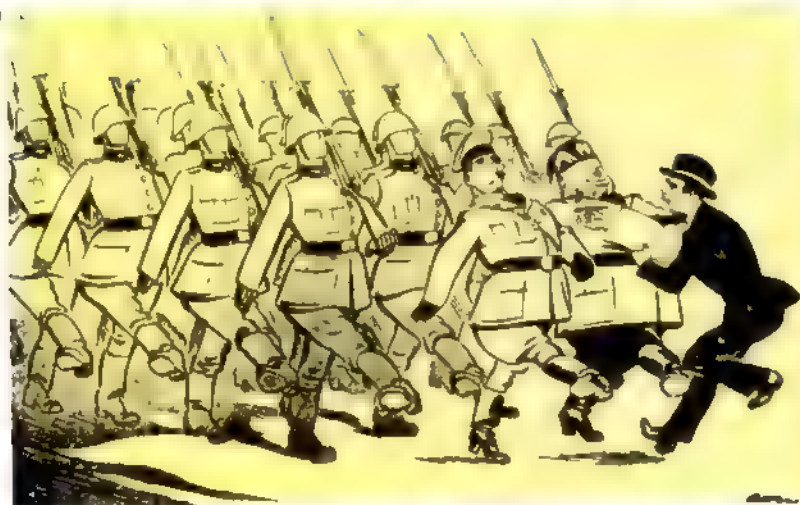


6 Mussolini's main aim from the time of his appointment in 1922 was to increase Italy's prestige and to consolidate her Great Power status.

by foreign acquisition and aggressive diplomacy. After 1922 Italy tightened her grip on Fiume, the South Tyrol and the Dodecanese Islands.

Protests and sanctions from the League of Nations did not prevent war with Abyssinia in 1935 and the country's rapid annexation by Italy.

also intervened in Spain in 1936, leading her to a closer entente with Germany which was formalized in 1939 by the 'Pact of Steel'.



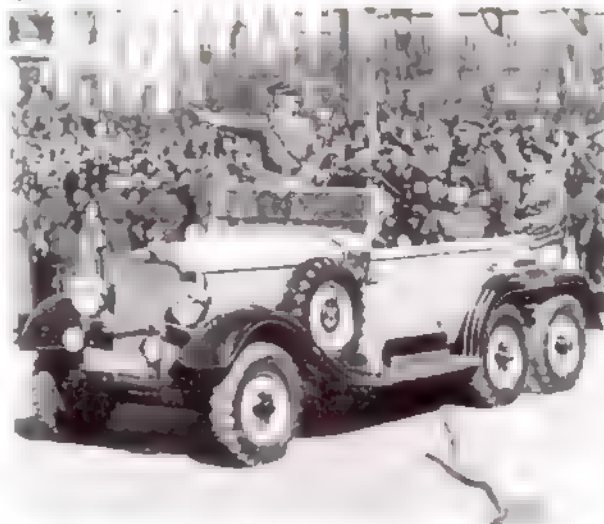
8 The appeasement policy of Britain and France arose out of fear of renewed war and belief that the dictators' de-

mands could be met by negotiation and concession. But concern grew that such weakness just provoked more demands.

9 German troops symbolically destroyed the Polish frontier when they invaded Poland in August 1939. Polish access

to the Baltic had been guaranteed by Britain and France, who therefore declared war on Germany on 3 September.

KEY



Hitler riding into Vienna at the head of German troops symbolizes the domination of Europe by the dictator. While Mussolini was backing Hitler in

the west, Japanese economic expansion threatened the stability of the Far East.

powerless in 1937 Japan went to war with China, seizing a large area of the Chinese mainland. Europe and America failed to resolve or control the conflict, encouraging Japan to further aggression.

7 Matsuoka (left), the Japanese foreign minister from 1940 to 1941, was largely responsible for Japan's Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. Japan had already joined Germany in an Anti-Com-

intern Pact in 1936. Throughout the 1930s Japan pursued an aggressive foreign policy. In 1931 she had taken Manchuria, increasing tension in the Far East where the League of Nations was virtually

powerless. In 1937 Japan went to war with China, seizing a large area of the Chinese mainland. Europe and America failed to resolve or control the conflict, encouraging Japan to further aggression.



World War II

On 1 September 1939, German troops invaded Poland. Britain and France were pledged to support Poland and declared war on Germany two days later. Using revolutionary *Blitzkrieg* ("lightning attack") tactics, the Germans defeated the outdated Polish army in 18 days and the country was partitioned between Germany and the Soviet Union, with whom Germany had just signed a non-aggression pact. A British army crossed to France but did not attack, and a phoney war lasted until the spring.

German and Japanese victories

Germany overran Norway and Denmark in April 1940 and then on 10 May invaded Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, which had been neutral. As the Allied armies swung forward to meet them, German tanks burst through the "impassable" Ardennes and reached the English Channel. The Allied army to their north was forced back into the Dunkirk region, and 338,226 British and French troops escaped to England by sea between 29 May and 3 June. Most of France except for the southeast under the puppet

Vichy regime of Henri Petain (1856-1951) was occupied by the Germans.

Germany's leader Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), expected Britain to make peace, but she fought on defiantly under the leadership of Winston Churchill (1874-1965). The *Luftwaffe* (air force) of Hermann Goering (1893-1946) then attempted to destroy the Royal Air Force (RAF) so that an invasion of England could be launched. But the Germans were defeated in the Battle of Britain fought between August and October 1940.

Taking advantage of the French Atlantic ports, German submarines intensified their attacks on British sea routes and in the next two years came near to strangling Britain [7].

Italy entered the war in June 1940 but suffered serious defeats in Greece and Libya. Germany sent forces under General Erwin Rommel (1891-1944) to help the Italians in North Africa and swiftly overran Yugoslavia, Greece and Crete in April and May 1941.

On 22 June 1941, in breach of the earlier pact, German troops swept into the Soviet Union [4], achieving total surprise. After five

months they were just 30km (19 miles) from Moscow but were halted by bitter winter weather and stubborn Russian resistance. On 7 December 1941, in the second major onslaught of the war, Japan launched a surprise attack on the US fleet at Pearl Harbor.

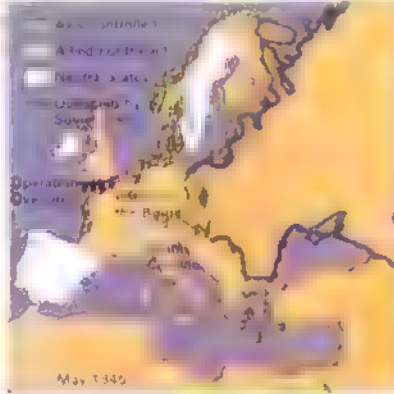
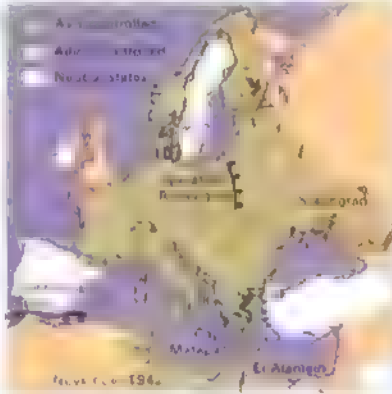
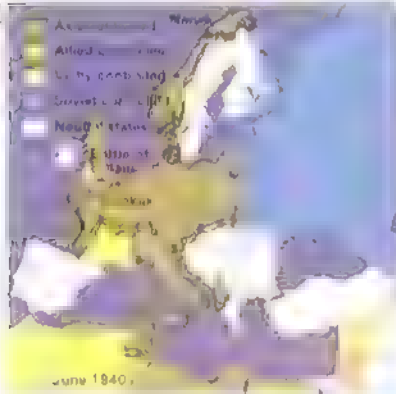
The first half of 1942 saw the Axis forces (Germany, Italy, Japan and minor allies) at the height of their powers. In the Pacific the Japanese captured the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Burma, the Philippines and many Pacific islands [5]. In the Soviet Union a German offensive advanced on Stalingrad and the Caucasus. In North Africa the British had been driven back to the borders of Egypt.

The turn of the tide

A series of crucial battles later in 1942 and in 1943 gave the initiative to the Allies. In the Pacific, Japanese naval power was shattered at the Battle of Midway on 4-7 June 1942, and on 7 August US marines landed in Guadalcanal in the first of the amphibious assaults by which US naval power under Admiral Chester Nimitz (1885-1966) pushed back the Japanese. In bitter weather

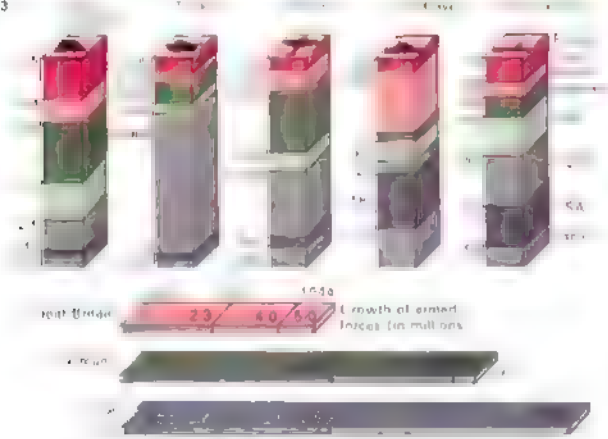
CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The main theatre of war was in Europe as it was in World War I. (A) By June 1940 the Axis powers controlled almost the whole of Western Europe and Germany then broadened the conflict by attacking the Soviet Union a year later. (B) Axis conquests reached their peak in November 1942. (C) By May 1945 Russian counter-offensives and Allied landings in France and Italy had defeated Germany.

2 Increasingly sophisticated weapons appeared as the war progressed. (A) Mastery of tank warfare gave the Germans their initial successes. (B) Heavy bombers carried death and destruction deep into the German homeland but failed to break civilian morale. (C) The Allies then had to invent and perfect the techniques of amphibious warfare in order to invade 'Fortress Europe'.



3 This comparison of military power at the outbreak of war shows that, although Germany had more aircraft in 1939, France and Britain together were in fact stronger in men and equipment. The vast size of the Soviet forces shows how advantageous the Stalin-Hitler pact was to Germany. Manpower was needed on a massive scale and the overall picture of the diagram shows the growth in armed forces which was particularly appreciable in the United States.



4 The turning point of the war in Europe came when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 and failed to deliver a swift knock-out blow. The key battle took place at Stalingrad where, after weeks of frozen struggle, the German 6th Army was forced to surrender. Germany was committed to a war on two fronts, with a possible counter-attack from Britain in the west and a war of attrition against the vast Russian reserves available in the east.

in the Soviet Union 110,000 men of the original German army of 270,000, fighting at Stalingrad, surrendered on 31 January 1943. The remaining 160,000 men had been killed. In North Africa the victory of General Bernard Montgomery (1887-1976) at El Alamein in October 1942, and an Allied landing in Algeria, forced the Axis troops back into Tunisia where 250,000 surrendered on 12 May 1943. In the Atlantic, Allied sonar and radar, more escorts and long-range aircraft led to increased U-boat losses.

The beginning of the end

The last major German offensive in the Soviet Union was halted at Kursk in July 1943 and the Red Army pushed forward during the autumn and winter. The Allies under Field-Marshal Harold Alexander (1891-1969) invaded Sicily on 10 July 1943 and landed in Italy on 3 September. The RAF had made its first '1,000-bomber' raid on Germany in May 1942 and, with the arrival of the United States Army Air Force in mid 1943, massive day and night raids were mounted for the rest of the war.

On D-Day, 6 June 1944, Allied forces under General Dwight Eisenhower (1890-1969) landed in Normandy and crossed France and the Low Countries to reach the Rhine by November. In Italy, Rome had been captured on 4 June, while a Soviet offensive begun in the same month drove the Germans out of the Soviet Union and swept into Poland and the Baltic states. In the Pacific, American forces destroyed the remnants of the Japanese fleet at the battles of the Philippine Sea and Leyte Gulf, and invaded the Philippines in October 1944. In Burma, the British defeated a Japanese attempt to invade India and counter-attacked successfully.

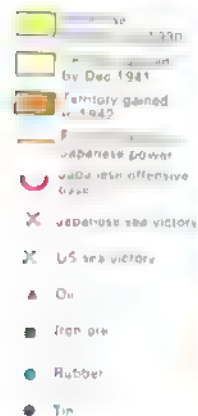
The Allies crossed the Rhine in March 1944 and drove deep into Germany. A Soviet assault under Marshal Georgi Zhukov (1896-1974) began in January 1945 and reached Berlin in April. Hitler committed suicide and on 4 May Germany surrendered.

On 6 August US forces dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan [8]. A second bomb on Nagasaki forced Japan to surrender on 14 August 1945.

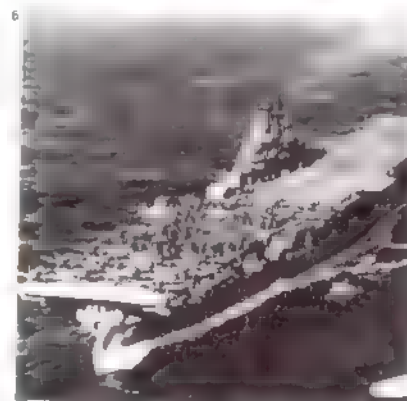
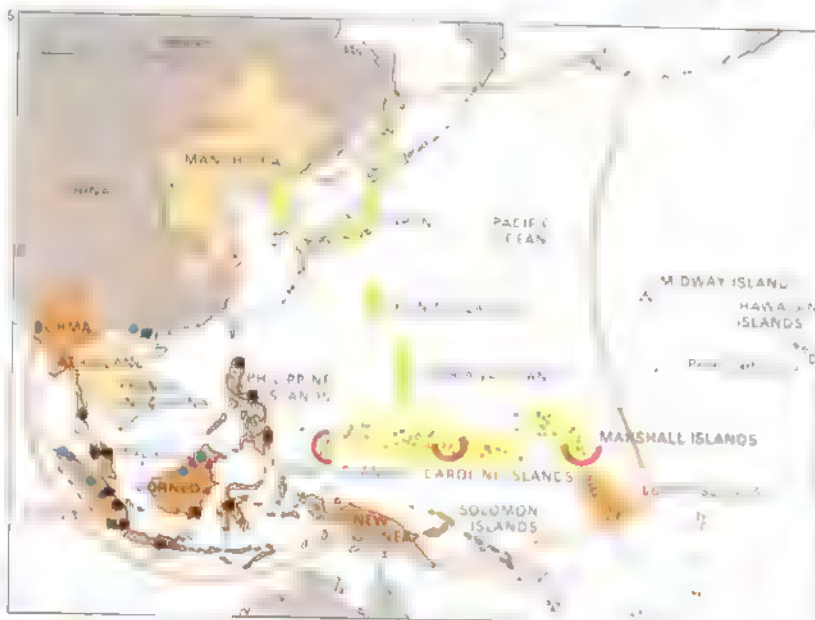


World War II was the most destructive and wide-ranging war in history: the dead may have totalled 45 million. Military casualties were only slightly higher than

in World War I, but massive bombing and German policies against civilians in the occupied territories meant that civil deaths were far higher.

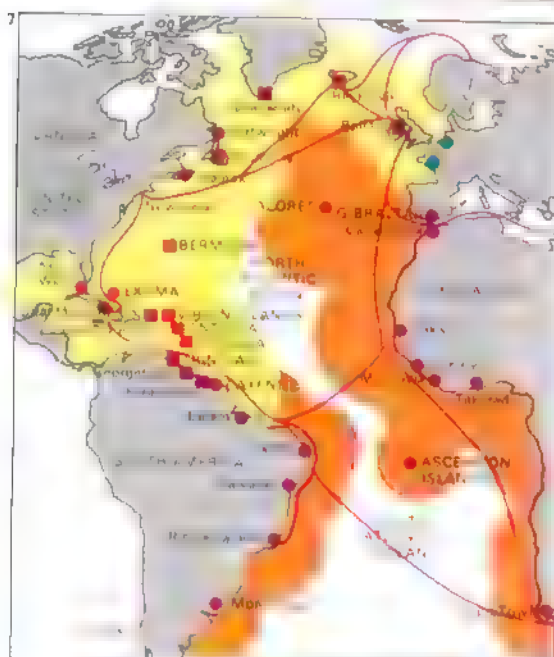


5 The Japanese expanded into the Pacific in order to secure the oil and minerals of southern Asia and then build a defensive perimeter against counter-attacks.



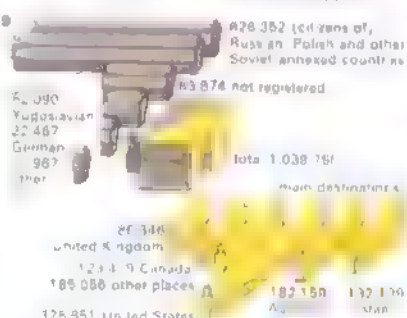
6 The Allied counter-offensive in the Pacific depended largely on a unique naval campaign in which carrier-borne aircraft played a decisive role. Quickly mastering this new type of

warfare, the US Navy was able to destroy the Japanese fleet, bypass enemy-held islands and cut off Japan from its vital supplies. Major land campaigns took place only in Burma and the Philippines.



7 The Battle of the Atlantic was a crucial one for Britain once the threat of a German invasion had been removed. The

German U-boats hoped to starve Britain into submission, thus eliminating the possibility of a counter-attack in the west. In 1941-2 the U-boats almost succeeded in their aim, and it was not until anti-submarine measures had been intensified and improved that the U-boats were eventually mastered.



8 Hiroshima was devastated by the first atomic bomb. By 1945 standards this was a very small bomb of less than one kilotonne, but it was enough to obliterate an entire city and kill more than 78,500 people in the space of one minute. A new era of warfare threatening total annihilation had been unleashed on mankind.

9 By the end of the war more than a million displaced persons were living in refugee camps throughout Europe. The majority were Soviet citizens or citizens of countries annexed by the USSR. The diagram shows where the east European refugees came from and where the International Refugee Organization succeeded in settling them.

World War II: Britain's role

Britain's involvement in World War II was global. Though its principal areas of concern were Europe, North Africa and the Far East, the Royal Air Force flew missions on the Russian front and Royal Navy ships fought engagements off South America. And where Britain itself was not heavily involved – notably in the Pacific theatre – Australians and New Zealanders fought along side Britain's American allies.

Early campaigns

True to the British tradition of losing every battle except the last, the war opened disastrously. Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* through Poland, the Low Countries and into France [1] wrecked the British Expeditionary Force of ten divisions by what seemed a miracle at the time, all but about 25 000 to 30 000 men got back to Britain but the BEF left behind all its heavy equipment.

With the Battle of France lost, the Battle of Britain opened on 10 July 1940 with Goering's Luftwaffe directing its efforts against convoys in the Straits of Dover. The convoys had to be stopped. Phase two, which

began on "Eagle Day", 13 August, was aimed at RAF fighter bases in Kent. On 7 September, having lost 225 aircraft to the RAF's 185 in just eight days, the Luftwaffe turned aside to attack London. On 15 September – "Battle of Britain Day" – it lost between 56 and 60 aircraft to the RAF's 76. Chastened, Goering switched to night attacks against English cities, and Operation Sea Lion, the invasion of Britain, was first postponed and finally abandoned altogether after the invasion of Russia. The blitz, during which some 30 000 people were killed, continued until mid-April 1941.

The dark days

A consequence of the fall of France was that the German navy was able to operate 11 boats from France's west coast. In the first year of the war the U-boats never numbered more than 60, but they sank nearly a million tonnes of merchant shipping. The Battle of the Atlantic reached its peak in early 1941 but by the summer of 1943 the convoy system and American involvement prevailed. In the Balkans Hitler's seven-week cam-

paign through Yugoslavia and Greece ended with the British being ejected from Crete [2] in May 1941.

Germany's assault on Russia on 22 June 1941 [4] offered Britain a breathing-space. Britain could do little to help Russia beyond offering supplies, and the route to Murmansk and Archangel was, in the winter, the worst sea-route in the world.

While the Battle of the Atlantic and of the Russian convoys was under way, Britain was losing in the Far East. The Japanese attack on the US base at Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 was followed by the ignominious fall of Singapore [5], the loss of the battlecruiser *Repulse* and the battleship *Prince of Wales* and a threat to India. The Japanese were within 200 miles of Australia. Australia and New Zealand, with most of their troops in North Africa, had to turn to the United States for protection.

Towards final victory

The tide began to turn in 1942. In North Africa, after a see-saw series of battles in which the Italians and Erwin Rommel's

CONNECTIONS

Read first

1 The Allies and Germany faced each other in the West at the outbreak of war more or less evenly matched in numbers. Britain and France had 122 divisions against Germany's 136 and 3 264 armoured

See also

vehicles against 2 574. But the Allies still pursued outmoded ideas of positional warfare and made poor use of their armoured divisions. German armour was used to optimum advantage

1 The Allies and Germany faced each other in the West at the outbreak of war more or less evenly matched in numbers. Britain and France had 122 divisions against Germany's 136 and 3 264 armoured

vehicles against 2 574. But the Allies still pursued outmoded ideas of positional warfare and made poor use of their armoured divisions. German armour was used to optimum advantage

and coupled with air power to form the spearhead of the *Blitzkrieg*. This was designed to burst through and surround the enemy rather than fight head on battles. As a result Paris fell in only four weeks.



2 German paratroops here entering a JU52 transport aircraft proved decisive in the capture of Crete, the final phase of Hitler's Balkan campaign. Bernard Freyberg (1889-1963), commander of the

New Zealand Division, was in charge of all the forces on the island. Using 1 390 aircraft, the Germans forced the British to withdraw on 27 May after three weeks' stubborn resistance.

3 The arrival of Erwin Rommel (1891-1944) and his Afrika Korps in February 1941 rescued his Italian partners from being completely overrun by British and Commonwealth forces in North

Africa. Twice Rommel reached the frontiers of Egypt, engendering Allied nightmares of an Axis victory that, together with an advance in the Caucasus, could have completed a successful pincer movement.



4 Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union began brilliantly with the German armies using tactics that had been perfected in Poland and France. In the early columns destroyed more than a

million enemy troops but at meeting Soviet resistance and the onset of merciless winter conditions prevented the Germans from achieving the swift victory they needed. Despite some further successes in 1942,

the Germans were catastrophically defeated at Stalingrad where they lost 300 000 men. Thereafter they could not hope to match the Soviet Union's apparently inexhaustible manpower and were steadily pushed back.



5 The Japanese captured 85 000 men at Singapore in February 1942. It was the largest surrender in the history of the British Army.

Compacency about the Japanese threat had led Britain to neglect already inadequate defences, but even so British and Commonwealth troops outnumbered the Japanese who swept through Malaya and Burma. The Japanese relied on their mastery of jungle warfare to outflank British troops

who had virtually no jungle training. Singapore was approached and attacked from its lightly defended seaward side and fell in a matter of days.

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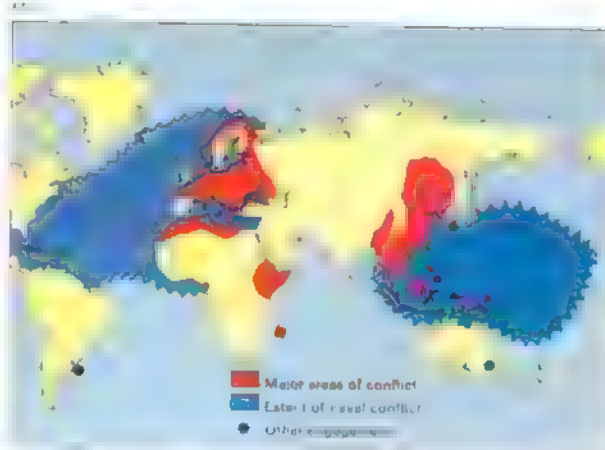
Afrika Korps [3] got to within 60 miles of Alexandria, and Australian and British troops distinguished themselves by stubborn resistance in the isolated pocket of Tobruk. Montgomery won the Battle of El Alamein [6]. The battle opened on 23 October, on 4 November Rommel's Afrika Korps began to retreat, four days later Anglo-American forces landed in French North Africa. With victory in North Africa in the spring of 1943, Italy became the next objective. Sicily was invaded in July 1943 and mainland Italy – by the British 5th Army at Salerno – in September. American insistence that the Pacific and Burma campaigns be given priority in late 1943 meant, however, that the Italian campaign was drawn out. Of the Commonwealth troops who had fought in Africa, the New Zealanders went on to fight in Italy, notably at Monte Cassino [7] and the Australians returned home to help push the Japanese out of the Pacific.

The Mediterranean campaign ended effectively with the capture of Rome on 4 June 1944, although the German resistance in Italy did not end until May 1945.

The invasion of Normandy began on 6 June 1944. British troops landing on the coast near Caen and Bayeux and Americans farther west. After an initial period of close fighting in France, the Allies broke out and swept towards the Rhine. An attempt to speed matters by an airborne landing at Arnhem in The Netherlands [8] failed, but in the spring of 1945 renewed offensives resulted in Germany's surrender on 7 May.

In the Far East Slim's [9] forgotten 14th Army had been confronting the Japanese in Burma while Americans, Australians and New Zealanders island-hopped towards Japan following the Battle of Midway, an American carrier-fleet victory that ranked with Stalingrad in strategic importance. Two atomic bombs, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ended the war against Japan.

Britain lost far fewer men in World War II than in World War I – 300,000 dead against 750,000. Civilian casualties were higher, 60,000 against 1,500. The legacy of the war was an enormous economic debt, £4,198 million – the loss of an empire and, in compensation, an industrial leap forward.



World War II began in Europe, but developed into a global conflict with campaigns in Africa, Asia and throughout the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Italy proved a weak member of the Axis.

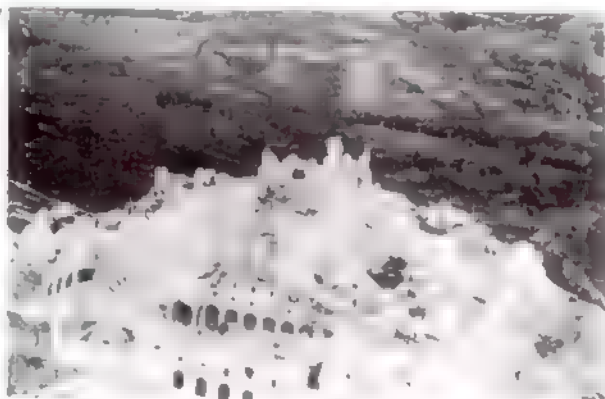
In 1940, but Germany and Japan enjoyed a series of victories in the first three years. Thereafter, Allied superiority in potential manpower and industrial capacity steadily grew. More than any

previous conflict, this was a war of technology, with developments in tanks, aircraft, submarines, radar, and eventually the atomic bomb – helping to influence strategic and tactical thinking.



6 The turning point in North Africa came in July 1942 when the overstretched Afrika Korps failed to break through British 8th Army positions around El Alamein. Three months later, substantial Allied reinforcements enabled the new commander Montgomery to begin an offensive that secured North Africa.

7 The ruins of Monte Cassino monastery in Italy saw some of the most savage fighting of the war. The Allies believed that the Germans had turned the monastery into a stronghold of their decision to bomb it. The bombing provoked a controversy: it defeated its own end – the rubble was easier to defend than the intact monastery.



8 British paratroops experienced nine days of bitter street fighting – and final failure – at Arnhem in September 1944 when, with American and Polish forces, they attempted to capture 17 canal bridges and major bridges in Holland. Of

the 35,000 troops involved, more than 17,000 became casualties. Four of the five major bridges were taken; the plan devised by Montgomery, dashing and contrary to his usual style of might have shortened the war had it worked.



9 Lieutenant General William Joseph Slim (1891–1970) commanded the 14th British Army in Burma. In June 1944, he defeated a Japanese attempt to invade India at Kohima and Imphal, and then successfully went on to liberate the country.

10 The Japanese in New Guinea suffered their first major setback in September 1942 when Australian forces defeated an attempt to capture Port Moresby. After savage fighting in atrocious conditions, the Australians success-

fully counter-attacked. Throughout 1943 and early 1944, a series of small-scale but brilliant combined operations were mounted as part of a wider Allied offensive in the southwestern Pacific. These isolated and neutralized a whole Japanese army.



The home front in World War II

World War II has often, and accurately, been described as "The People's War". No previous conflict in history had so directly involved the civilian population of the combatant countries or caused them so much privation and death.

Civilian involvement in war

Even before war had been declared civilians had become involved through conscription introduced in Germany in 1934 and Great Britain in June 1939, and in the United States on a selective "unlucky dip" basis in 1940. Once the war began even those civilians who escaped being called up into the armed forces found themselves in varying degrees directed into home defence (Local Defence Volunteers, later the Home Guard) [2] or civil defence or into essential work in factories [8] and vital services such as transport. In every combatant country (except the United States, which could meet almost all the demands made upon it) the share of the national resources allocated to civilians was by the end of the war sharply reduced to give priority to the fighting men.

Although they vastly outnumbered the soldiers, the civilians were in far less danger. Even in Germany casualties among civilians, including those caught up in military operations, were estimated at no more than 700,000 compared with 3,500,000 service men who died. The figures for Britain were 62,000 against 326,000 and for Japan 260,000 civilians compared with 1,200,000 servicemen. The United States had virtually no civilian casualties. But the civilian's life was far more at risk than in any previous war. Although each country claimed at first to be directing its bombers against only military objectives, such restraints were soon abandoned [11]. But bombs were not the main cause of civilian deaths. Under German occupation, far more deaths were caused by disease, famine and mass murder.

Civilian daily life

Even within occupied Europe daily life varied enormously between different countries. In Denmark Hitler's "model protectorate" the standard of living was far higher than in Britain. In France, if one had access to

the black market, it was also possible to live reasonably well. But in Holland by the winter of 1944 5 people were living on tulip bulbs and in the Channel Islands only the arrival of Red Cross parcels prevented starvation. All the occupied countries shared some shortages and discomforts. Fuel, both for heating and transport, was scarce [5]. Everyone's life was encompassed by curfews, permits and the fear of being rounded up as a suspect or forced labour "volunteer".

In the countries still under arms the civilian population was encouraged to believe that a vast gulf separated them from their counterparts in enemy lands. Civilian experience in Germany probably had more in common with life in wartime Britain than in any other country. Both suffered the upheaval of evacuation [Key] and of long nights in shelters.

Almost all necessities were either rationed or hard to find and although the German system of control was more complicated and less efficient than the British there were many similarities between them. Household textiles and clothes, for example,

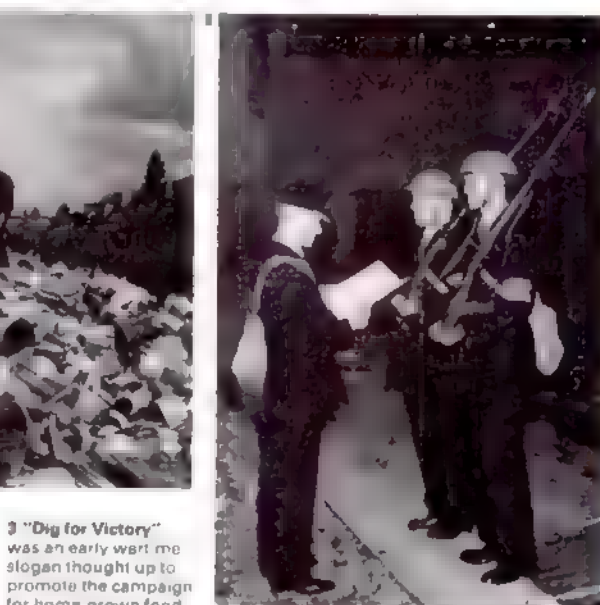
CONNECTIONS

1	Saucepans were collected for making aircraft after a British Government appeal in 1940.
2	Britain's Local Defence Volunteers were formed in May 1940. Here two railway men are briefed.
3	"Dig for Victory" was an early wartime slogan thought up to promote the campaign for home grown food.
4	Air raids on London during the Blitz began on 7 September, 1940, and lasted until mid-1941. In the opening phase the capital was bombed on 57 consecutive nights. In the first four months, 13,339 people were killed and 17,937 injured.
5	Refugees flooded on to the roads of Europe as the German armies advanced. This Frenchman's horse-drawn vehicle laden with goods was one way of overcoming the petrol shortage; bicycle taxis were also common.
6	Nazi military bands like this one photographed in the Place de l'Opéra in Paris in June 1941 often played in public in the occupied countries. Ostensibly a goodwill gesture, they were also a symbol of German strength.



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4 Air raids on London during the Blitz began on 7 September, 1940, and lasted until mid-1941. In the opening phase the capital was bombed on 57 consecutive nights. In the first four months, 13,339 people were killed and 17,937 injured.

5 Refugees flooded on to the roads of Europe as the German armies advanced. This Frenchman's horse-drawn vehicle laden with goods was one way of overcoming the petrol shortage; bicycle taxis were also common.

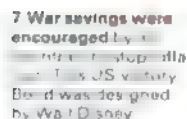


6 Nazi military bands like this one photographed in the Place de l'Opéra in Paris in June 1941 often played in public in the occupied countries. Ostensibly a goodwill gesture, they were also a symbol of German strength.

[illegible][illegible]

A black and white photograph of a large group of people, mostly women, gathered in a room. They are dressed in formal attire, including hats and coats. The room has a doorway in the background and a patterned curtain on the left.

Nearly 1,300,000 people have been killed and nearly 100 million left homeless.



3 The mobilization of women was greatest in the USSR

9 The destruction of Hiroshima on the morning of 6 August 1945 was the most effective way to end the war in the Pacific.



10 Propaganda was used by both sides

11 Allied bombing devastates the sea

12 "Traitor" warns
this German poster
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The division of Europe

The cold war is usually thought of as a global struggle between the two Great Powers that had emerged by the end of World War II: these two powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, were initially by no means equal, the United States was far superior in terms of economic capacity, air power, and in the fact that she possessed nuclear weapons before the Soviet Union. However the Soviet Union had an important advantage: the ability to threaten Western Europe with the might of her army. It was because of this Soviet threat that the United States was obliged to come to the rescue and defence of the Western European countries.

East-West misunderstandings

This is the traditional view of the origins of the cold war and it derives from an interpretation whereby Stalin's Russia overran eastern Europe between 1945 and 1947 and seemed to threaten Western Europe too. Against this a different view has been suggested by some historians. They say that the USSR which had in the past been invaded many times from the West, was still

afraid of her titular allies at the end of World War II. In this view, the Stalinist takeover of Eastern Europe was a defensive reaction to a possible attack.

These views are contentious, but it is fairly clear that mutual misunderstanding between the Soviet Union and America played a large part in bringing about the division of Europe [5]. When Churchill (1874-1965), Roosevelt (1882-1945) and Stalin (1879-1953) met at Yalta in 1945 [Key], Soviet suspicion of the Western failure of a Second Front gave way to Western suspicion over Soviet intentions in the East, particularly towards Poland. Thereafter the powers failed, through a series of increasingly contentious conferences, to reach agreement on Germany. The process of division was inevitable.

The division of Germany

At first the American forces had not intended to stay long in Germany. They did not expect the Soviet troops to remain either. The victorious powers were supposed to supervise German reconstruction only until they could

all agree on its future as a united country. All four, through their foreign ministers, Ernest Bevin (1881-1951), Georges Bidault (1889-), Vyacheslav Molotov (1890-) and Secretary of State George Marshall (1880-1959) [4], administered Berlin equally. But the picture changed partly because of Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet zone of Germany, which was rapidly organized as part of the Soviet system. Also important was the Soviet reparations policy, which seemed to threaten the economic ruin of the West by leading to the total collapse of any German economy [2]. Between 1946 and 1948 it became clear that a German economic revival was necessary for Western Europe's recovery.

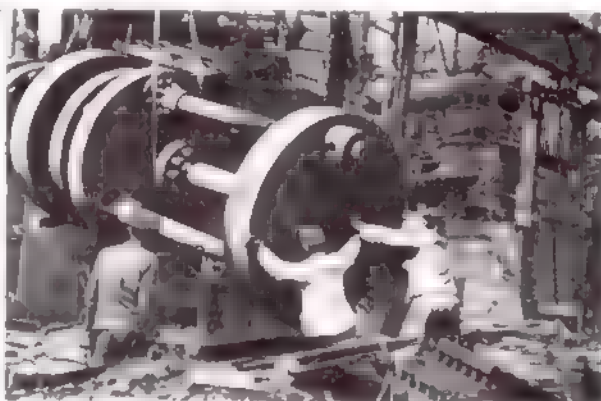
At first the United States had hoped to include Eastern as well as Western European countries, and certainly the whole of Germany, in a vast programme for European recovery based on American aid. This plan, the European Recovery Programme, or 'Marshall Plan' of 1947, was rejected by the Soviet Union but was still applied to the western zones of Germany. Applying it there

CONNECTIONS

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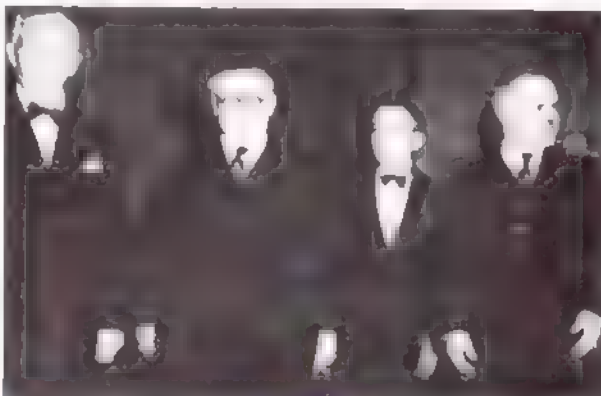
1 US and Soviet troops met at Torgau, Germany, on 25 April 1945. But already Russian resentment over delay in the Second Front and US distrust of Soviet motives heralded the cold war.



2 The Russians dismantled German industry so thoroughly that it caused hardship in the Western zones and was halted despite the fact that the USSR's reparations claims had at first been accepted.

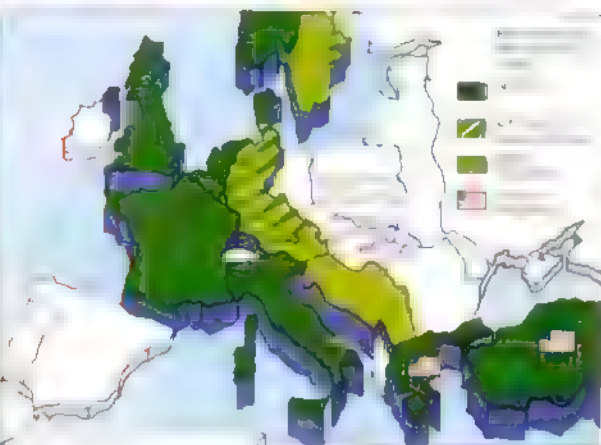
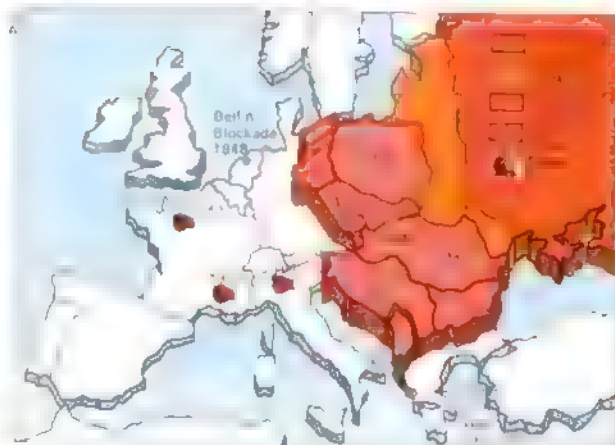


3 James Byrnes (1879-1972) the US Secretary of State attended the 1946 Paris Conference which was to draft peace treaties with Italy, Romania, Finland, Bulgaria and Hungary. Achieving only part of its aim, the conference also showed up disagreements over Germany.



4 Marshall, Bevin, Bidault and Molotov made a futile attempt to agree on the German question, in 1947.

5 From the Western point of view: A) the appearance of a vast Soviet army had taken over Eastern Europe, reduced it to Stalinist rule and was poised ready for a westward advance. From the East: B) the superior economic power of the Western world backed by American nuclear weapons seemed ready to disrupt the defensive system that the USSR was trying to create. Each seemed to be threatening the other and so the cold war was created.



meant the introduction of a separate and reformed West German currency.

After the currency reform in West Germany, the USSR began the blockade of Berlin. The blockade [6] lasted for nearly a year, from 1948 to 1949 and was a turning point in the history of Europe. It came when the division of Europe was complete – for in February 1948 the Soviet Union had completed its take-over of the eastern countries by a coup against Czechoslovakia.

The birth of NATO

It was against this background that the decision was taken to form NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) [8, 9] – a term alliance by which the United States was pledged to the defence of Western Europe. The original (1949) members of NATO were the USA and Canada and the principal nations of Western Europe [10]. Greece and Turkey joined in 1951 and West Germany in 1955. Meanwhile West European countries began to recover and to co-operate. They had already sketched some form of co-operation in defence (in the West European Union

before NATO was founded) but equally important was the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) formed in 1948 in which the United States supported the West European countries in creating a system of mutual prosperity. And from 1949 onwards the Europeans began to pool their resources in a system of co-operation that was eventually to form the European Economic Community.

In the east the Stalinist system of almost total control exercised through the Cominform was challenged only by Yugoslavia (although later a more co-operative pattern was established after 1949 through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for COMECON). But the early contrast between Western co-operation and the Eastern dictatorship reinforced the division of Europe and the rigidity of the cold war.

Before this in 1950 the Korean War had broken out and seemed to confirm the necessity of NATO. As a result by 1955 West Germany was invited to join. When she did so, it meant that Germany could not be united and the division of Europe was complete.



The three leaders of the Grand Alliance
Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met at Yalta in February 1945.

1945 France was not invited. It has often been argued that Europe was divided into two blocs at this meeting.

but the Big Three agreed on little beyond the final arrangements necessary for temporarily dividing Germany.

6 The Berlin blockade was the first great confrontation of the cold war. It arose from restrictions imposed by the Russians on Western access to Berlin. For months the city was maintained by an airlift. However, the outcome depended as much on the refusal of West Berliners to accept Soviet economic help in return for political surrender. The blockade divided Berlin and completed the division of Germany.



7 The Allied Control Council shown here in 1948 governed Germany from 1945 to 1948. It did not establish a central government for the whole country but served to resolve disagreements arising through the separate governments of the different zones. When the three Western powers decided to introduce a new currency in West Germany, the Russians walked out and the Council came to an end.



8 The foreign ministers of NATO countries gathered in Washington to sign the NATO Treaty before the Berlin blockade was over. Events in Europe had seemed to confirm the aggressive intentions of the USSR and the need

for a firm Western response. Also the economic recovery of Western Europe depended on a security guarantee. By committing the US to a long-term defence arrangement NATO superseded European attempts to ensure security

9 NATO was formed to offset the Soviet military presence in Europe. The forces committed to NATO were too weak to be anything but a stop gap in the case of a sudden attack. That was the full resources of all the signatories could

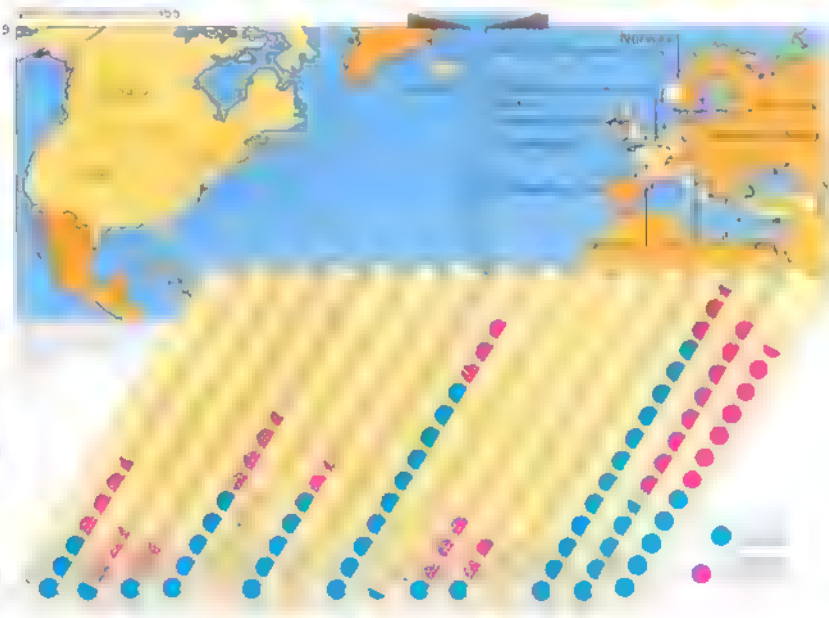
be mustered. In 1955 West Germany became a fully independent state and a member of NATO. In May of that year, partly in response to that event, the Soviet Union set up the equivalent defence organization of the Warsaw Pact.



10 By 1955 West Germany had made an amazing recovery. At Paris in 1954 the powers met to

determine the extent of her entry into the European community. Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967) then

became the first Federal Chancellor of West Germany in 1949.



Britain since 1945: 1

After six years of war Britain's return to peacetime conditions needed a prolonged period of adjustment. Despite the remarkably united and disciplined war effort, the country's economy had been overstrained and Britain was not in a position to shoulder properly the burdens of occupying its zone of Western Germany while also playing its part in achieving some kind of peace settlement in the East as well as in the West.

Labour victory and the Welfare State

Although Britain still ranked as one of the 'Big Three' powers when the war ended, along with the United States and the Soviet Union, it soon became clear that it was no longer in the super-power league. At the 1945 general election, the bulk of the electorate showed that it was more interested in the approach to peacetime reconstruction offered by the Labour Party than in the continuation of Britain's role in big-power politics which it associated with Winston Churchill (1874-1965), linked as that would have been with a period of Conservative rule. A landslide victory for Labour deprived the

country of the world figure who had been - not just for the British but for millions elsewhere - the personification of resistance to Nazism and Fascism. Clement Attlee (1881-1967) became prime minister.

Ernest Bevin (1881-1951) as Foreign Secretary supplied something of Churchill's bulldog quality in the negotiations that began to shape the peacetime settlement. At the same time he and others undertook the vast work of decolonization, starting with the granting of independence to India and Pakistan in 1947.

Domestic changes were almost as dramatic as those taking place outside Britain. The government's brand of socialism stressed nationalization of various sectors of the economy as the way forward, while greatly extending the state health and medical services and education, creating a 'Welfare State' [4]. The Bank of England was nationalized in 1946 and in 1947 the railways and the coal mines were also taken under state control. The steel industry was also nationalized, in 1947, after a constitutional crisis brought on by Conservative opposition

in the House of Lords, whose power to delay bills was subsequently reduced. What affected people most directly was the massive reorganization of the Health Services [2], accomplished by Aneurin Bevan (1897-1960), in order to provide medical and hospital treatment and prescriptions and also dental and other services 'free', or at minimal rates.

The government had inherited a wartime economy. It continued rationing (not completely ended until 1954) and also policies of heavy taxation and wage restraint. Despite a large increase in exports, the country (or rather the sterling area as a whole) had an almost chronic deficit with the United States which forced a devaluation of the pound from \$4 03 to \$2 80 in September 1949.

Conservative rule

Long-drawn-out opposition by the British Medical Association to the Health Service reforms, and bitter wrangling in Parliament over steel, indicated that Labour's popularity was waning. At the 1950 election Labour was returned to power with a reduced majority.

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1 A landslide victory brought Labour to power in 1945 with 393 seats against the 213 won by the Conservatives and their allies. The Conservatives and most foreign observers had assumed that Churchill, with

his great wartime prestige, would carry them to victory. But the electorate was moved by Labour's promises of employment, housing and welfare and the proposals for nationalization of basic industries.

and state planning of the massive reconstruction that lay ahead. Years of war time organization had left the people with a collectivist legacy that gave a strong appeal to Labour's socialist programme.



2 The centrepiece of the new Welfare State was the National Health Service, whose creation was the work of Aneurin Bevan. For the first time medical attention, prescriptions and many other services generally became free or available on low charges. Some 3,000 hospitals were taken over under the scheme. While the hospital consultants welcomed the proposal, most of the doctors organized by the British Medical Association, were bitterly opposed to it as depicted in this contemporary cartoon. Bevan fought a long battle with the doctors who saw in the scheme threats to their independence, but when the service began over 90 per cent of the doctors enrolled.

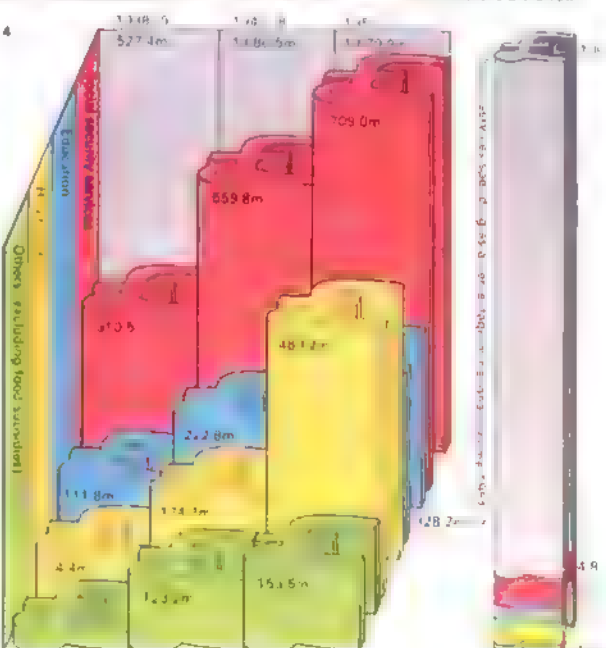


3 Rationing in the postwar period was more severe than in wartime until its defeat in 1951 the Labour government pursued an unpopular programme of austerity to rebuild the economy and finance government expenditure.

Abroad things were serious. In the Netherlands and the British zone in Germany many there was near famine and there was a lack of raw materials all over the world. But ironically a higher percentage of each age group in the London area in 1946 was

classed as 'excellent nutrition' than in 1938 and this was true of the country as a whole. Rationing began to be reduced after 1948. In 1949 clothing and furniture were freed. Meat was the last item to disappear from the ration books, and that took place in 1954.

4 Figures for spending on the social services illustrate the economic reality behind the creation of the Welfare State. In 1938 the last full budgetary year before the war, social service spending was around £345 million or 37.6 per cent of total government expenditure, by 1950 this proportion had risen to 46.1 per cent. In 1955 R. A. Butler pointed out that during his period as Chancellor of the Exchequer, social service spending had increased by 40 per cent while the national income had increased by only 25 per cent. But government expenditure on defence remained high. The limited rearmament undertaken at the time of the Korean War (1950-53) deeply divided the Labour Party.



and at the following election in October 1951 the Conservatives under Churchill won a majority of 26. With this they de-nationalized the steel industry in 1953 (it was later re-nationalized by Labour in 1967).

The Chancellor of the Exchequer Richard Butler (1902–), introduced a series of measures designed to improve the balance of payments and to increase domestic consumption. In the 1955 election the Conservatives were returned with an increased majority. The party was now led by Anthony Eden (1897–1977) who had taken over the leadership after Churchill had resigned through ill health.

In addition to maintaining an independent nuclear deterrent [8] and continuing national service (until 1958), the government favoured British influence and defence commitments overseas on a scale that the economy could no longer support. The failure in 1956 of the Suez operation against Egypt, when the collusion of Britain and France with Israel was opposed by America, made it clear that Britain could no longer continue the stance of a world power.

Meanwhile, thanks in part to vast infusions of dollars through US loans and Marshall Aid, the economy had a run of good years. The standard of living rose, and the working classes, like most of the population, had 'never had it so good'. These words of Harold Macmillan (1894–) [9], who became prime minister following Anthony Eden's resignation in 1957, can serve as a motto for this final phase of the 13 years of Conservative rule (1951–64).

Loss of confidence

In the early years of the 1960s the economy took a downward turn, however, and successive pay policies introduced by the Conservatives failed. Britain's application for membership of the European Economic Community was vetoed by France in 1963, and the Beeching report proposing a one-third reduction in railway services also undermined Macmillan's popularity. Sir Alec Douglas-Home (1903–), who took over the premiership after Macmillan had resigned because of illness in 1963, could not restore confidence.



The Festival of Britain in 1951 was conceived as marking a new era of reconstruction.

Following the destruction of World War II, opened by George VI (r. 1936–52) on 3 May, it attracted

8.5 million visitors to the Festival Hall and other sights on the south bank of the River Thames.



5 The 1950 election had returned Labour to power with a majority of only five. In 1951, under increasing pressure, the government resigned and an election gave the Conservative Party a majority of 26. The Conservatives presented an attractive alternative after the prolonged austerity of the preceding years.

6 The coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (1952–) in June 1953 was taken by many to symbolize a new Elizabethan Age, with the promise of great prospects for Britain in the postwar world. The event was televised worldwide and thousands of cheering spectators lined the streets to watch the colourful procession.



7 A new youth culture emerged in the 1950s, alongside the beginnings of rock 'n' roll music, which presaged predominant youth cultures of the 1960s. Like the music, the new style was aggressive and

uncompromisingly youthful and reflected the new affluence of the postwar period. Styles included those worn by 'Teddy Boys', who affected Edwardian-style suits, string ties, and duck's tail haircuts.



8 Ban-the-bomb demonstrations were frequent after the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) was founded in 1958. Many public figures shared this widespread concern.

9 Harold Macmillan (left) was prime minister for six years from 1957–63 until he retired from the Conservative leadership because of ill health. During that time the country had

a period of prosperous and efficient government, although the economic problems that dominated British politics in the 1960s became evident during the final years of his term of office.



Britain since 1945:2

The British general election of 1964 initiated a period of Labour rule broken only by nearly four years of Conservative government under Edward Heath (1970-4). The period as a whole was one of increasing economic difficulty for Britain. It failed to maintain its competitive position against trade rivals despite its entry in 1973 into the European Economic Community (Common Market), an action that was reaffirmed after a referendum in 1975 [8]. Only on the invisible side of its trading account (banking, brokerage, insurance and other services) did Britain maintain its position, thereby alleviating the effects of the frequent deficits in its balance of payments.

Trade union militancy

Trade imbalances were offset by loans that became ever more massive, despite a few better years when repayments were made notably during the period 1967-70. Among reasons for the weakness of trade were the increasing productivity of competitors, and their greater ability to adopt new methods and machinery both for older industries and

for the new high-technology enterprises. In contrast, British management found it difficult to secure the co-operation of trade unions in introducing modern plant and reducing labour costs. This failure was coupled with successful union pressure for increased wages and reduced hours of work backed by go-slows and strikes.

In Parliament the Labour Party was increasingly polarized between left-wing socialists of the Tribune Group and some Marxist-oriented MPs on the one hand, and those who pursued a moderate social democratic line on the other.

Among the latter were Harold Wilson [1], prime minister 1964-70 and 1974-6, and James Callaghan, who followed him as prime minister. Wilson coped skilfully with the divisions in his party but at the cost of compromising over some important issues to the point where governmental authority was eroded. The continuing high cost of defence, together with growing education, health and pensions services, imposed burdens which the weakening position of the country in productivity and trade made it

difficult to meet. This weakness was reflected in the tendency of inflation, which had been chronic but manageable (three to five per cent), to increase to, at times, more than 20 per cent. As a result, sterling weakened against other currencies [4].

Devaluation of sterling

Labour's fine ideals in 1964 of modernizing Britain and moving it steadily towards socialism, were soon obscured by the fight to "save the pound". Desperate efforts were made to maintain the exchange rate of the pound at \$1.60 by large-scale borrowing from abroad - but to no avail. A seamen's strike in 1966 hastened the loss of confidence in sterling and the pound was devalued to \$2.40 in November 1967. Attempts were made to bolster sterling by an incomes policy that restricted wage increases to certain ceilings or percentages. But the Labour programme for pursuing this objective, formulated in the White Paper, "In Place of Strife", failed in 1969 in the face of union militancy and left-wing opposition.

The Conservative government from

CONNECTIONS

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1970-4 fared no better in attempting to control inflation, and in fact worsened the position by dismantling some of Labour's controls, only to return to an incomes policy. Obdurate union resistance to pay restraints was exacerbated by the Industrial Relations Act, which established three-phase statutory wage and price controls. A coal-miners' strike [6] early in 1972, involving power-cuts when the miners obstructed coal deliveries to the generating stations, led to the treatment of the miners as a 'special case'. The 25 per cent pay rise they received breached the incomes policy. The Government attempted to counteract an overtime ban by the miners the following winter by introducing an emergency three day working week to save fuel. But when in 1974 it sought a mandate for a firm line against union pressure for higher wages, a general election resulted in the return of Labour to power without an over-all majority.

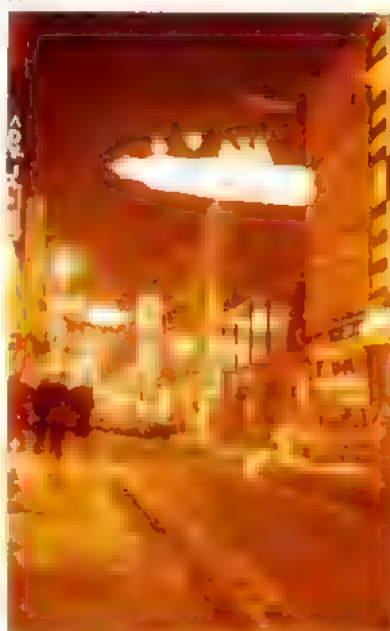
Despite hopes of future prosperity through the development of North Sea gas and oil resources, the pound continued to sink, impelling a return to an incomes policy

under the chancellorship of Denis Healey. To restrain a rising rate of unemployment [4] the government was forced to back someiling firms with public money [

Political and social strains

Economic weakness aggravated political problems. Proposals were made for devolution of some powers to local assemblies in response to demands for greater autonomy and even independence by parties in Scotland and Wales. In Northern Ireland, terrorist activity by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and counter-terrorism by Protestant extremists led in 1972 to direct rule from Westminster, supported by large scale and continuing army operations.

Socially, the strains of a further influx of Commonwealth migrants [5] major changes in patterns of education [2] and a shift in economic power from the older to the younger generation met with mixed success during the period after 1964. Pop music groups such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones [3] were associated with a new image of London as the "swinging" capital [Key]



Carnaby Street, with its boutiques and shops specialising in fashionable clothes, colourful posters and the latest pop records, became a symbol for the new "swinging" London of the 1960s. Together with King's Road, Chelsea, it provided a visual idea of a city that had cast off the imperial trappings of the past. London was now the capital of the youth orientated societies of the affluent Western countries, a youth whose tastes and demands needed up to the minute satisfaction. One of the most popular of Carnaby Street's emblems was the Union Jack flag, converted from the national flag to almost anything from a T-shirt to a plastic shopping bag.

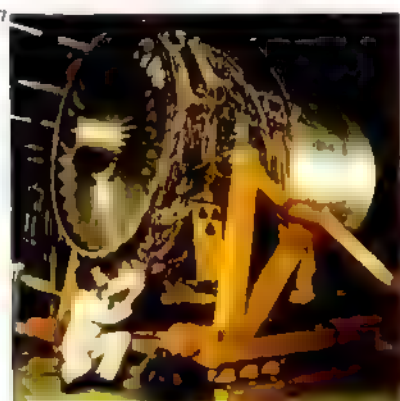
5 Immigrants from the West Indies and Asia provided staff for medical, transport and postal services and for certain industries, notably textiles, after World War II. But their rising numbers and limited prospects brought social strains which led to government measures to regulate their entry during the 1960s. The entry restrictions were partially waived to accommodate Asians holding British passports expelled from Uganda in 1972. Community services and immigration liaison offices were set up in several cities to help with the integration and improve race relations.



6 Striking miners in 1972 supported wage claims of up to 47% made by the National Union of Miners at a time when the Conservative Government was hoping to bring inflation down from 6% to 5%. Rejecting

increases of between 7% and 8%, miners picketed generating stations until power shortages forced the government to set up an inquiry. The strike from 8 January to 28 February ended with acceptance of

increases averaging 25% recommended by a court of inquiry. Further miners' claims in 1973 were resisted by the Government, but its handling of the economy led to defeat in the 1974 election.



7 Rolls-Royce engine manufacture was threatened in 1971 when the company's financial problems forced it to seek assistance from a Conservative government pledged to leave 'same duck' industries to their fate. The government

had to take over those parts of the company essential to defence. A similar crisis in 1975 in the American-based Chrysler company obliged the Labour government to inject £162.5 million to save the jobs of car plant workers.

8 A last-ditch fight against Britain's entry into the EEC was defeated when a referendum in 1975

produced a 67% vote in favour of continued membership of the Community. A large section of

the Labour Party, particularly the left-wing Tribune Group, had opposed Britain's joining in 1973.



9 Arabs shopping in London became a new feature of life in the capital during the 1970s, reflecting rising incomes in the oil states of the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. At the same time, sterling balances

held by the oil states became a key factor in Britain's management of her currency reserves. Arab investors in the UK tended to favour buying real estate, such as the Dorchester Hotel, rather than shares in British industry.

The Soviet Union since 1945

The USSR at the end of World War II had lost more than 20 million of her citizens and four and a half million homes. Some 65 000 km (40 000 miles) of railway track were laid waste, thousands of industrial and agricultural machines crippled and livestock vastly depleted. Reconstruction was a formidable task. Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) reintroduced five-year planning, and soon he declared many ambitious targets over-fulfilled.

Costly progress

By the time of Stalin's death the Soviet Union had acquired nuclear weapons and had far surpassed prewar production in iron, steel, coal, oil and electricity. It achieved these targets at the cost of great sacrifices by its own people and those of Eastern Europe whose resources were in effect put at Moscow's disposal after 1945.

Life was hardest in the countryside where under-investment, low prices for compulsory deliveries, high taxes on private plots and doctrinaire administrative measures hampered production. By 1953 agricultural output per capita was below that of 1928.

The onset of the cold war together with Stalin's attempts to contain the effect of Tito's independent line in Yugoslavia increased tension within the USSR. Stalin's "personality cult" reached its peak in the postwar era when purges were revived. Stalin's paranoia towards the end of his life and the sense of fear and suspicion he created around him were publicly expressed in January 1953 when he unjustly accused nine eminent doctors, most of them Jewish, of having murdered the deputy premier, Andrei Zhdanov (1896–1948). In his last days not even Stalin's closest intimates and advisers were safe from his secret police.

Collective leadership

After Stalin's death on 5 March 1953 [1] collective leadership was proclaimed and accordingly the new Premier – Georgi M. Malenkov (1902–) – relinquished the position of senior Party Secretary ten days after assuming it. Soon the Kremlin doctors were released, their "plot" having been exposed as a fabrication. Curbs on secret-police power were dramatized by the secret trial and

execution of Lavrenti Beria (1899–1953); the reorganization of his ministry and the progressive release from labour camps of an estimated 10–12 million people.

There were serious rivalries between Stalin's successors. Premier Malenkov and First Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971) [2] disagreed over economic priorities and the implications of nuclear warfare, but while Khrushchev exploited their differences to engineer the removal of Malenkov from the premiership in February 1955, he subsequently endorsed many of Malenkov's proposals.

The trend towards relaxing domestic and foreign policies alarmed Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov (1890–), especially after the 20th Communist Party Congress in February 1956 at which Khrushchev denounced Stalin and envisaged different roads to socialism. The subsequent turmoil in Poland and Hungary confirmed Molotov's fears. He spearheaded a revolt, culminating in the Party Presidium's vote for Khrushchev's dismissal in June 1957. However, in the Central Committee meeting that

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Stalin's funeral, on 9 March 1953, drew crowds of Russians to Red Square in Moscow. Not every one mourned. Some grieved for the man who had transformed their country into a powerful state, but others counted the cost. Without abandoning police control or strict censorship Stalin's successors eradicated the "personality cult" and the rule of terror. Stalin's body was removed from the Lenin Mausoleum in 1961.



2 Nikita Khrushchev joined the Communist Party in 1918 and became a loyal executor of Stalin's policies. As First Secretary in the Ukraine in 1938, he administered the purges with fervour. Later, as the Party chief, he dismantled the cruder forms of terror and moved tentatively towards détente. His capricious and bombast infuriated all, yet his consignment to oblivion in 1964 was widely regretted.



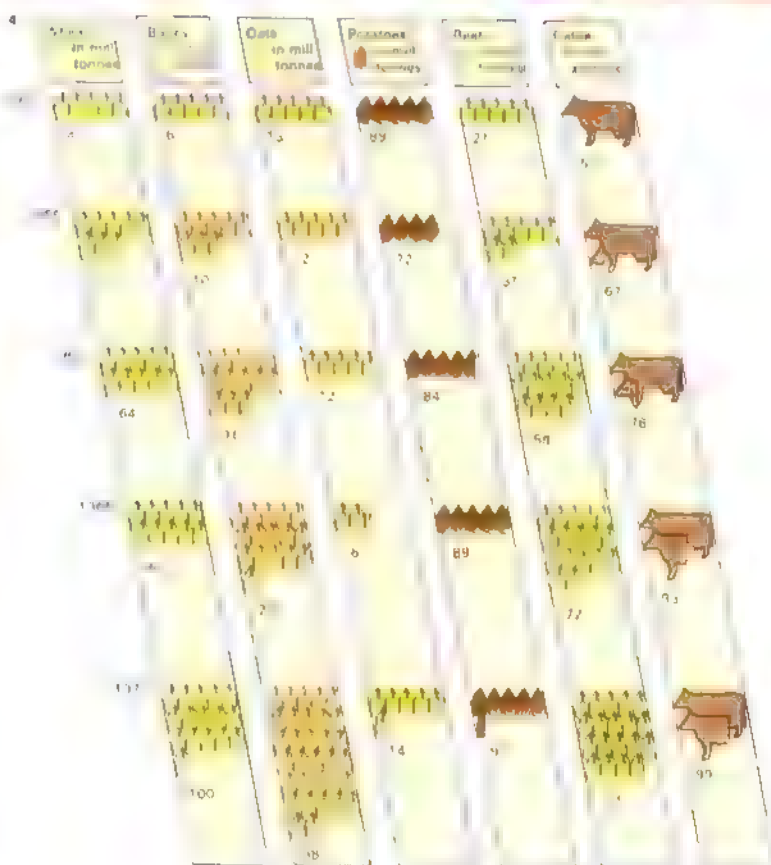
3 For more on 1928–1953



3 This Soviet cartoon satirizes the inadequacy of curbs on bureaucracy. All attacks on officialdom are tolerated, but criticism of higher officials and Party policy is banned.

4 Output of Soviet agriculture has been disappointing since collectivization. Price incentives and doubling of investment in the 1960s raised productivity. Today, with over 600

million acres under cultivation and a quarter of the work force engaged in farming, Soviet agriculture is still unable to meet the population's demands for a better diet.



followed, Khrushchev's opponents were themselves defeated. Nikolai Bulganin (1895- 1975) remained, but lost the premiership within a year to Khrushchev himself.

Khrushchev's elevation meant improved material conditions. He cut the working week, reduced wage differentials, diminished the stringency of Stalin's draconian labour laws and gave greater priority to consumer needs. But over-centralized, often incompetent planning plagued economic development. Notwithstanding industrial performance [7] and the Sputniks and other space triumphs after 1957 [4], agricultural production [4] remained disappointing despite increased investment. Khrushchev's failure aroused resentment and in October 1964, he was dismissed.

A decade of stable government

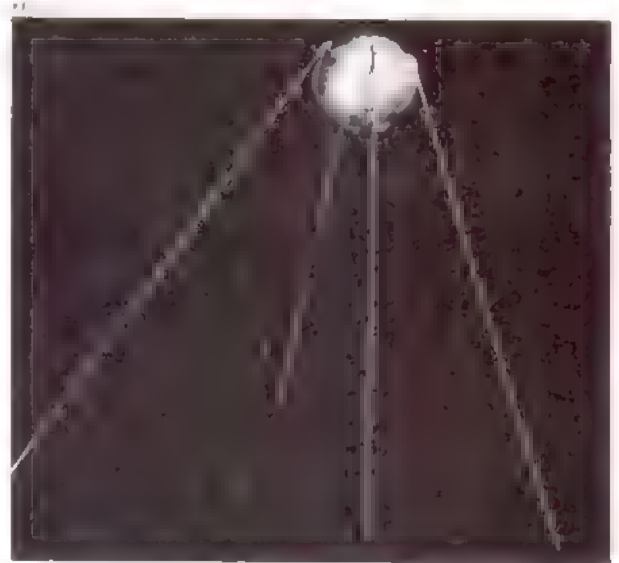
Despite policy disagreements the post-Khrushchev leadership has been remarkably stable. Leonid Brezhnev (1906-), First Secretary of the Central Committee, Alexei Kosygin (1904-), Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Nikolai Vik-

torovitch Podgorny (1903-), President, having held office for well over a decade. The USSR has advanced militarily to achieve virtual strategic parity with the USA, while the rift with China, begun under Khrushchev, has widened. Economic progress has been less spectacular. Central planners have resisted complete decentralization, but they have permitted some degree of autonomy. In agriculture massive investment and concessions such as the relaxation of restrictions on private plots have helped to boost production, although major problems remain despite military and space successes.

Yet there are signs of strain and nonconformity in the monolithic society of the USSR. Alcoholism is one problem, dissidence another. Outspoken intellectuals and writers, such as Smyslovsky and Daniel, along with protesters at political events such as the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, suffer a harsh official response. But administrative measures have failed to silence the nonconformists or stem the clandestine circulation of samizdat (illegal typescripts).

5 Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev

Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev signed the SALT I agreement in 1972. It was intended to stabilize the balance of American nuclear weapons and reduce the risk of war. Like all agreements on trade agreements signed during the Nixon-Brezhnev summit, SALT has been hampered by suspicions following President Nixon's presidency.



Sputnik 1 was the world's first artificial satellite. It

was launched on 4 October 1957. This success

triggered a whole series of pioneering space ventures.

6 Gosudarstvenni Universitetskiy Magazin (GUM) is a Moscow magazine for the student community.

It is a luxury magazine for students to keep a copy of it in their pockets and stop at any time.

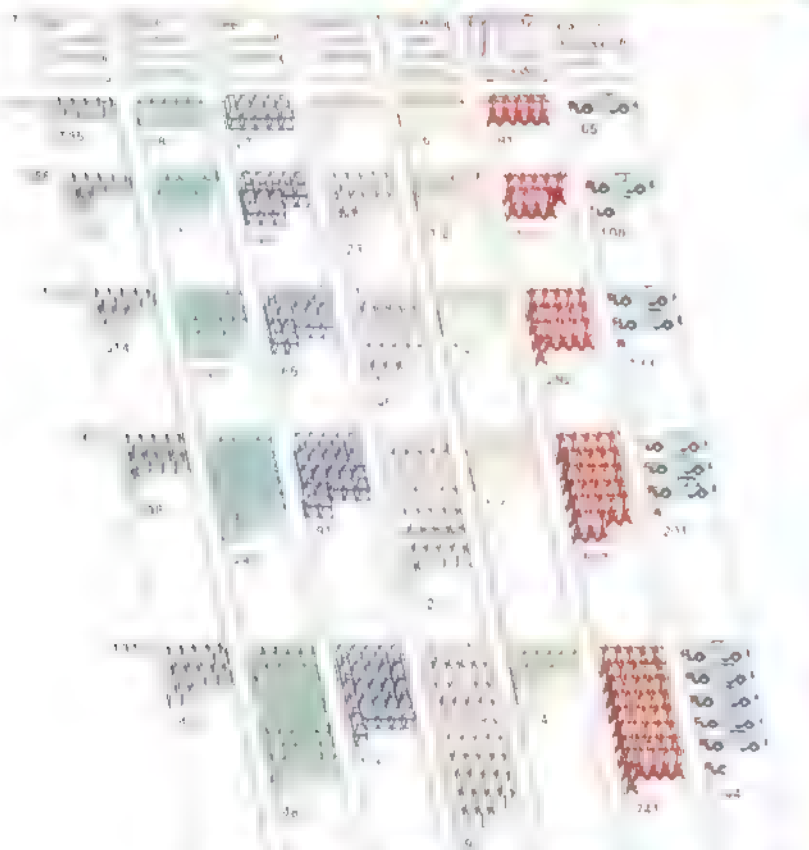
the USSR GUM is better stocked than any other magazine in the world.



7 Soviet industrial development since the war has been impressive, even allowing for statistical exaggerations. In that period output increased tenfold, more than doubling during the 1960s after reforms which gave more scope to

individual initiative. Expansion of heavy industry is still stressed but consumer production is growing in importance. Productivity per man however is still lower than in the West, hence the Soviet interest in Western technology.

8 International football matches draw great crowds in Moscow. Sport receives generous official encouragement as part of the view that physical accomplishment makes for healthy, contented citizens and international prestige.



Eastern Europe since 1949

A successful coup made Czechoslovakia a communist country in February 1948 and extended the area of intensive Russian influence in Eastern Europe. Each country under communist control became a "people's democracy" - a one-party dictatorship closely modelled on that in the Soviet Union. The characteristic features of these regimes were: strict censorship of the press and control of all aspects of culture and religion; central economic planning; rapid and forced industrialization; at least partial collectivization of agriculture and in foreign policy submission to the line laid down in Moscow. Soviet control of Eastern Europe was guaranteed by the presence of Soviet troops in most of the satellite countries and numerous Soviet advisers and instructors.

After the defection of Yugoslavia (always the most independent of the satellite countries) from the Soviet bloc in 1948, purges took place in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania. These purges often culminated in show trials of officials accused of being sympathetic to the idea of the "separate roads to socialism"

advocated in Yugoslavia [3]. Non-communists, too, especially members of the Churches, were subjected to persecution and harassment during that period [2].

Hungary - to encourage the others

After Stalin's death some of the most unpopular features of his policy towards Eastern Europe were modified by his successors, and East European leaders were allowed some degree of autonomy in their domestic policies. But in October 1956 Hungary openly revolted against its communist regime and repudiated its Soviet alliance [4]. At the same time in Poland the leadership of the party was restored to Władysław Gomułka (1905-), who had been dismissed and imprisoned in 1948 for the alleged adoption of an independent line. After a show of indecision Soviet tanks were used to crush the Hungarian uprising, but the Soviet Union stopped short of more permanent intervention in Poland. This was a sensible decision. Within a year Gomułka cancelled the liberal concessions that had been wrung from the regime by the intelligentsia in

the autumn of 1956. However Poland kept its private agriculture while other East European countries went ahead with plans for full collectivization in the late 1950s.

No action was undertaken against Albania which defected from the Soviet bloc in 1960 and promptly took China's side in the great Sino-Soviet quarrel that was just beginning. Romania opted for a more independent foreign policy in 1964, having for several years strenuously opposed Soviet plans for economic integration within Eastern Europe. But domestically both Albania and Romania remained one-party dictatorships.

The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia, which had been the Soviet Union's model satellite for 20 years, provoked the most serious crisis in postwar Eastern Europe in 1968. Alexander Dubček (1921-), who had become party leader and president in that year [Key], embarked on a course of energetic liberalization, of which the Soviet and some other East European leaders publicly disapproved. Censorship was relaxed, and a higher degree of local

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 COMECON the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (which includes Cuba and Mongolia) was founded in 1949 as Stalin's answer to the Marshall Plan in Western Europe. Revitalized in 1958 by Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, to consolidate Soviet economic control of Eastern Europe, COMECON has now embarked on a policy of integration adopted at Bucharest in 1971 and further elaborated at Budapest in June 1975. In 1973 COMECON with 366 million people accounted for only 12% of world trade (the EEC, by comparison, with a population of 263 million, accounted for 40%). However its trade with the West and the EEC in particular is growing fast, with an increasing proportion generated by "joint ventures" between partners from Eastern and Western Europe. Higher costs of Western imports are now provoking more inter-COMECON joint ventures and greater investment in Soviet projects for the exploitation of natural resources. However Eastern Europe still needs the West for its advanced technology. Yugoslavia, an observer in COMECON, conducts over 70% of its trade with the non-communist world. And Romania deals direct with the EEC. Albania trades with both East and West. To make a direct connection between the presence of Soviet troops and a country's trading pattern seems dubious.



autonomy was granted to the national minorities. In economic planning a move was made to reduce the high level of centralization, prices were allowed a closer relationship to market forces, and individual enterprises were given greater freedom. When Dubcek refused to bow to pressure from his allies, Warsaw Pact troops from the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria marched in on 21 August 1968 [5]. Czechoslovak leaders were arrested and taken to Moscow, but when no replacements of any stature could be found they were allowed to stay in nominal power for a few months before being finally replaced in 1969.

Although Czechoslovakia's experiment was brutally suppressed, Hungary, under its leader Janos Kadar (1912–81), was allowed to carry out a relatively successful series of reforms. Kadar's popular shift towards the consumer goods sector was emulated elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Poland's new leader, Edward Gierek (1913–81) who had replaced Gomulka after workers' riots in December 1970, made 'Kadarization' one of the basic tenets of his policy. East Ger-

many too embarked on its own version of a 'consumer revolution'. In 1971 after the dismissal of its conservative leader Wilter Ulbricht (1893–1973).

The Soviet bloc closes ranks

Although agreements were reached which lowered some barriers between West Germany on one side and the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany on the other in the 1970 'period' there was a new ideological tightening up throughout Eastern Europe. This was due partly to Soviet fear of creeping liberalization and partly to a 'backlash' among industrial workers and party officials against the material gains achieved from reform by the professional and managerial classes. New economic predicaments also helped the Soviet Union to turn COMECON's [1] focus eastwards once more. Western inflation had in the mid 1970s made imports from the West suddenly much more expensive, at the same time the Soviet Union raised the prices of oil and the other raw materials of which it holds a virtual monopoly of supply to Eastern Europe.

KEY



Alexander Dubcek (front, second right) kept in uneasy step with other Eastern European leaders at the meeting in Bratislava on 3 Aug-

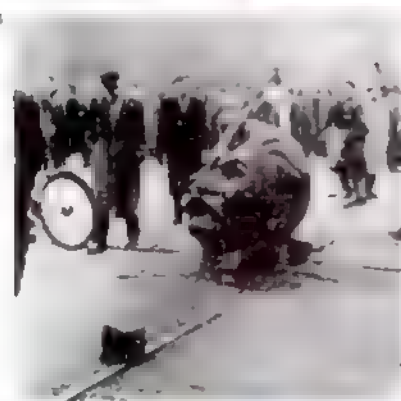
ust 1968. Less than three weeks later Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. The pact was concluded between the Soviet Union and her

satellite states in May 1955. It forms the cornerstone of Soviet policy in Eastern Europe, bolstered by the presence there of 31 Soviet divisions.

2 Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty (1892–1975), Primate of Hungary (centre), and a strong anti-communist was imprisoned for life in 1949 after a dramatic show trial. Freed by the rebels in the 1956 rising, he remained in political asylum in the US embassy in Budapest until 1971 when he was ordered to Rome by the Pope. He was fervently opposed to Vatican attempts to come to terms with communist regimes in Eastern Europe.



3 Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) [right], Malenkov's successor as Soviet leader, went to Yugoslavia in May 1955 to repair the rift caused by Yugoslavia's assertion of independence in 1948. Khrushchev blamed the quarrel on Beria, the ex-chief of Russian police executed in 1953. Josip Broz Tito (1892–81) [left], the Yugoslav leader, insisted on formal Soviet recognition of Yugoslavia's ideological autonomy.



4 Stalin's statue was torn down in Budapest on 2 November 1956, a dramatic moment in the uprising against Soviet domination and the brutal Hungarian regime. Within two days 150,000 Soviet troops and 2,500 tanks were 'pacifying' Hungary. The executions that followed the uprising soon gave way to the intelligent government of Janos Kadar. His policy combined better living standards with wider ideological freedom.



5 The Warsaw Pact troops who invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968 met with no military resistance. However, the many spontaneous acts of obstruction such as raising roadblocks and setting fire to Soviet tanks were humiliating for the Soviet leaders who claimed that the intervention had been requested by Czechoslovak leaders. But supporters of the invasion were in reality few and had little encouragement.

6 Communism went on show in 1973 with the World Festival of Youth and Students, the largest propaganda rally since 1945. Held in East Berlin, it was a spectacular expression of East Germany's sense of achievement in the year of her worldwide recognition. However, despite the evidence of such displays, youth in Eastern Europe is also interested in Western culture and ideas and often dubious of Soviet bloc ideology and politics.



7 The Berlin Wall was built on 13 August 1961 to stop the continual exodus of large numbers of East Germans to the West. Between 1949, when Germany was divided, and 1961, more than 2.7 million people fled to the West. In many East Germans still attempt to reach the West despite the dangers. However, this may change. East Germany now has higher living standards than any other communist nation and is the world's seventh largest industrial power.



China: the People's Republic

The Chinese People's Republic was established on 1 October 1949 [Key] by a mandate from a constituent assembly convened under the aegis of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The immediate task of the new government was to rehabilitate the war-ravaged economy inherited from Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist administration after its forced withdrawal to the offshore province of Taiwan. A gradualist policy was adopted, characterized by the creation of a coalition of the various elements in Chinese society, and the avoidance of violent class struggle. The communists did not balk at suppressing their most intractable class enemies, but they were preoccupied with carrying out measures to ensure economic survival.

Major reforms of the 1950s

Mass support gave the new government the authority to take steps to conquer hyperinflation [1]. Land reform affecting over 80 per cent of the population was completed by early 1953. As a result the government gained control over surplus agricultural production, it also won the peasant backing it

needed to weaken social institutions based on a kinship system dominated by elders [2]. This made it easier to set up new communist institutions in place of the old system. Another major reform was the implementation of the 1950 Marriage Law which greatly improved the status of women.

From 1953-7 China underwent a transition to socialism as commerce and industry were nationalized and agricultural institutions transformed. These changes were not accomplished without dissent but, as a 1957 rectification campaign showed, the power of the enlarged party machine considerably exceeded that of its critics. Meanwhile in foreign affairs China was aligned with the USSR whose aid was crucial to industrialization during the first five-year plan (1953-7) and bitterly opposed to the United States, her major adversary in the Korean War (1950-53), proponent of the policy of containment and supporter of Taiwan.

Hoping to expand production rapidly by amalgamating collective farms into communes [3] and by adopting a backyard approach to industrialization [4], China be-

gan the Great Leap Forward in 1958 marking the implementation of a Chinese strategy of economic development and the rejection of the Soviet strategy employed in the preceding five years. As a result, an ideological dispute between China and the USSR gathered momentum, leading to a withdrawal of Soviet technicians and their blueprints in 1960. In the event the Great Leap Forward failed, owing to dissent, bad weather and an underestimation of the problems [5]. The outcome was an economic crisis and a forced retreat from Maoist principles.

The Cultural Revolution

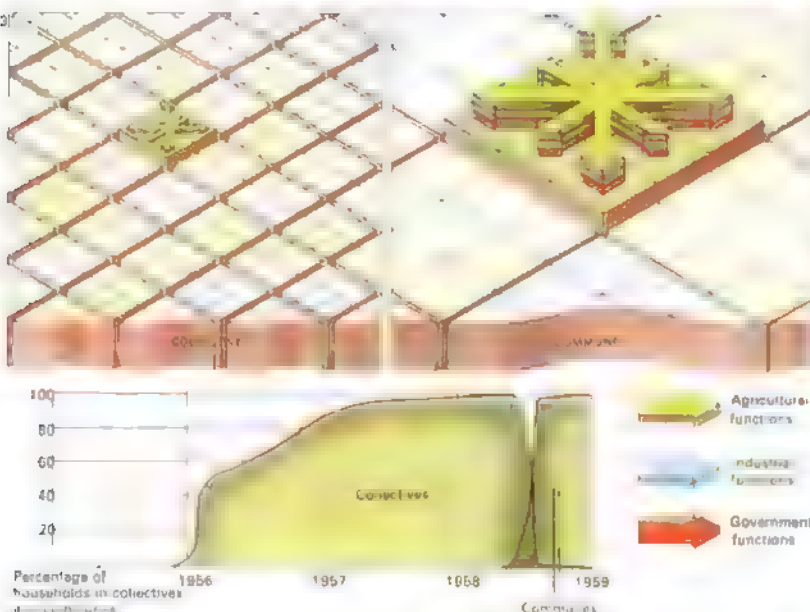
The retreat was only temporary. Once economic recovery had been achieved in 1963 Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), who had given up his post as head of state in 1959 to be replaced by Liu Shao-chi (1898-1974), resumed his efforts to realize socialism in China [6]. By now the ideological split between the USSR and China was being reflected within the CCP and the specifically Maoist attempts at running the economy had been openly criticized. Mao Tse-tung coun-

CONNECTIONS

1 Queues outside banks in 1948 marked a collapse of confidence in China's currency and in the ability of the Nationalists to manage the economy. Inflation set off by the irresponsible issue of bank notes was a problem during the Japanese war and it accelerated between 1945 and 1948 when the Shanghai price index rose 135 742 times causing a hyperinflation. This the communist government inherited.



2 Burning of land title deeds and the public confessionation of landlords were common during the nationwide land reform campaign conducted by the Chinese government between mid 1950 and early 1963. The political and social impact of this campaign was as important as its economic effect. Socially, the destruction of the old system was underlined by the public humiliation of landlords and the venting of grievances by peasants led by communist cadres. Politically, the richer classes were isolated economically and redistribution among 300 million peasants stimulated their willingness to increase production.



3 People's communes were introduced in the summer of 1958. This was to be the culmination of the socialist transformation of agriculture. In 1953-4 peasant households had been organized into mutual aid teams. In 1955 these merged

to form co-operatives which in turn were merged into collectives. In 1956-7 about eight times larger than the collectives, communes were also units of government coordinating planning in agriculture, industry, defence and education.

4 Backyard furnaces and foundries epitomized the Great Leap Forward, a drive launched in February 1958 to accelerate expansion of the Chinese economy. By mobilizing underemployed rural labour in small labour-intensive indus-

tries it was intended to complement the production of urban-based capital-intensive industries at little extra cost to investment funds. Called 'walking on two legs' this strategy of economic development was widely promoted.



tered by launching a campaign to reverse a deteriorating ideological situation and a weakening in his personal influence. The campaign, the Cultural Revolution, aimed on the one hand at purging the CCP and on the other at ridding China of aspects of traditional culture incompatible with socialism. Party members were ousted and the state structure usurped by revolutionary committees in circumstances that sometimes led to violence. The key to Mao Tse-tung's success was his ability to mobilize support, especially from the young people [7], coupled with the loyalty of the armed forces.

During the Cultural Revolution Mao Tse-tung presided over the rebuilding of the CCP and the mass organizations, a restoration of the state system, a restructuring of the education system and a reassessment of Chinese culture. The spilling over of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution into foreign affairs damaged China's international position for a while. Some 45 divisions of Soviet forces were deployed along the frontier giving rise to armed clashes in 1969 [8]. China's foreign relations now became marked by alignment

with the Third World, friendship with the medium-sized developed countries, trade and diplomacy with Japan and the USA and continuing confrontation with the USSR.

Admission to the United Nations

The success of China's new foreign policy was characterized by her admission to UN membership in 1971 and by a visit by the American president, Richard Nixon (1913-), in 1972 [9]. The eclipse of Lin Biao (1907-71), the defence minister and Mao's heir apparent, who was reported killed during a flight to the USSR in 1971, suggests that an accommodation with capitalism at the expense of a reconciliation with the Soviet bloc was not unanimously approved. Nevertheless, China moved to the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975 (the first for a decade), new constitution and, for the first time since 1946, a fully manned state structure. Mao died in 1976 and was succeeded by Hua Guo-feng. In the disturbances that followed, Mao's widow and some other prominent politicians were arrested and accused of treason.

KEY

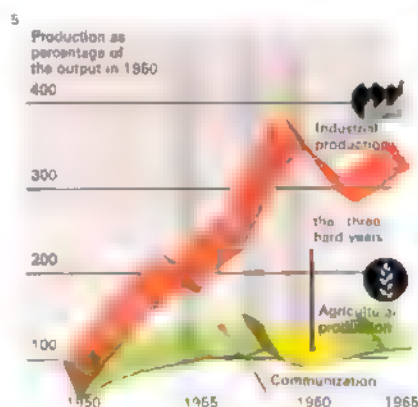


Mao Tse-tung, as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and chairman

elect of the government, stood in Tien An Men Square in Peking to proclaim

the establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949

5 During the Great Leap Forward agricultural and industrial output dropped. Inadequate planning and accounting led to miscalculation of potential yields and failure to meet the targets set. Lack of experience and disorganization meant that many communes were ill-equipped and badly run. The worst weather for a century in 1959-60 led to economic crisis and the policies of the Great Leap Forward were shelved.



6 Exemplary production units singled out by Mao Tse-tung in 1964 were the Tachai agricultural brigade in Haiyang county, Shansi province, and the Taching oilfield in Heilungkiang province. In

Tachai, A peasants transformed a poor environment and increased grain output without state aid or material incentives. In Taching, B workers created a prototype agro-industrial community devel-

oped without foreign aid by reliance on their own technological innovations. Both show the importance attached to self-reliance, hard work and persistence in Chinese economic development.

after 1960. Then, as a result of frequent ideological differences, the Soviet Union withdrew her many technicians and cancelled all her aid programmes to the Chinese People's Republic.



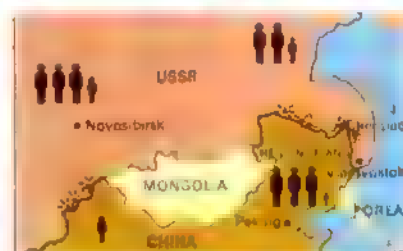
7 The Little Red Book of quotations from Mao Tse-tung became the bible of the Cultural Revolution of 1966-8. It was studied on a national-wide basis as a pocket guide for action in any set of

circumstances. But it was put to most use in the hands of young people, particularly Red Guards recruited from middle schools, universities and factories. As successors to the revolution, they

formed a main force in the campaign by Mao Tse-tung and his supporters against Liu Shao-chi, then head of state, and aspects of traditional culture standing in the way of Maoist policies.

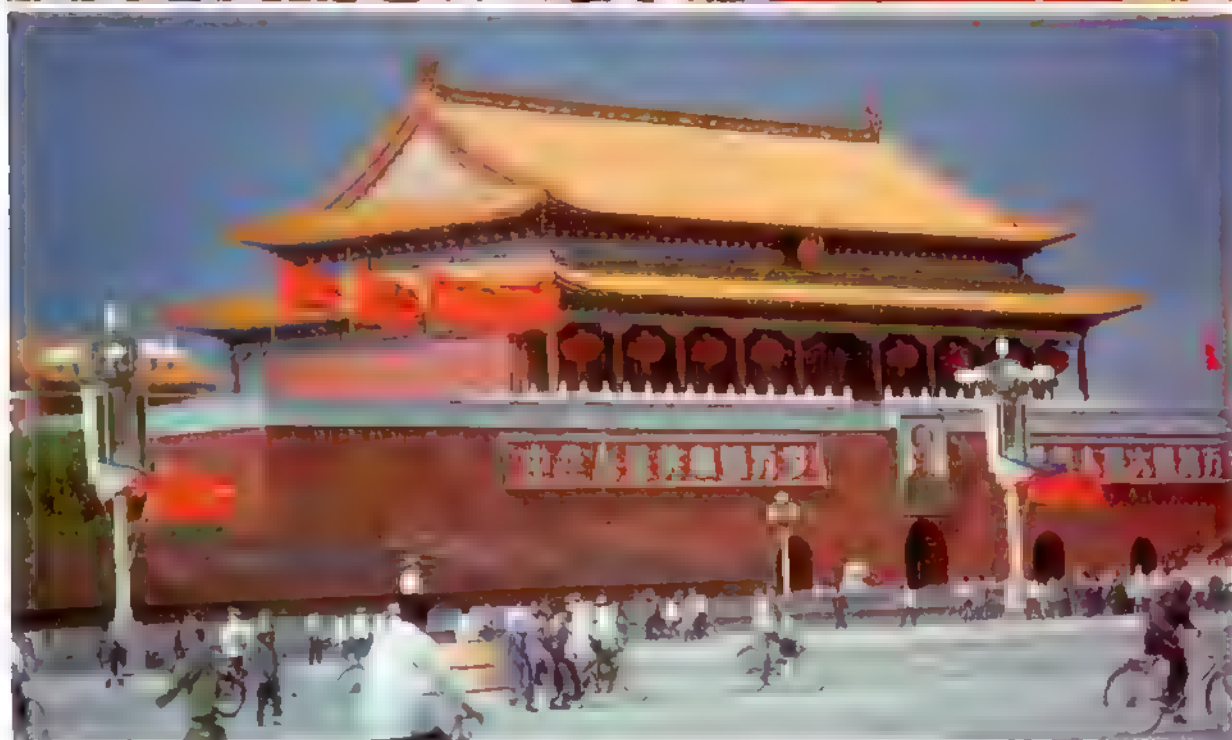
8 Border clashes between Chinese and Soviet forces on the Ussuri River frontier in Heilungkiang in March 1969 showed the extent to which Sino-Soviet relations had deteriorated in the course of the ideological disputes of the late 1950s. After the worst

fighting over Chen-pao or Damansky island, China claimed that the Soviet Union had provoked 4 189 incidents.

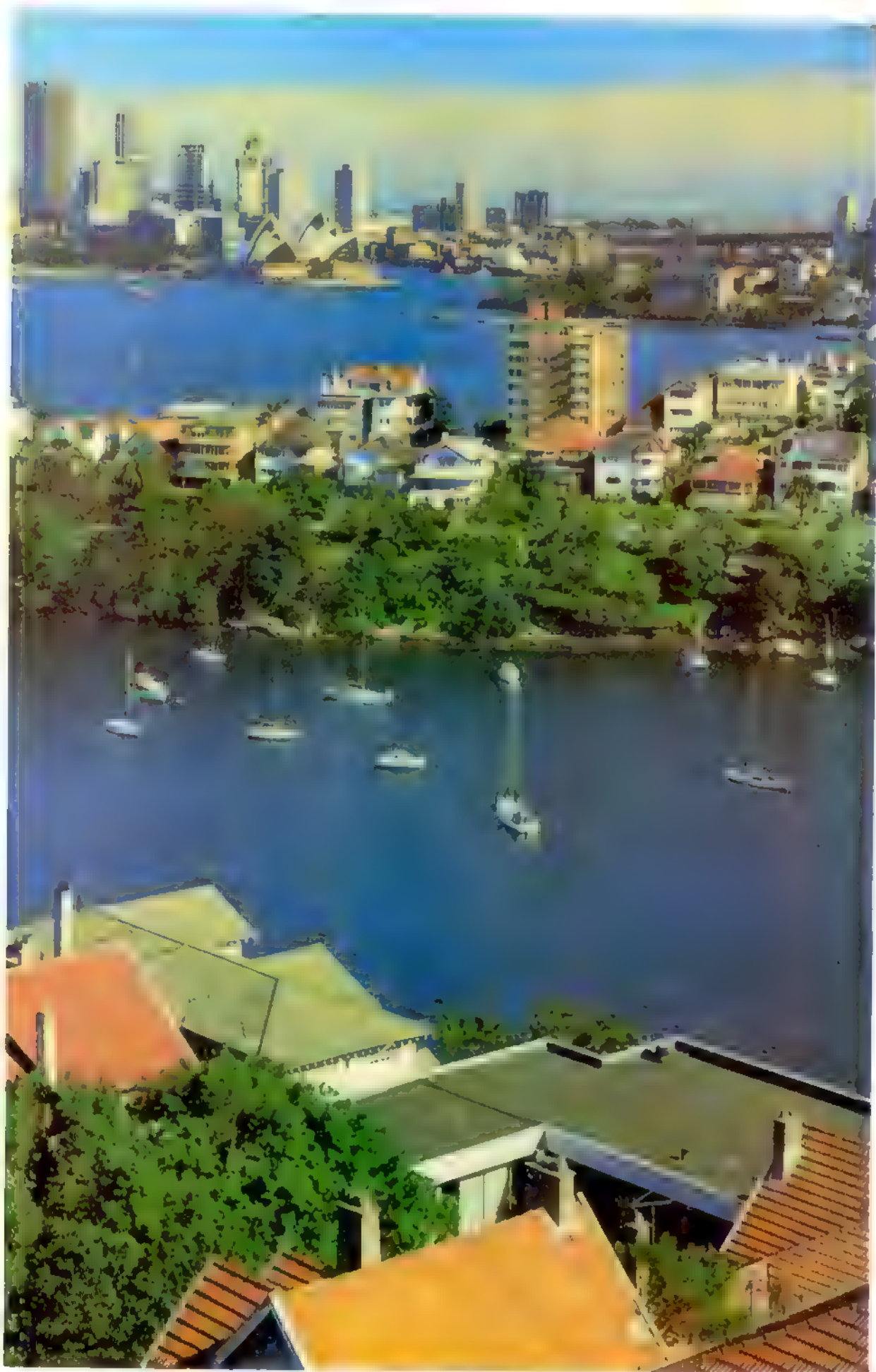


9 The visit of Richard Nixon, the US president, in 1972 marked a new era in China's foreign relations. Less hostile Sino-US attitudes had indirectly contributed to the admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN in 1971. It also led to better relations between China and Japan and increasing diplomatic isolation of the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan.

China new and
old to be crowds
government
city, making the
world and
the other side of
the river



A view of Sydney Harbour with its famous landmarks, the opera house and all of Sydney.



Decolonization

Decolonization has been one of the greatest transforming processes in the world since 1945. A new word in the political vocabulary, it has achieved widespread usage and currency only since the middle 1950s as far-flung colonies have gradually achieved independence from their rulers.

Processes of decolonization

The term decolonization covers a wide range of processes by which power is transferred from the departing colonial authority to the newly independent nation. To date, transfer has usually been peaceful and by agreement, for example from Britain to Ceylon (now called Sri Lanka) in 1948, Ghana in 1957 and Jamaica in 1962. In a few but important instances, strife has been an integral part of the process of decolonization but was not directly connected with the issue of independence – the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya, the enosis dispute in Cyprus, and British confrontation with Indonesia over the creation of the Malaysian Federation. In some of the best-known examples of decolonization independence has been wrung by force from

a reluctant colonial power – from The Netherlands in Indonesia in 1949, and from France in North Vietnam in 1954 and in Algeria in 1962 [6]. In the Congo in 1960, the Belgians granted independence to a territory that was wholly unprepared for it, and bloody chaos ensued [5]. But there can be two-way effects of decolonization – as in Portugal in 1974 when internal dissent and colonial unrest resulted in a revolution that hastened the independence of its colonies in 1975.

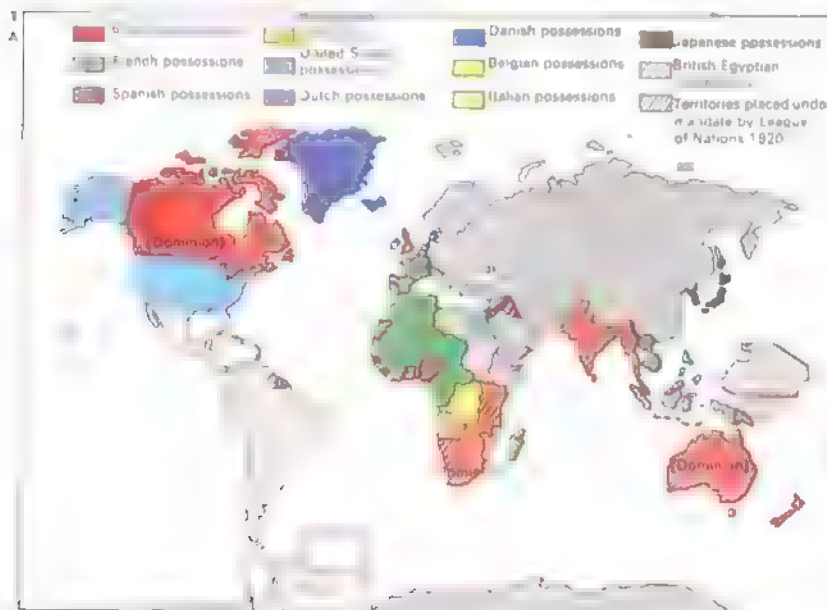
The process of decolonization, and the consequent emergence of new states, has resulted in major changes to the political map of the world [1]. In 1914 there were only eight sovereign states in the whole of Asia and Africa, and of these only Japan was regarded as a power of real account in world affairs, almost everywhere else throughout those continents the rule of dominating influence of the West Europeans, the Russians or the Americans prevailed. Only since World War II has the great retreat from and dismantling of the overseas empires of the West Europeans come about, first in Asia in the late 1940s, and then only slightly in North

Africa in the early 1950s. After that decolonization gathered pace, was in full flood between 1955 and 1965 [3], and eventually reached the Pacific and parts of the world that were once remote.

The quickening pace

Most of the principal overseas empires of the West European powers were already dissolving when the fifteenth session of the UN General Assembly began in September 1960 and an Anti-Colonialist Charter drawn up by 43 African and Asian countries was adopted without dissent. The British Empire was moving into a state of more or less voluntary liquidation. India [Key], Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, Cyprus and Nigeria [4] had become independent. "Empire-into-Commonwealth" was an accomplished but continuing fact, although the wider problem of the role of the white man remained unresolved in the apartheid regime of South Africa and in Rhodesia. In his forthright "wind of change" speech to the South African Parliament in February 1960, the British prime minister, Harold

CONNECTIONS

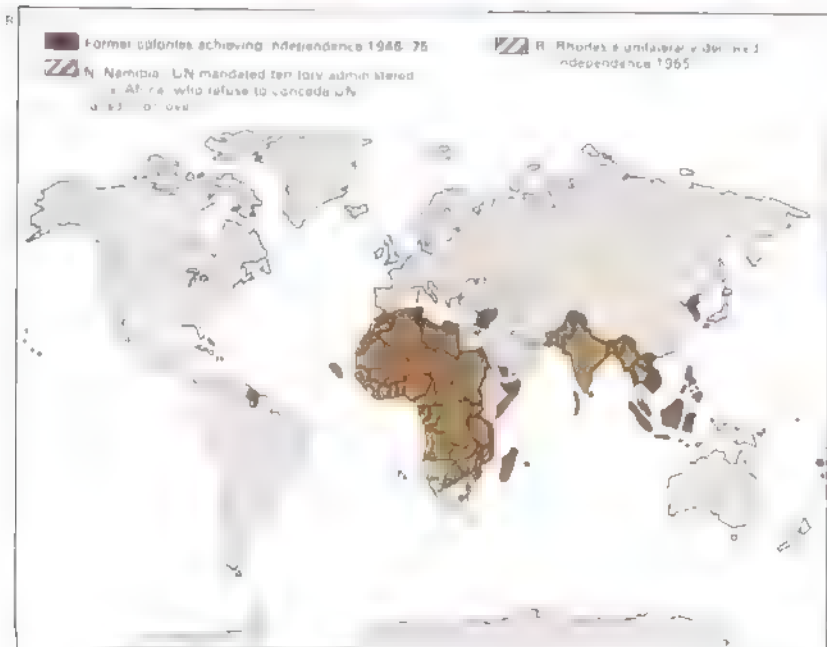


1 In 1926 there were more than 80 separate colonies and dependencies [A]. These comprised over 33% of the population and land area of the world. Seven West European countries, Britain, France, The Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy, whose total home population was about 200 million, controlled about 700 million people in overseas colonies. The British and French empires were by far the largest. Most of the new states of the post-1945 world [B] have come from these two empires. While the British Empire was truly worldwide, the French was predominantly in Africa and Indochina.



2 The election of U Thant of Burma as UN Secretary-General, after the death of Dag Hammarskjöld in the Congo in 1961, symbolized the growing number of votes and votes of new and

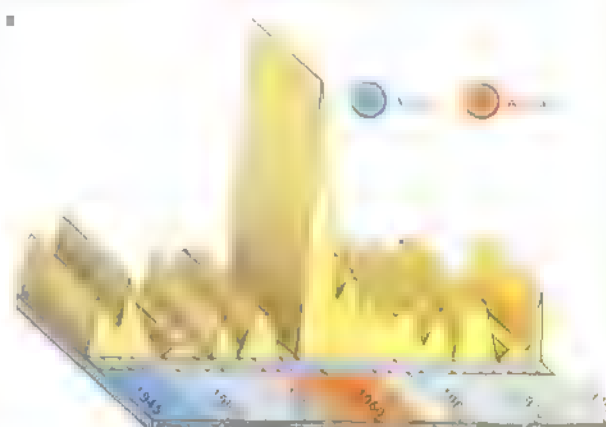
non-aligned states in UN affairs, especially of Asian and African members. UN membership is valued by all newly independent states as an important symbol of their status.



3 Decolonization had three main phases. First, from 1944 to 1949, it occurred in the southern flanks of Asia: Lebanon, Syria and Israel; then India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and the Philippines and In-

donesia. From 1950 to 1956 little decolonization took place. Libya, Morocco and Tunisia became independent peacefully, and Algerians began the war for independence that ended in 1961. From 1956 to

1963 African decolonization got rapidly under way, with the Sudan in 1956, Ghana in 1957 and Guinea in 1958. In 1960 all of the French African colonies became independent, plus Nigeria and Belgian Congo.



Macmillan (1894-), had rightly predicted that the rate of decolonization was quickening. In the same year France's colonial presence was to shrink considerably in Africa and soon to disappear completely. So, too, was that of Belgium from the Congo. Of the West European powers, only Portugal continued to insist that its mission in its territories overseas was permanent, although the revolution of 1974 brought a sudden change of attitude.

Adjustment after decolonization

The whole period of decolonization, now virtually over, has created acute problems of adjustment for both former rulers and ruled. Some ex-imperial powers - notably Britain - have found the transition to lesser power status and a lower world standing acutely uncomfortable. Only since her decision to stay in the EEC, and with the Commonwealth discussions on world economic issues in June 1975, has Britain begun to find a new role as intermediary and honest broker between rich and poor, developed and developing countries. Most other colonial powers have

domestic difficulties over decolonization.

The new states themselves have had to evolve political systems appropriate to their new situation and not necessarily those bequeathed by the outgoing authority [7]. Thus the abandonment of parliamentary constitutions in favour of one-party systems, the rejection of Russo-American models of development through industrialization in favour of the Chinese model of concentration on agriculture and self-sufficiency, and the adoption of a foreign policy independent of the decolonizing power can all be seen as a continuing the process of decolonization.

But if colonialism is almost dead "neo-colonialism" is alive. The United States historically the greatest advocate of anti-colonialism, is also the country most often charged with "neo-colonialism". It may take the form of economic control through multinational corporations, military influence through arms aid and advisers, or even political "destabilization" as practised against the Marxist regime of President Allende in Chile. The Soviet Union is accused in similar terms, chiefly by China.



The inauguration of Earl Mountbatten as Viceroy of India in 1947 prefaced

the independence of India and Pakistan in the same year. This event symbolized the

advent of the age of decolonization, carried out with a formal transfer of power.



4 Nigeria achieved independence peacefully from Britain in 1960. Power was handed over to a working federal parliament and government. But a few years later, Nigeria suffered two military coups in one year and a bloody but unsuccessful attempt to create a new secessionist state of Biafra.



5 The Belgians' abrupt departure in 1960 from the Congo (now called Zaire) led to bitter civil war, much bloodshed and to the attempted but ultimately unsuccessful secession of the copper-rich province of Katanga. The introduction of a UN peace-keeping force caused great controversy.



6 Algeria is one of the few countries since 1945 to have won independence by means of a successful war against France. This lasted from 1954 until 1962. De Gaulle, who had returned to power backed by the slogan 'Algeria Française', conceded independence in July 1962. Algeria then began to play an active part in Arab League affairs and later as an oil-producing country with limited reserves, within OPEC. A number of important Afro-Asian and non-aligned conferences have been held in Algiers, especially the short-lived Afro-Asian meeting of October 1965 and the 1973 summit.

7 Most independence day ceremonies for the newly independent states may at first seem to involve only changes of personnel, who in style and outlook often resemble their predecessors. They may even wear wigs and carry maces. But parliaments, British or French style, are not always resilient institutions and often give way to military rule. For most of these new state societies, their sense of community goes deeper than their constitutionalism. Almost all Third World societies are pluralistic, with deep economic and racial differences which stand in the way of political stability and sustained economic progress.



Australia since 1918

Australia lost nearly 60,000 men killed during World War I. This gave authority to its representation at the Paris Peace Conference, where the prime minister William Morris Hughes (1862-1952) [1] successfully defended the "White Australia" policy (a government policy that restricted the entry of non-Europeans into the country) and obtained for Australia a "C" class League of Nations mandate over the former German colony in northeastern New Guinea. The territory became a United Nations trusteeship after World War II, was administered jointly with Australia's colony of Papua, and both became independent as the joint state of Papua New Guinea in 1975.

Economic and political changes

Manufacturing industry in Australia, stimulated by World War I received continuing protection through tariffs supported by a trade union movement that was growing in strength, ideology and militancy. But tariffs did not help the farmers. In 1922 the new Australian Country Party (whose basic policy is aimed at increasing the effectiveness of

primary industries) won enough seats to depose Hughes and join the Nationalists in government. With two short exceptions — such coalitions with the Nationalists — later renamed (with a Labor rump) the United Australia Party, and later again the Liberal Party — have held office for 30 of the 44 years to 1977. Labor (which is committed to democratic socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange) came into office for one three-year term during the economic depression [2] and not again until 1941.

The wage-price spiral of the 1920s restricted the opportunities for industrial exports [3], so that the economy continued to be dependent on rural exports vulnerable to world price fluctuations. Government appeals to Britain for "men, money and markets" were partly satisfied by migrant settlers [4], preferred access to the London capital market and imperial trade preferences that were rationalized at a conference in Ottawa in 1932.

At the 1926 Imperial Conference the British dominions, including Australia were

declared to be a state of equal status with Britain and this was formalized in the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

Foreign policy expedients

Since early in the century, Australians and their governments had feared attack or absorption by an Asian power, especially Japan. Allied to Britain from 1902 until 1921, Japan had been a helpful if slightly ambiguous partner during World War I. Its expansion into Manchuria in 1931 fed Australian fears. But Japan had also become a major new export market for Australia [9] which thus encouraged rather than opposed Japan's aggression.

Australia's attitudes to foreign affairs during the 1930s tended to copy those of Britain: sanctions against, then appeasement of Italy, eyes averted from Japanese aggression in China and appeasement of Germany until 1939.

Australia entered the war against Germany one-and-a-quarter hours after Britain and sent forces to the Middle East, Greece, the United Kingdom and South-East Asia.

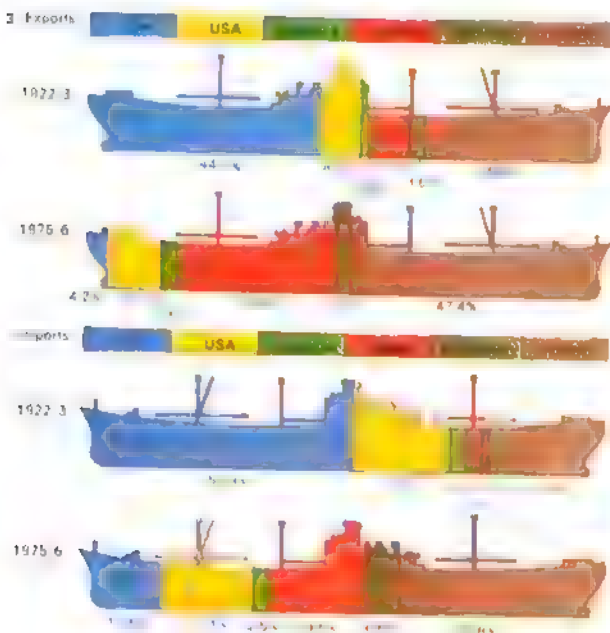
CONNECTIONS

[illegible]

I W M (' Billy) Hughes was born in London but went to Australia at the age of 20 He became involved in union politics and served as prime minister from 1915 to 1923 as leader of a Nationalist Government He was a notable war time leader and an astute and turbulent politician but failed to win support for his policy of conscription in World War One



2 The world depression of 1929-33 seriously affected Austral a whose economy was most ent rely dependent on exports of primary products, and on Brit ish loans for industrial development. The Labor government had to accept the orthodox economy as of the day such as wage restraint public spending cuts and high unemployment. The economy did not recover fully until the late 1930s. This income was produced in 1933 by the group of Workers Artists

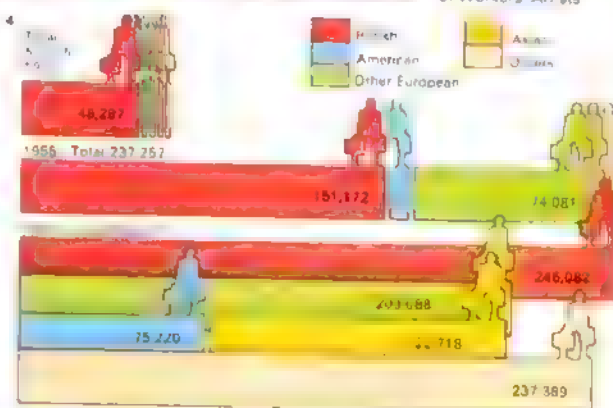


The traditional pattern of Australian trade based on the export of wool, wheat, meat and in minerals and the import of consumer durables and industrial goods began to change in the 1940s. There

with a 100 ft away from the old market and in part ruled a Bazaar which has dominated trade earlier in the century. The main new markets were in Asia and especially Japan which in 1966

became Australia's
most important export. But
its entry into the
EEC in 1973 seriously
affected the Australian
export industries, espe-
cially that of oil,
and canned fruits
and dairy products.

4 Immigrants and their descendants make up America's white population. Some 80 000 British air servicemen and their dependents went to settle after World War I and were given assisted passages. After World War II another scheme of assisted passage took refugees from most of Europe and from the Middle Eastern states. The assistance was cut in 1974. Race as a factor in immigrant selection was formally dropped in 1973.



5 Australia's mineral resources are among the world's greatest. Although mining began in the 19th century, its expansion since World War I has been fundamental to the country's economic growth. Most of the extractive industries are concentrated in Victoria and New South Wales. Many valuable minerals are found in Australia, including gold, silver, platinum, uranium, lead and copper, as well as iron ore and coal, which is here being exploited in an open cast mine.



Australians played an important part in helping to clear North Africa of Axis forces, in providing aircrews for the RAF in Britain and Europe, in naval activities in many theatres; and in stopping the Japanese southward thrust in New Guinea. The nation was an essential granary and major supplier for Britain and for American forces.

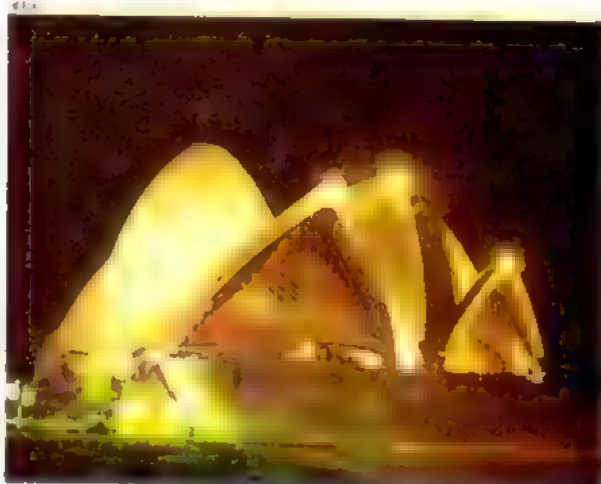
Industry grew rapidly during the war. So did the power of the central government which assumed sole control over income taxation. After the war, extra imports for periods of high rate of investment and severe demand for primary products during and after the Korean War brought boom conditions. Rising living standards continued until the early 1970s, stimulated by discoveries of massive mineral deposits [6].

Postwar realignment

A conservative Liberal Country parties government under Sir Robert Menzies (1894-1978) was elected in late 1949 and remained in office for 23 years. During that time, Australia initiated the Colombo Plan for economic and technical co-

operation in South and South-East Asia and became an ally of the United States under various security arrangements including ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) and SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organization). It saw the need to encourage both Britain and the United States to remain committed to the security of South-East Asia and sent forces to Malaya to help combat communist terrorists and after the 1963 Indonesian confrontation. Troops were also sent to Vietnam to fight under American command there [8].

By 1966 Japan had become Australia's most important customer, notably for minerals, the two economies becoming increasingly interdependent. The Labor Government of Gough Whitlam sought to weaken ties with the United States, spent massively on education and a national health service. But it was hard hit by the recession of 1974 and Whitlam was removed from office in 1975. A conservative government was elected to cope with unemployment and inflation, which had begun to affect the Australian easy way of life.



Sydney Opera House was designed by Danish architect Jørn Utzon. It was the first response to a competition in 1956, is now the largest building in Australia and a masterpiece of modern architecture. Designed by the

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problems caused by its revolutionary design. Extra money to pay for the building was raised by lottery. The final cost was more than A\$100 million.



6 Isaac Isaacs 1855-1948 was the first Australian-born governor-general of the country on his appointment in 1931. The governor-general has been the representative of the Crown in Australia since Federation in 1901 and he usually takes a purely nominal constitutional role in the day-to-day politics. The office became controversial in 1975 when the incumbent John Kerr (1914-) dismissed the Labor prime minister Gough Whitlam (1916-) although he had a working majority in Parliament. In the ensuing election it was claimed that the action was unconstitutional and led to the introduction of the abolition of the office of governor-general. But it was defeated at the polls.



7 Robert Menzies seen here at his appointment as Governor-General of the Five Ports in England in 1965, the first Australian to receive that honour. As Australian prime minister for a record 18 years, his second term of office (1949-66) was a period of growing national development and prosperity coupled with limited involvement in wars in Asia. Emotionally committed to ties with Britain and the Crown, he saw the USA as Australia's ultimate protector and international ally as the main threat. He encouraged overseas investment in Australian industry, stimulated an expansion of university education and the growth of Canberra as a distinctive and attractive capital of the nation.



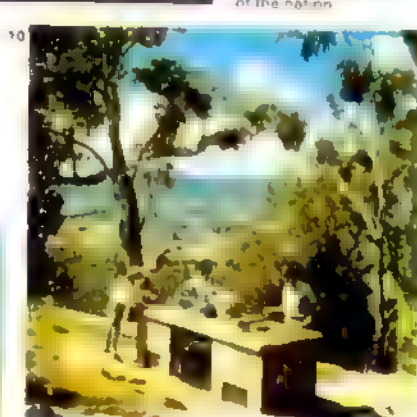
8 Australia's defence links with the USA prompted Menzies to respond to American and South Vietnamese appeals to help defend South Vietnam against communist insurgents and North Vietnamese attacks. A number of

training advisers were sent in 1961, and the first Australian combat units were sent in 1965 to be followed by two more battalions supporting Australian forces. A further 11,000 Australian troops were sent in 1968 to support US command

The main Australian ground operations were in Phuoc Tuy province. Initially there was little opposition to the war but as it dragged on the issue of conscription became controversial and divided the nation.

9 Port Hedland in Western Australia is a centre for iron ore export. In 1971 about 25 million tonnes of iron ore was exported to Japan. Many of the Australian extractive industries are financed by Japan.

use investment. But imports of capital goods and manufactured goods remain low. And Australian investment in Japan is only a fraction of Japanese investment in Australia.



10 Australia's open spaces are a major attraction. The typical home has a large back garden, bushy and with a swimming pool. The back garden is a major attraction for many Australians.

may eventually limit the Australians' propensity for eating out. In the late 1970s, their consumption was among the highest in the world. Sport, including skiing in the winter or high jumping or basketball throughout the summer, is a major attraction for many Australians.

New Zealand since 1918

New Zealand in 1918 was still virtually an outpost of Great Britain. Although it had been an independent self-governing Dominion since 1907, its economy depended entirely on the British market for agricultural exports, its defence policy relied on British naval protection and its self-awareness was European if not exclusively British in character. Half a century later the Pacific Basin had become a focus of its economic, strategic and cultural attention.

The aftermath of World War I

The prosperity of the World War I years when Britain bought all the butter, cheese and butter that New Zealand could produce, continued for a brief period into the peace. Confident that "the country was wrong farming" New Zealanders indulged in a bout of land speculation helped along by £23 million of government loans to ex-servicemen.

When export prices collapsed in 1921 did the land boom. Many farmers, unable to meet mortgage repayments, sold out at giveaway prices, others left their farms

derelict. Despite the reality of rural poverty there was a positive outcome. The universal shortage of credit, and the unpreparedness of the government to meet the economic downturn, drove farmers to co-operate in the setting up of marketing boards for meat in 1922, for dairy products in 1923.

Townsmen were even worse hit by the slump. The economy deteriorated further in the early 1930s, with the onset of worldwide Depression. Unemployment became an epidemic, wages were savagely forced down while diminished government revenue resulted in heavy cuts in public spending. Public discontent was expressed in riots in Auckland and Wellington [1].

The economy and the Labour Party

The political consequences were no less dramatic. In the 1935 general election, the Labour Party assumed office for the first time. Elected mainly on the votes of small farmer and town workers, Labour introduced in a large measure earned through an extensive welfare programme shorter hours and shorter hours for the

town worker, pensions and benefits for the old, the widowed and the disabled, and a state rental housing scheme of subsidized accommodation [3]. Farmers were guaranteed a minimum price for however much they produced.

The first Labour government held office for 14 years. On the whole they were good years for the government and the economy. The world began to emerge from the Depression after 1935, and when another downturn threatened in 1938-9, World War II boosted demand for food exports. The war also fostered the extension of government economic controls.

In 1949 Labour lost power to the more free-enterprise inclined National Party led by Sidney Holland (1893-1961). Since then the two parties have alternated in office. National, led by Holland, Keith Holyoake (1914-), John Marshall (1912-) and Robert Muldoon (1921-), have held office in 1949-57, 1960-72, and since 1975. Labour, under Walter Nash (1882-1968), Norman Kirk (1923-74) and Wallace Rowling (1927-) have been in

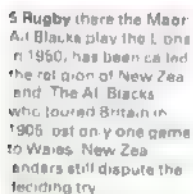
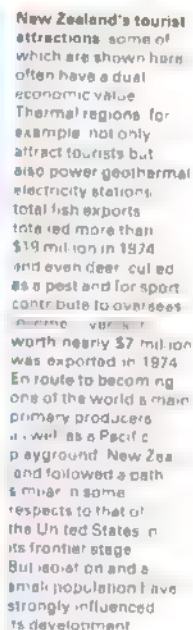
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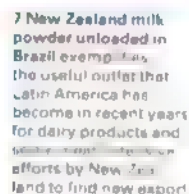
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World War II also brought home the lesson that New Zealand's defence could no longer be based on British protection. In 1939 as in 1914, New Zealand prepared for a faraway war. A division was sent to the Middle East, naval and air force units and men were dispatched to Europe. The home economy was dominated by the need for Britain.

Since Britain entered the EEC in 1973 the need to diversify both markets and products has been starkly apparent. By 1976, although Britain was still New Zealand's largest single customer, almost half the trade was with the Pacific Basin, and the proportion was increasing [6.7].

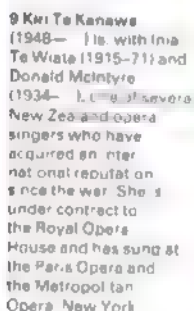


6 Kinleith pulp and paper mill produces 200 million tonnes of paper and 130 million tonnes of pulp each year. It is one of six such plants Japan is the largest customer taking a most half the output.



markets such as these began even before Britain joined the EEC in 1973. Of NZ's 1967-8 dairy exports (476 000 tonnes) 301 500 went to the UK. In 1975 6 the totals were 458 000 and 149 000.

8 Air New Zealand
a development of Tas-
man Empire Airways
Ltd. flies DC 10 aircraft
on profitable routes to
Los Angeles, Hong
Kong and Singapore
but a third of its
annual 3 million pas-
senger kilometres
nearly 2 million pas-
senger miles) is sit-
towed across the
Tasman Sea. The 1 200
mile flight is made by
tourists, businessmen
and migrant workers.



Southern Africa since 1910

When World War I broke out in 1914 Rhodesian police immediately occupied the Caprivi Strip in German South West Africa and Union forces immediately destroyed German coastal wireless stations. A pro-German rebellion in Transvaal was speedily crushed. On 9 July 1915 German South West Africa surrendered to Louis Botha (1862-1919). On 4 September 1916 Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950) [3] took Dar es Salaam and most of German East Africa operations which ended only in 1918.

Wealth and prosperity

In 1918 the Union of South Africa was the wealthiest of all southern Africa, importing about even from Mozambique. In gold [5] and diamonds [2] it had a wealth unique in Africa and an era of prosperity seemed ahead. The collapse of the postwar boom impoverished White urban workers and Afrikaner farmers, and in 1924 brought to power a coalition of Nationalists and the Labour Party. In 1923 Rhodesian settlers obtained self-government following a referendum in the previous year rejecting

union with South Africa. In general a new African elite was emerging: teachers, preachers, clerks, some traders and some farmers. In the Union of South Africa the African National Congress was founded in 1913, with parallel organizations in Southern Rhodesia in 1934, Nyasaland in 1943, and Northern Rhodesia in 1949. The pass laws restricting the free movement of Africans and refusal to recognize their trade unions were bitterly felt African grievances.

Smuts, prime minister of South Africa 1919-24 and 1939-48, played a major role in World War II on the side of the Allies, thereby losing the support of the neutrals within South Africa. The French African territories were promised independence in 1944, and the independence of Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan taught their own lesson. Following Smuts' defeat at the polls in 1948, government attitudes towards race became more aggressive. The word 'apartheid' coined in 1929 to express separate white and African development now took on a new meaning with the installation of Daniel Malan (1874-1959) as prime minister

(1948-54) and leader of the Nationalist Party, which has remained in power since 1948. Race meant Afrikaner dominance and the expansion of the economy after 1948 gave apartheid a spurious sort of success. White South Africans enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world and the average monthly wage for a White was thirteen times that for a Black.

International tensions and UDI

In 1953 a Federation of Central Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was brought into being by Britain in spite of considerable African opposition. That opposition brought the Federation to an end in 1963. Meanwhile the Union, under Hendrik Verwoerd (1901-66) as minister for native affairs and then prime minister, 1958-66, sought a solution to African antagonism by creating Bantustans where Africans could eventually develop autonomous African states. At Cape Town on 1 February 1966 the British prime minister Harold MacMillan (1894-) made his 'wind of change' speech in

CONNECTIONS

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1 The fibre-producing sisal plant was originally a native of South America but was smuggled into German East Africa in 1891. Only 41 plants survived the journey and from these all the sisal plantations of eastern and southern Africa, an important export crop, descend.



2 Diamonds were first discovered in South Africa near the Orange River in 1867 but these workings were soon surpassed in wealth by the dry diggings at Kimberley - the Great Hole. In 1871. The mines in South Africa and Namibia shown here are the wealthiest in the world, with an annual output of more than £60 million in value.



3 Jan Christiaan Smuts is one of the major political figures in the history of South Africa. He helped to formulate the 1916 constitution and was prime minister twice. He played leading roles in the League of Nations and the United Nations.

4 Fort Hare University was the first college to be opened to non-Whites (in 1916), and in 1969 it was restricted to members of the Xhosa tribe only. Other similar universities are those of Zululand for Zulus only, the North, for Tsonga, Sotho and

Venda only, one for Coloureds in Cape Town, and one for Indians in Durban. In addition South Africa has nine universities for Whites only. In 1972, 2.1 per cent of the White population and 0.2 per cent of the non-Whites managed to achieve university education.



5 Gold is the basis of South Africa's wealth. The precious metal was mined in Rhodesia from earliest times and its discovery at Witwatersrand in 1886 produced one of the world's great gold rushes. That goldfield, located in the Transvaal province of South

Africa, still the world's richest. By 1910 it accounted for 59 per cent of South Africa's exports. It has attracted enormous foreign investments and has encouraged the development of the railways as well as a number of manufacturing industries.

which he condemned apartheid and demanded that legitimate African aspirations to be recognized. On 21 March the Pan African Congress demonstrated at Sharpeville, and a massacre ensued [7].

On 31 May 1961 the Republic of South Africa came into being, having withdrawn from the British Commonwealth. The Republic was also expelled from many international organizations that found South African presence distasteful. Despite strenuous diplomatic efforts, South Africa remained almost friendless: racial discrimination, police brutality, imprisonment without trial – all brought their consequences. In 1964 Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland became independent as Zambia [6] and Malawi, while the white government in Rhodesia (formerly Southern Rhodesia) moved away from its previous attempts to provide for limited African political involvement. On 11 November 1965, having been refused independence without majority rule by Britain, Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith (1919–) unilaterally declared independence (UDI). Britain declined to ac-

knowledge but joined with United Nations in sanctions [8], which have largely been evaded by South African aid. In the early 1970s guerrilla operations, at first scattered and posed a serious threat to the white regime. Britain continued to make efforts to conciliate the parties.

Developments among the smaller states

Britain gave independence to Basutoland and Bechuanaland as Lesotho and Botswana in 1966 and to Swaziland in 1968. Both Lesotho and Swaziland are heavily dependent upon the Republic. In 1976 the Republic purported to grant independence to Transkei, but under conditions such that no other country accorded it sovereign recognition. In 1967 the UN General Assembly had declared the continuation of the South African mandate over South West Africa unlawful, and had appointed an administrative council for it as Namibia. This action was ignored by the Republic, which gave it a parliament elected on a slender franchise together with the promise of independence at the end of 1977.

KEY



The Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, are the legislative centre of South Africa: the administrative capital is Pretoria. Cape Colony first enjoyed self-government under the constitution of 1872.

this was superseded by the British South Africa Act 1909, which created the Union of South Africa in 1910. The policy of apartheid made important changes to the constitution. Originally

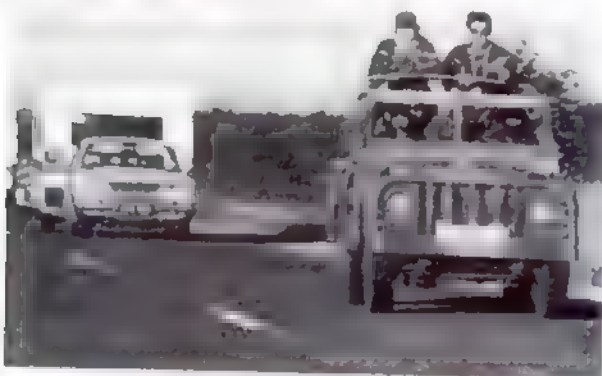
there was no restriction of race or colour for voters, but in 1956 the Apartheid Act protecting coloured voters were abrogated and parliament has since been elected by Whites only.



6 Kenneth Kaunda (1924–) president of Zambia's first and only independent country since 1964, was originally a schoolmaster. He became a district secretary of the African National Congress in 1950 and was twice jailed for his political activities. Later he became prime minister of Northern Rhodesia. His book *Humanism in Zambia and its implementation* (1967) explains the theoretical and practical aspects of his moderate socialist policy.



7 The Sharpeville massacre, in March 1960, happened when the police opened fire on a demonstration against the discriminatory laws passed by the government, killing 67 and wounding 186 African demonstrators. The racial policies of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party in power since 1948 stimulated African unrest. From 1952 onwards the African National Congress organized agitation against the legislation aimed at non-Whites.



8 Escorted convoys between Rhodesia and South Africa were organized because of guerrilla attacks by African nationalists whose operations by 1976 were seriously threatening the security of the white regime in Rhodesia. Apart from being Rhodesia's only land link for trade, South Africa has played an important role in supporting the white regime while seeking a majority Rhodesian government with which it could co-operate.



9 Rioting erupted in June 1976 at Soweto, a black township on the outskirts of Johannesburg, when thousands of black youths protested against teaching in Afrikaans as well as English in Bantu schools. Savage repression with 176 killed and 1,222 wounded. The unrest spread to an unprecedented wave of defiance that forced some reforms in townships and the rescinding of the language order. The riots showed a new African militancy.



10 Although most countries achieved independence peacefully in southern Africa, there remain a number of points of conflict within the current political map. In Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) UDI was only a culmination of the growing disagreements with

Britain's resolve to transfer power to a majority government. Since then a number of diplomatic moves have altered the map. The current political map in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) UDI was only a culmination of the growing disagreements with

Britain's resolve to transfer power to a majority government. Since then a number of diplomatic moves have altered the map. The current political map in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) UDI was only a culmination of the growing disagreements with

Non-alignment and the Third World

In Europe, Asia and North Africa in the early 1950s, the term "neutralist" was applied to countries that were outside the alliance systems of the Great Powers and wished to remain dissociated from the cold war struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) of India, Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-70) of Egypt and Josip Broz Tito (1892-) of Yugoslavia [Key] denied the need to enter alliances, to acquire nuclear weapons [3] or to allow foreign military bases to be set up in their respective countries.

Motives for non-alignment

A neutralist stance had been adopted by the United States itself during the nineteenth century. But the violation of the neutrality of several European countries in two world wars and the global scope of the power struggle that began after World War II led to a belief, particularly in the United States [4] that neutralism was a wishful attitude which failed to recognize that effective protection against international communism could be obtained only within the shelter of an alliance.

of the "Free World". However, for leaders of the militarily weak new nations of Africa and Asia a neutralist stance had three compelling advantages. It allowed them to assert an independence that would have been compromised by their military dependence on one of the Great Powers. It enabled them, by skilful diplomacy, to draw on aid from both the Western and Soviet blocs. And it gave them an opportunity to attempt objective moral leadership at a time when both power blocs were taking up rigid attitudes.

The neutralist, or "non-aligned" nations as they more accurately called themselves, emerged as a coherent force in world politics with the organization of the Bandung Conference in April 1955 in Indonesia, a country that played a leading role in the movement against colonialism [2]. The conference was dominated by Premier Chou En-lai (1898-1976) of China whose moderate attitudes at the conference did much to diminish Asian tensions. Further conferences were held in Belgrade in September 1961 [4] (Cairo, October 1964, Lusaka, September 1970, and Algiers, September 1973 [9]. The

conferences steadily increased in the numbers of those attending and in importance.

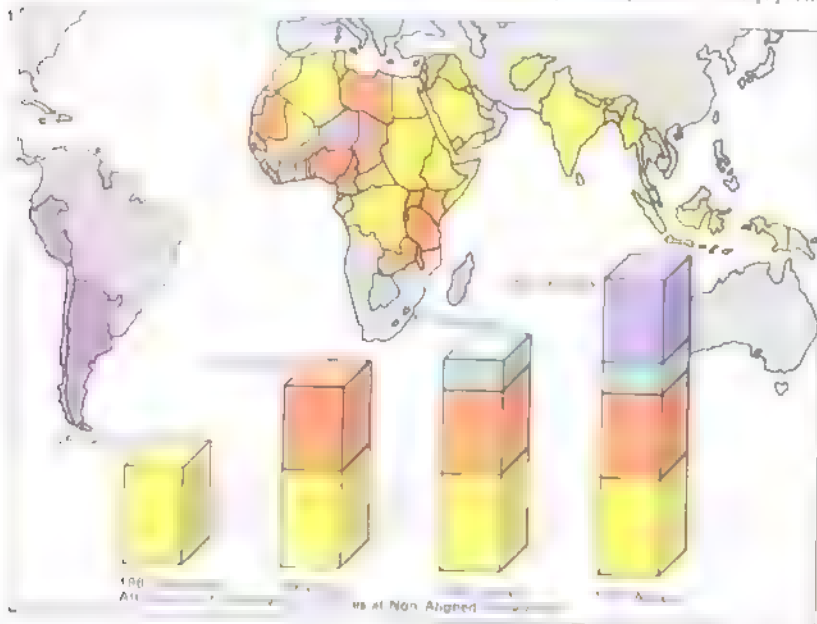
The political label "Afro-Asian bloc" first gained general currency at Bandung. The more current term "Third World" or *Le Tiers Monde* [1], was coined in France in the mid-1950s to denote decolonized areas that wished to avoid conscription into American alliances or over-seas base agreements. (They were collectively designated by some American strategists, including the later United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger [1923-], as "the grey areas".) The voting power of this bloc at the United Nations made it a force that none of the Great Powers could afford to ignore.

Developments in the 1960s

Events of the later 1950s and 1960s led to significant shifts in the over-simplified tripartite division of the world into communist, Western and non-aligned blocs. The credibility of India's neutralist stance was reduced by her call for Western aid during her clash with China in 1962. Egypt became heavily dependent on Soviet military aid after the

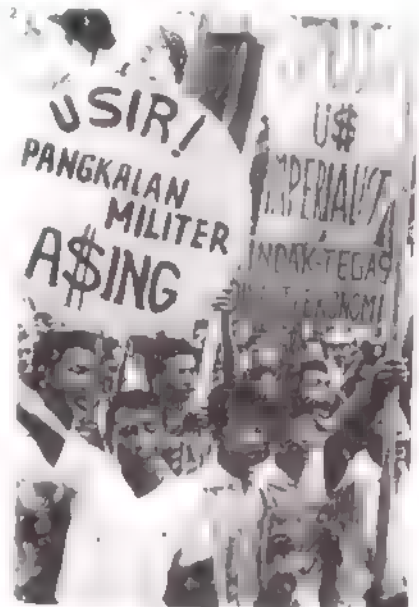
CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Membership of the Third World has grown with the spread of decolonization and now includes substantial parts of Latin America. China's leaders also claim membership. Third World is a general political label applied to newly independent ex-colonial, poor or developing nations and peoples.

2 Demonstrations in Indonesia in the early 1960s against the establishment of Malaysia marked a phase of intense anti-colonialism under the fervent leadership of Achmed Sukarno (1901-70) who took Indonesia out of the UN in 1965 and proposed a rival organization of New Emerging Forces.



3 The mushroom cloud of China's first nuclear explosion in October 1964 while the Cairo non-aligned summit was meeting also marked the first entry to the nuclear club of a member of

the Afro-Asian bloc. Nuclear testing, the spread of nuclear weapons and the possibility of nuclear blackmail by the Great Powers have been central and recurrent worries of non-aligned nations.

4 The first large meeting of the non-aligned nations at Belgrade in September 1961 drew representatives from 25 countries. Earlier a number of smaller meetings had been called between Tito, Nehru, Nasser and some other leaders. Non-aligned nations had also conferred in some larger forums, in particular at the UN General Assembly late in 1960. The 1961 conference and subsequent meetings had to resolve frequent controversy about the admission of new members and whether they were genuinely non-aligned. But the number of nations attending grew steadily and the conferences provided the opportunity for broad discussions of topical world issues.



Arab-Israeli war of 1967 and, in the same year, the failure of a communist coup in Indonesia turned that country towards a more Western alignment. At the same time, Sino-Soviet tensions and dwindling of the cold war led to more subtle and complex international groupings [11].

Third World economic policies

In the mid-1970s relations between the Great Powers became less hostile, and Third World opposition to alliances and pressure against colonialism were subsidiary to economic concerns, particularly the wish to see the emergence of a new international economic order. Non-alignment continued to be a predominantly Afro-Asian movement, but it was the Arab and Latin American members who did most to infuse the non-aligned movement with new vitality.

The Arab nations led the way by seizing the initiative after November 1973 when OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, unilaterally quadrupled the price of oil and dealt a major blow to the existing worldwide distribution of

wealth. The Latin Americans broadened the argument from oil to natural resources in mid-1975 when Cuba [7] proposed that all countries wishing to protect their natural resources should join the non-aligned. The most important issue on the agenda at the Lima conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned states in August 1975 - the statute on foreign investment, multinational companies and technology - was modelled closely on regulations established in the Andean Pact. Latin America's economic integration movement launched in 1968.

These moves were aimed at retaining control of national development and strategic resources. Foreign investment was viewed as acceptable only as long as it contributed to national goals. The non-aligned movement grew from being a negative reaction to the cold war into a positive policy to protect national resources and control foreign investment.

Non-aligned leaders intended to ensure that in future the rich, industrialized nations would no longer find it easy to negotiate with weak producers' associations.



Tito, Nehru and Nasser (pictured left to right) at the Bandung Conference. Tito and Nehru were leaders and promoters of non-alignment from the 1950s. Nehru spoke for newly inde-

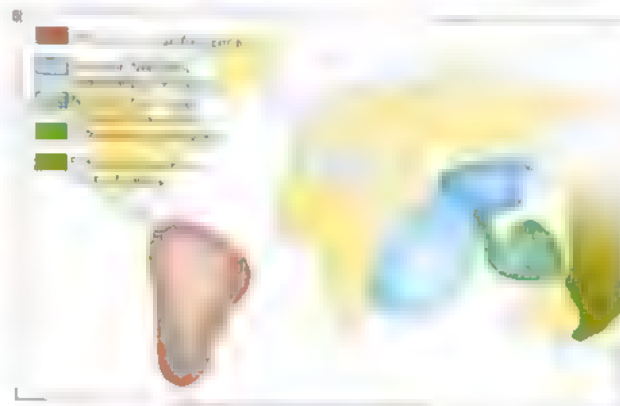
pendent states. He advocated force and advocated at peace. Tito was a super power. Nehru was a super power. Nehru was a super power.

leader of the new government in Egypt and of the larger Arab world successfully played off cold war competitors with the Arab world and Egypt of British military bases.

5 John Foster Dulles 1888-1959, US Secretary of State from 1953-9 was an unrelenting opponent of communism and the chief advocate of American strategy to contain China and the USSR by military alliances. Announcing in June 1956 that 42 nations were allied with the US. He achieved some notoriety when he said that 'except in very exceptional circumstances, neutrality is an immoral and shortsighted conception'.



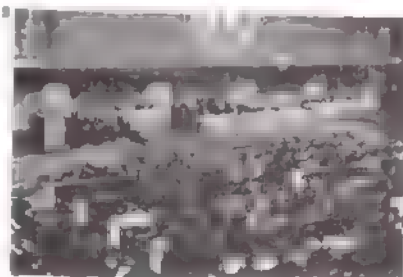
6 Nuclear-free zones and zones of peace or neutrality are being proposed, debated and actively promoted in South East Asia, southern Asia, the Indian Ocean and parts of Africa. A lead was given in 1967 by Mexico and some other nations when the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Treaty of Tlatelolco) was signed. Most other zones have yet to be ratified.



7 Strident anti-US attitudes emerged in Cuba after Fidel Castro (1927-) came to power early in 1959. A large Cuban delegation attended a turbulent 15th session of the UN General Assembly in September 1960. Cuba's role as a small nation defying a neighbouring superpower was further dramatized by an abortive US backed invasion by Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 and a Soviet attempt to arm Cuba with nuclear missiles in 1962. Cuba has campaigned to make Havana a Third World capital linking Afro-Asia and Latin America.



8 OPEC the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries meeting at Geneva in January 1974 represented the most powerful cartel in the world. A position gained through the importance of oil in the world economy.



9 A World Food Conference sponsored by the UN in Rome in November 1974 and attended by 1250 delegates from some 130 nations originated with the 1973 Algiers conference of non-aligned countries. The idea was adopted by Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State with Western backing.

10 Commonwealth prime ministers seen at Kingston in 1975. It is an informal grouping that includes aligned and non-aligned, nuclear and non-nuclear rich and poor nations. This voluntary association of former members of the British Empire engages in continuous consultation.



Latin America in the 20th century

The history of Latin America in the twentieth century is, above all, the story of attempts to break out of the economic, political and social patterns of the nineteenth century and of the resistance such attempts have encountered. Developments in Latin America have been increasingly affected by outside influences. The great Depression brought a collapse of world prices for Latin American exports and two world wars further stimulated industrialization and modernization by cutting the region off from traditional markets and sources of capital goods. There has been a rapid growth of the major cities such as Buenos Aires, Mexico City and São Paulo, swollen in some instances by immigration.

Dictatorships and the military in politics

Industrialization and modernization did not themselves bring fundamental political and social change to Latin America. Trade and industry were dominated by foreign enterprises, increasingly those of the United States. Nor did the growing middle classes in Latin America play the social role of their counterparts in the United States or Western

Europe, and middle-class political parties seldom carried out essential reforms when they gained office. This situation encouraged the emergence of a new kind of dictator – one who sought the support of the urban workers. Such a dictator was General Juan Perón (1895–1974) of Argentina [3].

The military has remained a significant element in Latin American politics. Military intervention was given a considerable impetus from 1929 by the Depression which caused political convulsions in most Latin American countries. It was later encouraged by the cold war. Often faced by weak and ineffective civilian governments, the military has tended to regard itself as the true guardian of the national interest. Nationalism has always been strong in the Latin American military, and – although the latter has generally been conservative and, in recent decades, strongly anti-communist, this has sometimes been allied with radicalism, especially among younger army officers. As early as the 1920s, a military president, Colonel Carlos Ibáñez (1877–1966) [2], carried out a programme of social reform in Chile. The most far-reaching

of such programmes, however, has been that of the Peruvian military government which seized power in 1968. It began with the expropriation of a prominent United States-owned oil company and continued with the United States' interests as prime targets of Peruvian nationalism.

Antipathy towards the United States

Latin American nationalism has for a long time been directed mainly at the United States, which is by far the most important foreign presence in the region [Key]. The United States has usually exerted its influence in favour of stability and the status quo and against revolutionary changes which would threaten her interests. Fear of communism has often led her to support Latin American dictatorships. When, in 1961, President John F. Kennedy (1917–63) began the Alliance for Progress – an ambitious programme of economic and social development in Latin America involving substantial reforms and the promotion of democracy – it met with apathy and resistance. Latin Americans have since denounced aid as

CONNECTIONS

See also

... the impact of the United States on Latin America
... the role of the military in Latin American politics
... the influence of the Cold War on Latin America
... the impact of the Great Depression on Latin America
... the role of the middle class in Latin America
... the impact of industrialization on Latin America
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... the impact of the Great Depression on Latin America
... the role of the middle class in Latin America
... the impact of industrialization on Latin America
... the role of the Church in Latin America



1 The ideology of the Mexican revolution is symbolized in these huge murals by Rivera, Orozco and Siqueiros. The revolution was nationalist and the murals are a vivid expression of cultural nationalism. They depict great violence. The expression of the Indian is by the Spanish conquistadors and the furious reaction of the Mexican peasants and workers. The Indian and the

They depict great violence. The expression of the Indian is by the Spanish conquistadors and the furious reaction of the Mexican peasants and workers. The Indian and the

leaders are idealized in these murals, the Indian is grotesquely caricatured. In this picture, Marx is exhorting the workers while the Church and the capitalists are denounced in words.



2 Colonel Carlos Ibáñez became President of Chile in 1927 and pursued policies combining nationalism and social reform. But they were undermined by the great Depression and he resigned.



3 General Juan Perón was President of Argentina from 1946–55. Assisted by his wife, Eva, he won over the urban masses with social benefits. After Eva's death in 1952, his position deteriorated and he was eventually overthrown by the military. The peronistas remained a key element in Argentine politics. Perón was recalled to power in 1973 but he died in the following year.

ated and he was eventually overthrown by the military. The peronistas remained a key element in Argentine politics. Perón was recalled to power in 1973 but he died in the following year.



4 Fidel Castro, the charismatic leader of revolutionary Cuba, seen here addressing one of the countless gatherings at which he explains his policies, is probably the most widely known Latin American figure since Simon Bolívar. Although 'Castroism' has not spread to other parts of the continent, Castro's success in defying the dominance of the US in the area has profoundly affected the latter's policies and prestige in Latin America.



5 Salvador Allende became the first freely elected Marxist head of state when he won the Chilean presidential election in 1970. Although faced with Congressional opposition and US hostility, he embarked upon an ambitious socialist programme. Both his supporters and his opponents resorted to unconstitutional tactics. Economic failure and violence culminated in his overthrow by a military coup and his violent death in 1973.

increasing their dependence upon the United States and serving the latter's interests more than their own.

Despite United States influence and the durability of traditional social structures there have been three authentic revolutions in Latin America during the twentieth century in Mexico (1910), Bolivia (1952) and Cuba (1959). The Mexican revolution [1] brought about a new system of government, a sizeable redistribution of land and an improvement in the status of the Indians. It also asserted Mexican nationalism by taking over the foreign-owned oil industry in 1938. The Bolivian revolution, although less far-reaching, destroyed the privileges of the great landowners, nationalized the mines (Bolivia's main source of foreign exchange) and also raised the status of the Indians. The Cuban revolution has been the most radical, leading to the creation of an avowedly Marxist state aligned with the Soviet Union under the leadership of Fidel Castro [1927-1954].

The Cuban example has not been followed elsewhere in Latin America, though there has been a marked increase in urban

guerrilla violence in some countries, notably Argentina. The victory of Salvador Allende (1908-73) [5] in the Chilean elections of 1970 – even though he was ousted and killed three years later – was significant.

Third World co-operation

Meanwhile, the countries of Latin America have come to identify themselves with the developing countries of Asia and Africa [6] and to co-operate with them, endeavouring to obtain better trading terms from the richer industrialized nations. They have also tried to co-operate more closely with each other and to increase their trade outside the Western Hemisphere in order to lessen dependence upon the United States.

Brazil [7], traditionally more friendly towards the United States than the Spanish American countries, has for a long time entertained ambitions to be a great power. With its considerable economic progress from the mid-1960s onwards (under a military government), Brazil no longer sees itself as a developing nation. It could fulfil its ambitions by becoming a first-world country.

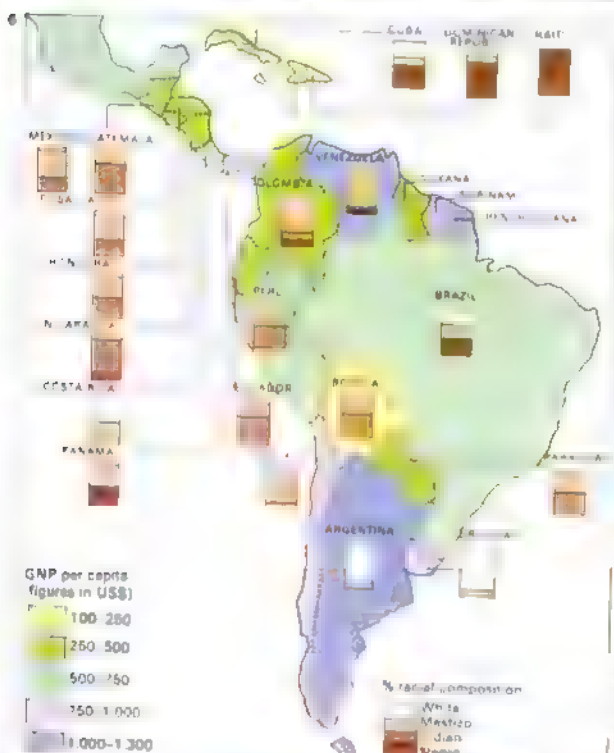
KEY



The Pan American Union building in Washington, D.C. is

the headquarters of the Organization of American States.

OAS, which links Latin America with the United States.



6 The identification of Latin America with the Third World of developing countries is illustrated by this map showing the average per capita income and racial composition of each country. The gap between rich and poor is then extreme.

7 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs building in Brasília, the new capital of Brazil, symbolizes Brazil's ambition to become a power and to exploit the hitherto largely untapped wealth of the country's interior.

10



10 General Alvaro Cerón, head of the Government of Peru, 1969-74, organized a policy of nationalism and

actively fostered cooperation among Third World countries. In 1975 a conference of non-aligned nations was held in Lima.

8 Shanty towns such as this one in Rio de Janeiro demonstrate the glaring disparity between rich and poor in Latin America, as well as the popular protest against the burgeoning cities from the stagnant countryside areas.

9 The Transamazonian highway in Brazil exemplifies modernization in Latin America. When complete, the network of roads is designed to bring into the vast, unpopulated but richly endowed Amazon basin with the more developed and crowded regions of Brazil.



Evolution of the Western democracies

World War II left Europe divided into two political camps. Except for Greece, which on that day was still a monarchy, almost all of Europe was under Soviet or US occupation. The Communist bloc in the West. And the United States had the task of rebuilding the western democracies of Europe. The Marshall Plan was the US response to this task. It was a massive programme of aid to help rebuild the economies of Western Europe. It was named after George Marshall, the US Secretary of State.

wished to exact heavy reparations from West Germany through its arrangements for the occupation zone. The Soviet Union continued to demand that Germany be divided into two states. The West, however, wanted a united Germany. The Soviet Union, however, wanted a divided Germany. The West, however, wanted a united Germany. The Soviet Union, however, wanted a divided Germany.

The Americans and the British decided to ignore the Soviet Union's demands and to rebuild the western democracies of Europe. They did this by extending the wheels of reform to their occupation zones in West Berlin. The Marshall Plan was the US response to this task. It was a massive programme of aid to help rebuild the economies of Western Europe. It was named after George Marshall, the US Secretary of State.

American statesmanship strengthened the case for a United States of Europe (Zurich 1947), brought into being the Council of Europe (1949), comprising

most countries outside the Soviet bloc. But it disappointed many of its promoters because the British kept a close relationship with the body with no real powers.

Steps to unity

Britain, with its predominant position in Western Europe in the immediate postwar years, had similarly been able to gather American help. But the Cold War could become a competition in body. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, accordingly took another initiative. With the aid of Robert Schuman (1886-1963), the French Foreign Minister, he supported the West German proposal that they set out to bring together their countries and others in a common body to plan and administer their coal and steel industries jointly. In May 1950 the Schuman Plan was launched. It was the first step towards the creation of the European Community. The plan was made possible by the displace of wartime resentments, through

CONNECTIONS

See also

The High Courts

Break with the Soviet Union

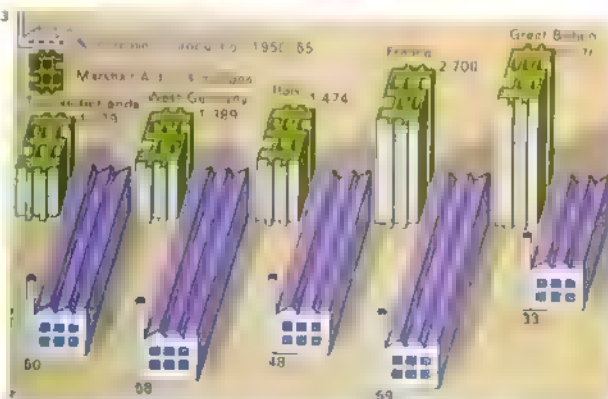
The Marshall Plan was designed to redevelop industry through the aid of the United States. It was a massive programme of aid to help rebuild the economies of Western Europe. It was named after George Marshall, the US Secretary of State.

In addition to having complete power over East Germany, the Soviet government



1 General de Gaulle's entry into Paris at the head of Free French forces on 26 August 1944 marked the beginning of the end of World War II in the west. But the Soviet army resisted until May 1945.

1945 As Russian forces fought their way across eastern Europe and the West, the Allies advanced through Italy and across the Rhine, the postwar political division of Europe began to take shape.



2 US Secretary of State Marshall (left), seen with the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin (1881-1951), initiated the aid scheme named after him in 1947-8 to restore a weakened Europe that might otherwise follow the path of communism.

3 The European recovery programme set up to administer Marshall Aid disbursed \$13.150 million between 1948 and 1952 in addition to the \$9.500 million already granted for Western Europe since the end of the war and \$4.30 million

worth of private food parcels. By mid 1951 industrial production was 42% higher than the prewar level while agricultural output was 10% higher. Trade had more than doubled while in the early 1950s coal and steel production made impressive advances.

4 Two Frenchmen initiated the scheme for the European Community and the Schuman Plan. Robert Schuman (left) and Jean Monnet (right) were the main architects of the Treaty of Paris in 1951.

output which were put forward by Jean Monnet, in charge of the plan for modernization.



5 Coal seams cross frontiers in northern Europe and the ECSC countries saw that they could build up an efficient coal and steel industry only by devising a supranational system. In this way the coal and steel industry of Lorraine was the Benelux countries (Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands) and Italy could enjoy similar advantages. By combining these industries (vital for armaments) the risk of another war was reduced.

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personal and political reconciliations [Key]

Belgium. The Netherlands and Luxembourg had set up a customs union (Benelux) at the end of the war. This served as a pilot scheme when these countries took the lead in a further step towards the unity of Western Europe, with the creation [6] of the European Economic Community and European Atomic Community. The immediate objectives of the EEC were to create conditions of fair trade first for manufactured goods then by the Common Agricultural Policy, for agricultural products.

Although the EEC Commission, with powers of initiative and supervision is a supranational body, main decision making is in the hands of a Council of Ministers of member states. Attempts to increase the powers of the Commission as a decision making body were thwarted by General de Gaulle [1] as President of France, and the Council continued as an inter-governmental body with every minister retaining the individual right of veto.

De Gaulle's position was particularly strong after he returned to power in 1958.

settled France's colonial problem in Algeria and created the French Fifth Republic whose constitution gave large powers to the president. He asserted the right of France to leadership of "European Europe" in opposition to American influence. In pursuit of this policy he blocked moves for American close ally, Britain, to join the EEC. In 1966, he took France out of the military committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. West Germany joined NATO in 1955.

Expansion of the EEC

After de Gaulle resigned in 1969, France's veto on British entry to the European Community was soon removed [7]. Denmark and Ireland joined at the same time. In 1971 the countries of the European Free Trade Association [8], an industrial customs union that Britain had set up as a rival to the EEC in 1956, were given favoured relations with the Community. An EEC system of associated states that had begun with the ex-French colonies, was extended to a large number of African and Caribbean states by the Lome Convention of 1975.



Reconciliation of France and Germany laid the foundation for a new political and economic structure within which the countries of Western Europe could be integrated. After more than 80

years of suspicion, tension and conflict, including two major wars, the two countries joined forces in the Schuman Plan (1950) leading to the European Coal and Steel Community in January 1963; the

West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967) and the French President, Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970) (left and right respectively) met to sign the Franco-German Treaty of Friendship

6 The signing of the Treaty of Rome in March 1957 set the European Community on its feet. After intensive negotiations, the membership of Paul Henri Spak of Belgium (1899-1972) established a common market for industrial and agricultural products along with schemes for regional development and a common currency. The group of six countries was the first step towards a more unified Europe.



8 Members, and members designate of the EEC and EFTA under the leadership of Britain before she entered the EEC to offset the advantages which were enjoyed by the group of six. A common market for various goods and

freed trade between member states. The EEC was the more powerful of the two. Some countries such as Greece were associated with the EEC. A common market for various goods and

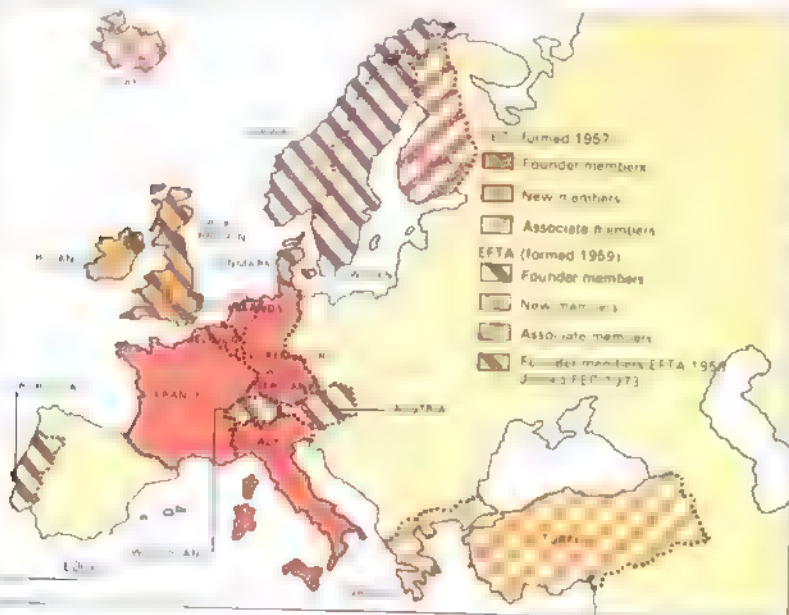
9 Riots in Paris in 1968 were led by students who, in both France and Germany, sought reforms of higher education and had other political aims. Sit-ins and growing violence developed into a general strike in France. De Gaulle's regime

recovered after the army pledged support but was badly shaken. Promises of far-reaching educational reforms and generous wage settlements ended the strikes and unrest, although De Gaulle himself did not long remain in office as president.

7 Consultations in May 1971 between Edward Heath (1916-1991) Prime Minister of Britain (left) and Georges Pompidou (1911-74), President of France, cleared the way for Britain's entry to the EEC, a step that successive British governments had tried to take since 1961. De Gaulle twice vetoed British entry but a changed French attitude enabled Britain, Denmark and Ireland to become full EEC members in 1973.



10 Arab representatives appeared unexpectedly at the first summit meeting of the enlarged EEC at Copenhagen in 1973. The summit closely followed the October Arab-Israeli war and consequent oil embargo. A sharp increase in oil prices indicated a fundamental change in the relative positions of oil-producing and industrial nations particularly affecting Europe. The Arabs arrived in Copenhagen in search of support against Israel.



Scotland in the 20th century

Two main political developments have occurred in Scotland in the twentieth century. One was the rise to power of the Labour Party, which was presaged by events in the nineteenth century and led by figures such as Keir Hardie (1856-1915). The other was the rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and the spread of Scottish nationalism, which has grown in response to economic and political developments both inside and outside Scotland during this century.

Nationalism and political changes

The displacement of the Liberal Party by the Labour Party in Scotland began before World War I with the work of Keir Hardie and several small socialist groups of which the Independent Labour Party (ILP) was the most important. The breakthrough came during and after the war, partly as a result of the great bitterness in labour relations on Clydeside [1, 2]. Shipyard and munition workers there reacted angrily to the sweeping actions of the wartime coalition government, to wage controls and to the 'dilution' of labour, as well as to alleged profiteering.

by manufacturers. In 1906 there were only two Scottish Labour MPs, by 1923 there were 35, and they were the largest party in Scotland - a position they have generally maintained since World War II even when the rest of Britain was returning to a Conservative administration.

The SNP, founded in 1928 as the National Party, sought Home Rule at first rather than independence. Ridden with factions and weak in membership, it made little impact until after 1962. Thereafter it grew fast and Winifred Ewing's (1929-) victory at the Hamilton by-election in 1967 [Key], followed by the discovery of oil in the North Sea [10], increased support for the party [9] and made the prospect of an independent Scotland seem economically attractive. By 1974 the SNP had the allegiance of nearly a third of Scottish voters, 11 MPs, and a chance to displace Labour as the largest single political party in Scotland.

Both the Liberal and Labour parties have historically had a commitment to forms of Home Rule, the Liberals introduced unsuccessful bills in 1913 and 1914, and the 11 p

put it high on their programme, although a private member's bill in 1927 failed. Even the signing of almost two million names to national "covenant" calling for a Scottish parliament within the framework of the United Kingdom in 1950 failed to move postwar governments to renewed action.

The success of the SNP produced new devolution proposals in the 1970s, but the failure of the Labour administration in 1977 to push through its original bill setting up a Scottish assembly with limited powers left the future fluid and uncertain.

Economic problems

Dissatisfaction with the Union can be related to the economic weaknesses of modern Scotland. In 1913 national income per head was probably only five per cent or less below the British average. Both in absolute and relative terms it had grown rapidly in the previous century with the differential between Scotland and England constantly narrowing. In the interwar years, however, severe depression in the heavy industries that dominated the Scottish economy (there were

Women were introduced with other unskilled workers in dilution to maintain the workforce numbers in the vital heavy industries of the Clyde during World War I as more and more men joined up. But dilution with government attempts to direct labour held down wages at a time of inflation, rising profits and rent increases and placed a great strain on labour relations. Clydeside in particular was the scene of strikes and unrest.



2 Industrial unrest reached a peak in Glasgow shortly after World War I. In January 1919 munitions workers threatened with unemployment, called a strike and a red flag was raised above the

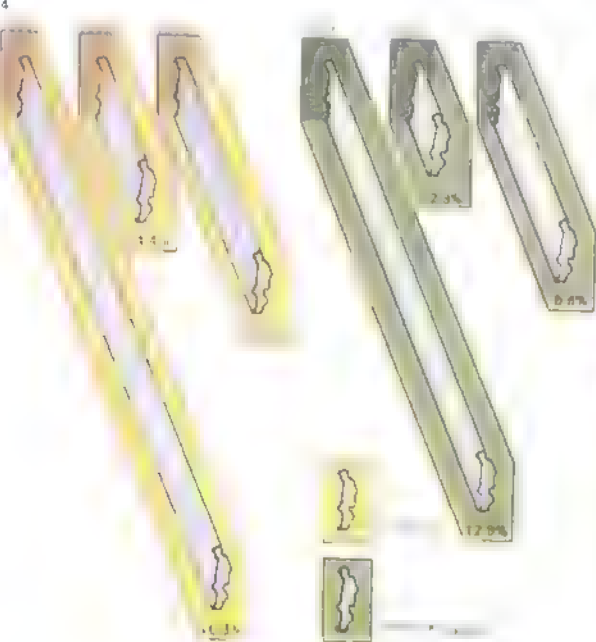
town hall in support
of demands for a 40
hour week. The Lord
Provost asked the
demonstrators to
return to their jobs
for a further week.
They did so the
next day, but the
demonstration was
the last of its kind.

a riot ensued in which the strike leaders including Emanuel Shinwell (1894-) later minister were arrested. The next day tanks and troops were called in but the strike had already collapsed.



4 Scottish and UK levels of unemployment differed only marginally until the outbreak of World War I. But the greater dependence of Scotland on heavy industry meant that the impact of the

depression was intensified and unemployment rose to ~~an~~ ^a significantly the ~~ok~~ ^{ok} rate. This high rate of unemployment has tended ~~to~~ ^{to} persist despite efforts to diversify the Scottish economy.



3 John Whitley
 Right: 1864-1933. A self-educated man, he was influential in bringing the Catholic vote to the Labour Party in Scotland despite the initial opposition of the clergy. Later as minister of health in the first Labour

Government in 1923 he introduced the first really effective Housing Act designed to deal with the housing shortage. It increased rent subsidies and government finance to assist local authorities to build more council houses.

5 Scottish military bases in the two World Wars were important as part of the British defences in World War I the Grand Fleet found safe anchorage in Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands (shown here). The German High Seas Fleet was interned

and scuttled itself there in 1919. In World War II Scape was again a naval base and the fortifications against submarine and air attack strengthened. In 1956 the base was abandoned and an important source of employment was lost to the region.

CONNECTIONS

See also

nearly 400,000 unemployed in 1932) caused the gap to widen to ten per cent and more [4] Between 1921 and 1931 so many Scots emigrated that the population actually fell.

Since 1940 the economy has performed better, but well-paid employment has often been hard to come by for the Scot who stayed at home. Government regional policies aimed at producing new industries (such as motor vehicles at Linwood and Bathgate) have not cured the problems in the old industrial centres such as Clydeside and Dundee. As a result of the discovery and exploitation of North Sea oil in the 1970s, the gap between Scottish and English earnings is narrower again now than at any time since before World War I, but the prosperity is mainly in the north and rests only on this fragile base.

Although the modern Scot is much better off than his nineteenth-century predecessor, the annual rate of economic growth has not been high as it was in the late nineteenth century. One consequence is that real wages have never been a factor in the move to the south, although many Scots

now still has some of the worst slums in northern Europe, some of them now in modern council-built tenements.

Modern Scotland

The nature of the modern state has also added to Scottish frustrations. Since 1945 more Scottish firms have been directed by private capital operating from England, Europe and America, or have been nationalized and run by civil servants answerable to London. Despite the high calibre of the Scottish Office in Edinburgh, there has been a sense in which for the first time since Union in 1707 the Scots have begun to feel no longer in command of their own country.

Nevertheless modern Scotland is not completely introverted. The fame of John Logie Baird (1888-1946) the inventor of television, and of Alexander Fleming (1881-1955), the discoverer of modern antibiotics, is worldwide. In other fields the Edinburgh Festival has become a major international reputation, and the success of the Scottish Heavy Music Festival an important cultural achievement.



Winifred Ewing's

was born in 1881 in Glasgow. She was a writer and a social reformer. She was active in the Glasgow Women's Suffrage Society and was a member of the Glasgow City Council. She was a pioneer in the use of the word 'woman' in the title of a book.

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6 Cumbernauld is

one of Scotland's newest towns. Designed in 1956, it was intended to relieve some of the worst housing conditions and overcrowding in the city. Since then it has successfully attracted light industry and skilled workers, but Glasgow has been left with older, older declining firms and fewer skills among its workforce.

8 Hydroelectric power

In the Highlands was first systematically developed in 1943. Among the most spectacular and successful schemes that were undertaken was this one on the River Awe in Argyllshire.



9 In the late 1960s the Scottish National Party came to the fore in Scotland and united the disparate voices of Scottish nationalism through a single political party. It put Scotland first.



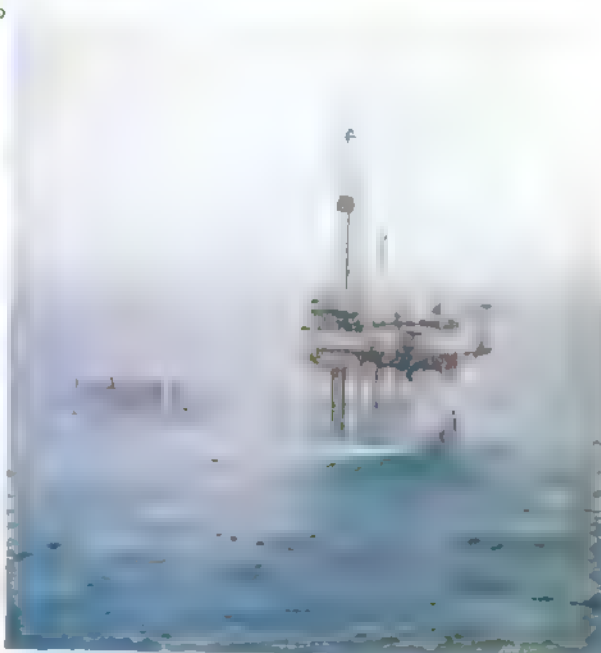
7 The Scottish fishing industry, prosperous before 1914, was badly hit by

foreign competition in the interwar years and has had mixed prosperity since.

Over fishing by foreign vessels close to the limits has also reduced the catch.



10 The discovery of North Sea oil transformed British and Scottish politics in the 1970s. The SNP claimed the oil for Scotland but the UK government, hard pressed by balance of payments problems and worried about British energy supplies, would not contemplate devolving control over it. Eighty per cent of the oil reserves are located off the Orkney and Shetland Isles, ironically areas that do not always consider themselves as being part of Scotland.



Wales in the 20th century

World War I introduced a number of crucial changes in the nature of the Welsh economy. In rural society the most significant change occurred in the pattern of land ownership. The massive estates that had dominated the countryside since Tudor times were put up for sale and bought by freehold farmers. In 1887, only ten per cent of the total cultivated surface of Wales was owned by peasant proprietors. By 1970, 61 per cent was in their hands.

Short-lived prosperity

Landlords had been prompted to sell by the boom years of World War I. But this prosperity proved both artificial and fleeting. The repeal of the Corn Production Act of 1917 meant that Welsh farmers no longer had an incentive to cultivate land. The development of motorized transport made milk production the most lucrative alternative. Mechanization, however, reduced the number of farm hands required, and they were forced to find alternative jobs either in the industrial south or in England.

Economic prosperity in industrial com-

munities during the war years was no less artificial than in rural areas. Once the wartime demand for coal and steel contracted in 1923, the Welsh export market suffered a sharp decline. As oil became increasingly used by the navy, coal-mining areas were rapidly caught up in a deepening industrial recession. Reflecting the decline in the coal industry in South Wales, the number of miners employed fell from 265,000 in 1920 to 138,560 in 1933. South Wales had produced a record 57 million tonnes of coal in 1913. Yet on the eve of the nationalization of the coal industry in 1947 only a dozen mines remained in production. The decline of the iron, steel, tinplate and slate industries was no less disquieting. Stiff competition from foreign steelmakers with updated plant led to the closure of the Cyfarthfa and Dowlais ironworks, and unemployment descended "like the ashes of Vesuvius" on the industrial towns of South Wales.

By 1932, one-fifth of the working population of Wales was unemployed [4]. Shortages and restrictions created a bleak, disillusioned society which remained constantly

under the strain of poverty and hardship [3]. For many, migration was the only comfort. The Rhondda Valley, for example, lost 20,000 people between 1921 and 1937 [2], at over a thousand people left Merthyr annually.

State assistance

In 1932 to meet the emergency South Wales was declared a "special area" by the government and a campaign was launched to modernize the traditional industries and to develop alternative industries. The most decisive development occurred when Richard Thomas and Company were persuaded in 1935 to open a strip mill at Ebbw Vale. Post-1945 developments were even more crucial. The contraction of the coal industry was offset by a huge expansion in steel production, particularly in the new plants established at Port Talbot (Key) and Llanwern. New tinplate works were established as old mills closed.

World War I also saw sweeping political changes in Wales. With the decline of Nonconformity and the large estates, Liberalism lost its hold on the affections of

CONNECTIONS

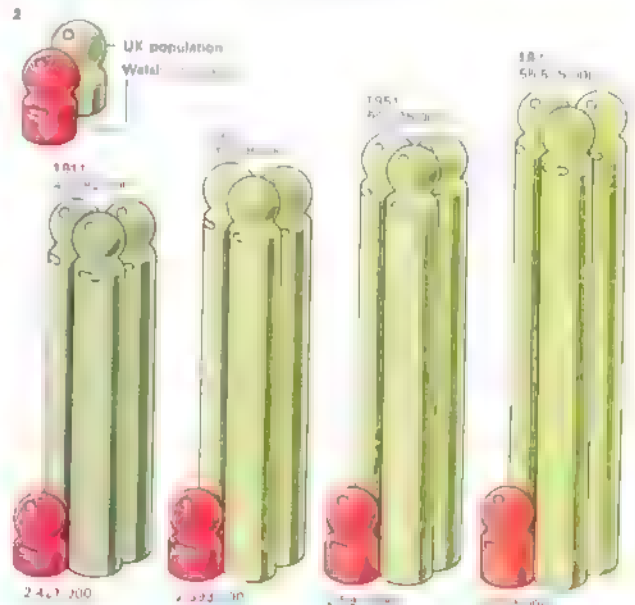
See also

Wales in the 19th century
Wales in the 21st century



1 A World War I recruiting drive in Cardiff used children to win volunteers. Enthusiasm for the war remained high even after conscription was introduced in 1916 and more than 280,000 Welshmen served in the forces. Pacifists such as Kier Hardie (1856-1915) MP for Merthyr were in a minority.

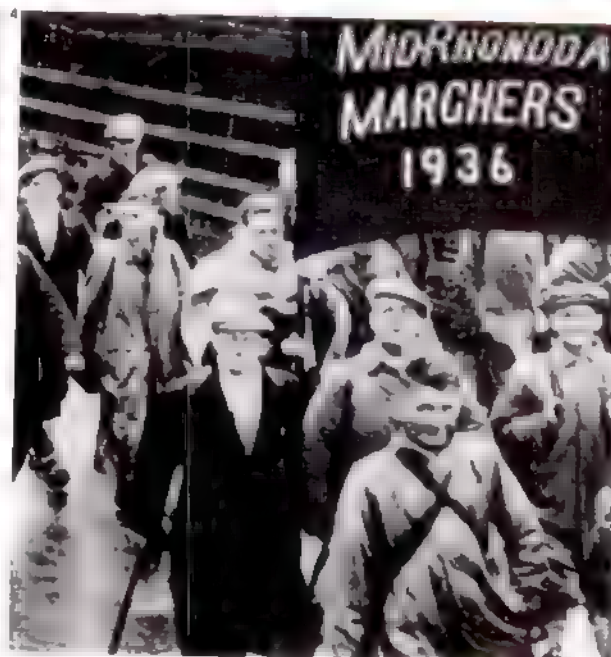
2 A decline in the Welsh population during the 1920s and 1930s reversed a growth trend that had been steady since the census of 1801. During the Depression years Wales lost all its natural population increase and a further 191,000 people, many of them to southeast England and the Midlands.



3 Soup kitchens such as this became an important means of supplementing the diet of many miners' families in South Wales during the Depression years when whole areas were progressively impoverished through unemployment.

nutrition was common during periods of industrial action and unemployment when long-term, ill-effects of domestic problems. Fortunately, working class communities were bound together by selfless effort and self-help was the only answer.

and genuine compassion. These traditional values helped to alleviate the harsh social problems of the time. The Welsh poet Idris Davies wrote: 'No manna fell on these communities and self-help was the only answer.'



4 Miners from the Rhondda Valley and other Welsh mining areas marched to London to join a hunger demonstration by 200,000 people from all parts of Britain, in Hyde Park on 8 November 1936. Many of the Welsh marchers had to sing on the streets for pennies to buy themselves food. The suffering and humiliation of the Depression years left deep scars on the hearts and minds of working class people in Wales. Their sense of injustice led to a strengthened trade union movement and increased willingness among industrial workers to form action by demonstrations and strikes. In 1932 Welsh unemployment reached a quarter of a million.

the Welsh people. By contrast the Labour Party emerged as the dominant political party in South Wales during the interwar years [5]. After 1945 socialism penetrated North Wales, and when the Labour Party won 32 seats out of 36 in the general election of 1966 it reached the peak of its dominance.

Welsh nationalism

Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party) was slower to achieve parliamentary success [6]. From the 1960s onwards, however, it extended its membership in both rural and industrial areas. In 1974 three Plaid members were elected to Parliament and the party has since established itself as the major rival to the Labour Party in Wales.

In 1964, the Labour Government established a Welsh Office in Cardiff, but because this body was granted little executive authority it scarcely began to fulfil the demands of the devolutionists, who called for the setting up of a representative assembly within Wales. The Kilbrandon Commission established in 1968-9, came out in favour of a large measure of devolution for Wales.

Depression, unemployment and depopulation in the 1920s and 1930s all affected Welsh language and culture in general. Since Tudor times the Welsh language had been relegated to an inferior status in matters of law and administration. In the twentieth century the influx of English speakers into the coalfields, the anglicization of the education system, the decline of Welsh Non-conformity and the rise of broadcasting and tourism all influenced a startling drop in the number of Welsh speakers. From 54.4 per cent in 1891, the percentage of Welsh people who could speak Welsh dropped to 16.8 in 1931 and 21.0 in 1971.

Valiant efforts have been made to arrest this decline [7]. **Urdd Gobaith Cymru** (the Welsh League of Youth), founded in 1922 fosters the language by inviting children to camps, sporting events and *cisteddfodau*, a growing number of schools teach in the vernacular at both primary and secondary level and Welsh authors and publishers receive substantial grants. The Welsh Language Act (1967) has granted – in principle at least – Welsh equal validity with English.



The Port Talbot steelworks at West Glamorgan became a major factor in the Welsh economy after the massive Abbey Works and hot strip mill was built there.

In 1947, modernizing the existing plant in the wake of the dramatic collapse of the coal industry the expansion of steel production has brought changes in

the industrial and social structure of Wales that are as far-reaching in many ways as the transformation that occurred during the first Industrial Revolution.



5 Aneurin Bevan (1897-1960) son of a Tragedy miner entered Parliament in 1929 as Labour member for Ebbw Vale. He rapidly became the most stimulating socialist thinker of his day. A colourful personality and a brilliant spontaneous debater, he preached the gospel of democratic socialism with wit and passion. After editing the socialist *Tribune* (1942-5) he became Minister of Health and principal architect of the National Health scheme. Later, in opposition, he led a left-wing Labour group critical of the government policies of the 1950s. Hugh Gaitskell defeated him for the party leadership in 1955.



6 Saunders Lewis (1893-) Welsh author has been an inspiration to the nationalist movement as one of the founders and later as president of Plaid Cymru from 1925. The party inspired by Ireland's success in winning independence made slow headway until after World War. But its activities at times explosive were a major factor in achieving formal recognition for the Welsh language in schools and in such sensitive areas as broadcasting, which is now carried in two languages. The growing strength of the party at the polls has been accompanied by moves towards greater political autonomy.



7 Civil disobedience has been a tactic of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh Language Society, since 1968). In 1971 members interrupted a High Court case in London to publicize their cause. The society, founded in 1962, aims to secure for the Welsh language equal status with English.

8 A new structure of local government administration was established for Wales in April 1974, dismantling a framework of shires that had lasted for more than 400 years. The 13 Welsh counties set up by the Tudors under the Act of Union in 1536 were abolished and in their place emerged eight units based broadly on ancient medieval divisions.



USA: the affluent society

The pervasive theme of American society since the end of World War II has been growth, bringing prosperity, innovation and not least, growing pains. This growth has been most evident in the number of people living in the United States [1]. The population at the time of the 1940 census was 131 million, by 1970 the population was 203 million, an increase of 72 million. The population explosion had been fed more by the baby boom after the end of World War II by the "second generation" baby boom of the late 1960s, and by people living longer, than by continued immigration from Europe. By 1972 the rate of immigration was about one sixth what it had been before World War I and less than six per cent of the country's population was foreign born.

The increase in population has meant a vast expansion in the size of conurbations, although typically the city centres themselves have lost population. Those who remain in older urban areas are often black [6]. Among large American cities nine have populations that are 40 per cent or more black, including Washington, DC, which is more than two

thirds black. The growth in population has been greatest in the so-called "Rim States" along the American coast, from Florida through to Texas and California. In 1940 California had less than half the population of New York, by 1970 it had become the largest state in the Union.

The rise of the bureaucratic leviathan

The population explosion has been mirrored by an enormous growth in government. The number of public employees has trebled since the 1930s and more than doubled since 1945 and now constitutes nearly 20 per cent of the total workforce. The expansion of the American military is shown by the fact that there were 28 million ex-servicemen in America in 1975.

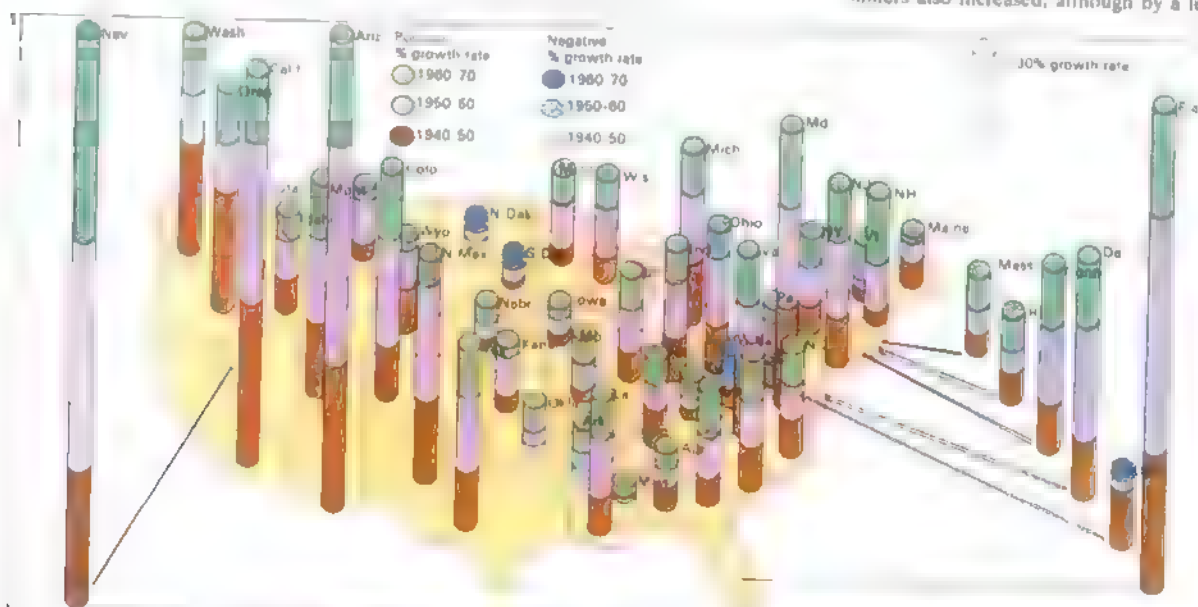
The growth in government is reflected in the creation of three new cabinet departments (Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and Transportation), a response to the federal government's commitment to expand its capabilities for looking after its citizens, and mobilizing national resources.

Superficially, party politics has changed less than society as a whole. The presidency is contested by candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, as it was a century ago. But the voting has been very unstable. Throughout most of the period, the Democratic Party has controlled both houses of the United States Congress [3]. Moreover, although the country claims to have a two-party system, in three postwar elections the president elect took less than half the vote because of divisions within the two parties.

Expanding economy and prosperity

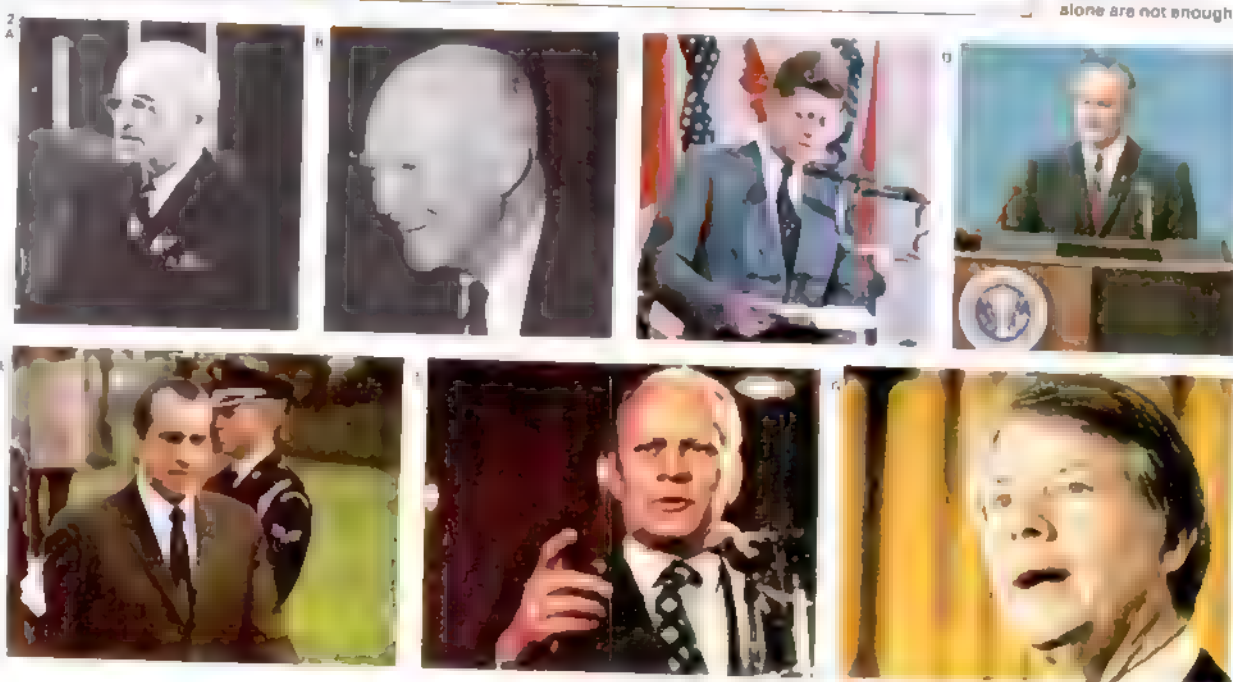
The American government has been able to expand activities at home and abroad because of the continuing growth of the nation's economy. In 1950 the gross national product was \$284,000 million, by 1971 it had increased almost fourfold to \$1,050,000 million. The growth in total national resources meant that, even without raising tax rates, the flow of money into the federal treasury increased massively. The amount of money left in the pockets of individual consumers also increased, although by a lesser

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1 Rapid population growth in America after the war was due more to a marked increase in the birth rate and life expectancy than to immigration, since 1945 total population has increased by over 50%. This in itself did not greatly affect population distribution across the continent. But there has been a significant movement of people to new centres of growth north and south mixing in this internal migration. Florida and California, for example, were centres for this migration, as the diagram indicates. America's manpower and wealth provided the means of a world wide "defence" effort postwar, but Vietnam showed that these alone are not enough.

2 Postwar presidents have been a most equally divided in party terms. Eisenhower (B), Nixon (E) and Ford (F) being Republicans, and Truman (A), Kennedy (C), Johnson (D) and Carter (G) Democrats. But all gave priority to foreign affairs. Truman found this compensated for domestic policy set backs, but Johnson lost by his foreign policy the support that his domestic war on poverty had gained. Nixon found that his success abroad could not bury the Watergate affair. Of these men John F. Kennedy, the Harvard educated son of a millionaire came from the east coast, the others were all brought up in small towns, or came from unsophisticated farming regions.



rate, because a portion of the increase went to looking after the increased number of children and elderly and to employ the larger number of Americans of working age. The family income of Americans has risen steadily, even when allowance is made for the effects of creeping inflation. The real income of the average American family doubled from 1947 to 1971, when it exceeded \$10,000 a year.

Higher earnings meant Americans could afford to buy more of everything. The great postwar housing boom caused a drop in the proportion of Americans living in substandard houses from nearly two in five in 1945 (many living in old farmhouses) to one in 20 in the early 1970s. The number of cars sold more than doubled from prewar years, totaling more than 8.5 million in 1970 [5]. Americans have also been investing more money in education. The proportion of young people receiving a high-school diploma (a secondary school leaving certificate) increased from one-half to three-quarters.

One of the biggest changes in American society in the postwar era occurred through

the courts and the statute books, with the integration of blacks as full citizens in American society. A series of United States Supreme Court decisions culminated in 1954 in the declaration that segregation was unconstitutional. This led to major changes in education patterns throughout the country as subsequent court orders enjoined increasingly stringent methods of assuring a balance of blacks and whites in the schools.

The raising of black consciousness

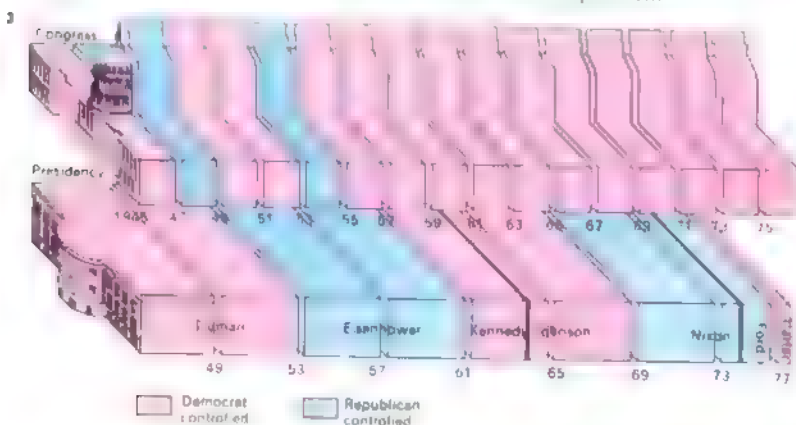
In the 1960s blacks began to turn to the streets, protesting peacefully under leaders such as Martin Luther King (1929-68) [4], or rioting as an expression of frustration, as in the Watts area of Los Angeles, in Detroit, Newark and even in Washington, DC. Black family income, reflecting generations of discrimination, does not yet equal that of whites. Nonetheless it has been rising, both in absolute terms and as a proportion of white income, as more blacks receive better education and as the federal government enforces stricter practices for equal opportunity in most areas of employment.



The supermarket, with its variety and abundance of goods symbolizes the

affluence of postwar America. In the decade following World War II this wealth

was highlighted by the austerity of a Europe recovering from conflict.



3 Since 1944 Republican presidents have generally faced a Congress held almost continuously by the Democrats. However, internal Democratic divisions have reduced the potential for conflict.

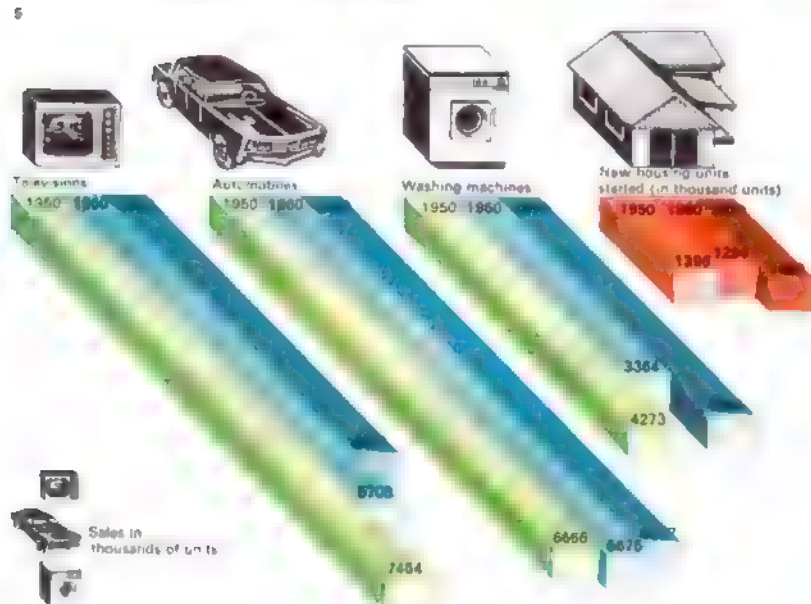
4 Martin Luther King organized the Montgomery Alabama bus boycott of 1955-6, the first great civil rights protest in the south. This nationwide spokesman for the black community was murdered in 1968.



6 The growing black population left the rural south for the industrialized conurbations. Moving to the car factories of Detroit and to Chicago and New York traditional routes for blacks in

search of work and also to new growth areas such as Los Angeles and Houston. This influx provoked an outflow of white residents to the suburbs. The whites were partly attracted by suburban life and

partly fearful of the urban ghettos. As a result of this movement, America's most important cities today often contain its greatest social, political and economic problems generated by years of racial antagonism.



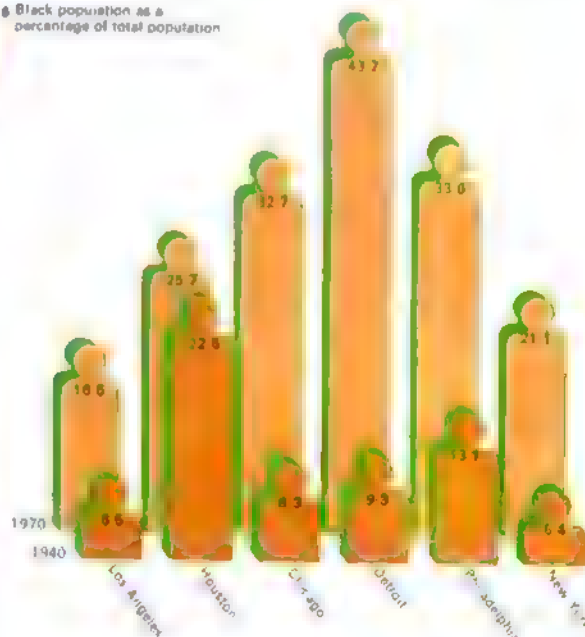
5 The consumer goods boom in postwar USA began a "democracy of consumption" - new homes, cars, washing machines and televisions became virtually the birthright of most Americans. Typical was the demand for television sets

first for black-and-white sets in the 1950s and later for colour sets, as technological advance made black-and-white television obsolescent. The boom in house construction brought mass production to the building industry with economies of

scale and standardization of product. A record of building well over a million houses a year meant that by the mid 1970s the number of homes built in the postwar era would have been able to provide a new house for almost every US family in 1939.

Consumer durables also generated further costs - most notably the motor car. It consumed tracts of land for highways in and around cities and oil to fuel engines. Until the oil crisis of the 1970s resources to maintain this boom seemed boundless.

6 Black population as a percentage of total population



the large-scale employment of sociologists by management to work in such areas as marketing and industrial relations.

The legacy of Karl Marx

Structural functionalism was paralleled by Marxist theory. Whereas the structural functionalists stressed the notions of integration and co-operation, those inspired by Marx saw society as composed of conflicting classes divided by their differing economic positions.

Influenced by Marx, C Wright Mills in his book *The Power Elite* pointed to a three-fold power concentration – the corporations, the military and the political – whose interests and actions were closely related [6]. But he argued that the power basis of this alliance could not be explained simply in Marxist economic terms but required a wider analysis of social organization. Marxist analysis greatly influenced the Black Power movement, whose leaders were disillusioned with the philosophy of integration advocated by the Civil Rights movement, and who questioned whether integration was possible, or even desirable. Following the race riots

across the United States in 1968, black and white politicians and sociologists argued for increased aid and social legislation for the ghettos, proposals rejected by the Black Power movement as mere palliatives.

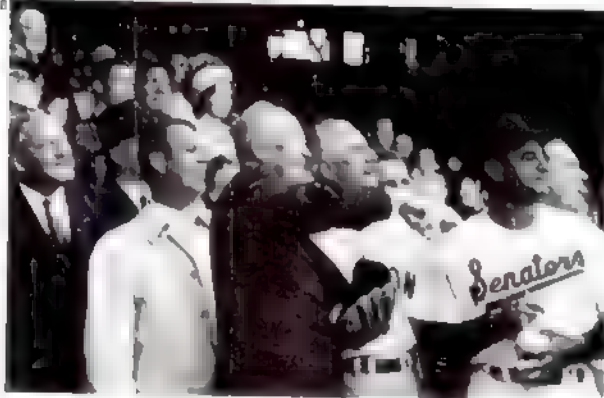
The Vietnam War and the rise of student protest also brought to the fore a well-developed but previously uninfluential school of sociology – the Frankfurt School. It emphasized the control of knowledge through the mass media. The media were seen to be the new opiate of the masses, in part explaining popular acceptance of what is, according to Marxists, an oppressive economic state.

The development of this theme by Herbert Marcuse [7] rose to prominence in the theoretical base of the growing student protest movement [10]. According to Marcuse students along with marginal and dispossessed groups are the contemporary revolutionary agents, precisely because they are outside the hypnotic culture of consumer society. However, the complex and incisive work of the Frankfurt School has, as yet, had little influence.

REV



The 20th century has been characterized for many by a widening gap between living standards and expectations (developed, for example, through advertising). Sociologists have viewed this gap in different ways. Some have seen it as a cause of unrest and social problems; others have attributed the apathy of the underprivileged towards improving their situation to the use of advertising and the creation of a 'consumer dreamworld'. This gap has also contributed to the use of sociology by governments who have increasingly intervened to reduce inequalities. In the commercial field sociologists have developed techniques to maintain and exploit the gap.

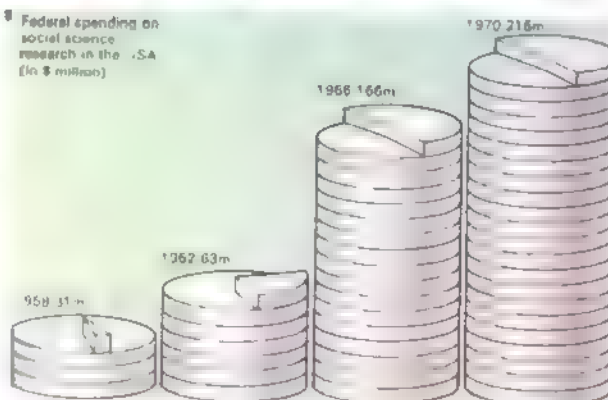


6 The basis of power in American society, according to C Wright Mills, greatly depends on the common social background of the political, military and business leaders. Educated similarly, attending the same social events, yet careful to maintain a popular image, here President Eisenhower opens the 1960 baseball season – they sustain a common outlook that obviates the need for a conscious conspiracy to preserve their rule.



7 Herbert Marcuse 1898 – Professor of Sociology at Berkeley University (shown) are in discussion with students, provided a stimulating critique of modern society. His analysis of modern democracy as characterized by 'repressive tolerance', in that freedom to disagree is more apparent than real, gave rise to a new approach to the study of social institutions in the achievement of a truly liberated society. Marcuse allotted a central role to students. His work constitutes an important strand in the ideology of the student movement of the 1960s. Many of those involved in the student unrest of 1968 acknowledged Marcuse as the 'mentor'.

8 Social science research has undergone a rapid expansion since the mid-1950s, as this diagram of US federal support shows. But institutions like the Ford Foundation have provided the largest proportion of money in this area. The methods and findings of sociology have been applied to a wide variety of public and private fields, from military strategy to housing, and from marketing to industrial relations.



9 The policy of busing black, underprivileged children to white schools encompasses two key sociological ideas. The first is the belief that educational achievement is as much a matter of environment as of heredity (emphasizing the need to equalize opportunities in the classroom). The second is that of racial integration. Public discontent with this policy, typified in the Boston busing war – shown here – points to the limitations of such attempts at social engineering.

10 Social science students figured prominently in demonstrations against American involvement in Vietnam, such as this at Fort Dix, New Jersey, in 1970. Reaction to the war in Vietnam illustrates the paradox of sociology's influence on 20th century political affairs. On the one hand sociology is charged with inciting conflict and change; on the other, it is accused of assisting in the maintenance of the existing social system. The involvement of radical social science students in opposing the war was more than equalled by the time effort and particularly money spent on social scientific research designed to make the war more efficient.



Hollywood

During the silent film era, Hollywood had established at the centre of the film-making process a group of glamorous stars who personified the dreams and wishes of cinema audiences. Charles Chaplin, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Rudolph Valentino [1] Gloria Swanson and newer stars such as the haunting Greta Garbo [4] influenced the lifestyles of millions to whom the cinema represented escape from a drab world.

Big studio organisation

After 1927, American control of the patents for sound equipment tightened Hollywood's grip on the world film industry, particularly when the European studios suffered financial reverses during the Depression. To meet the threat of falling audiences (a third of American cinema had closed by 1933) Hollywood itself was reorganised by Wall Street financiers who gained control of the eight major production studios and set out to mass-produce films by methods that would guarantee maximum profits. Individuality was subordinated to team productions in which dozens of scriptwriters might work on

a single film. High quality stage costumes and photography and massive jobbing machines projected the personalities of a new generation of screen idols: many recruits from the theatre. To exploit the particular talents of stars such as Joan Crawford, Jean Harlow or Clark Gable, formula films were devised with plots that varied only marginally. Slapstick and melodrama, the two most important genres of mass entertainment in the silent era, gave way to the farce of repartee (represented by the zany Marx Brothers), romantic dramas of society life, sex comedies and musical spectacles beginning with *Broadway Melody* (1929).

The straight transference of plays to movies, the shackling of cameras to clumsy soundproof booths and the restricted movement imposed by crude microphone equipment tended to rob films of their fluidity in the early days of sound. Back projection and huge studio lots were used to minimize the need for shooting on location and Hollywood was further removed from the realities of everyday life by a 'code of decency' administered by the Hays Office. Movie

moguls such as Louis B. Mayer (1885-1987)

of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer (MGM), were able to impose a bland view of life on the entire output of their studios. Apart from the tough gangster films for which William Brothers became famous, the Hollywood movies of the 1930s were designed almost wholly to entertain.

Entertainment opiates

The optimistic gloss of Hollywood was reflected both in the choreographed Art Deco fantasies of Busby Berkeley [3] and in the rise of child stars such as Shirley Temple, Mickey Rooney [7] and Deanna Durbin. At the same time, the demand for entertainment was often met with a high degree of professional skill, revealed most clearly in the brilliant animated work of Walt Disney and in the wit of comedies produced by Ernst Lubitch at Paramount and George Cukor at MGM. In the Technicolor splendours of *Gone With The Wind* (1939), big studio organisation achieved its ultimate objective: a film that would remain popular (and profitable) for generations [4].

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Rudolph Valentino

From the moment he appeared as a gaucho in *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921) became the romantic ideal of millions of women. An Italian migrant and former tango dancer, his rise to super stardom intensified by his impact in *The Sheik*, personified an American dream of sudden fame and riches. An orgy of public grief followed his death (from peritonitis) in New York in 1926.



2 The picture palace was a place of escape and enchantment in the 1920s when this London cinema showed both live and filmed entertainment. Fantastic decorative flourishes were added inside and out. The impulse to dazzle audiences with four fountains, marble pillars, gilded turrets, chandeliers and massed choirs reached a climax in 1927 when S. L. (Roxy) Rothafel opened a 'Cathedral of the Motion Picture' in New York.



3 The musical was one of Hollywood's most enduring contributions to the popular art of cinema. In such films as *Footlight Parade* (1933), Busby Berkeley, a former dance director, broke away from a fixed

camera angle to create stunning scenic effects with beautiful choreographic patterns of chorus girls or top-hatted men. The magical dancing of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers brought a more inti-

mate style while in the 1940s the musical tradition was again reshaped by the verve of Judy Garland and Gene Kelly. Perhaps the purest form of escapism, the musical began to lose ground only in the 1950s.



4 The phenomenon of stardom has never been demonstrated more hauntingly than by Greta Garbo. Her steady gaze into the camera (in the 1927 film *Lovelace*) had a unique effect on both male and female audiences. Clare Boothe Luce described her as 'a deer in the body of a woman living resentfully in the Hollywood zoo', and her performances in the films she made between 1926 and 1939 did indeed make her a legendary figure. She was born in Sweden in 1905, went to Hollywood as the protégée of the director Mauritz Stiller in 1925 and retired in 1941. Hollywood helped to create an unforgettable Garbo style by providing her with some of its better directors and cameramen.



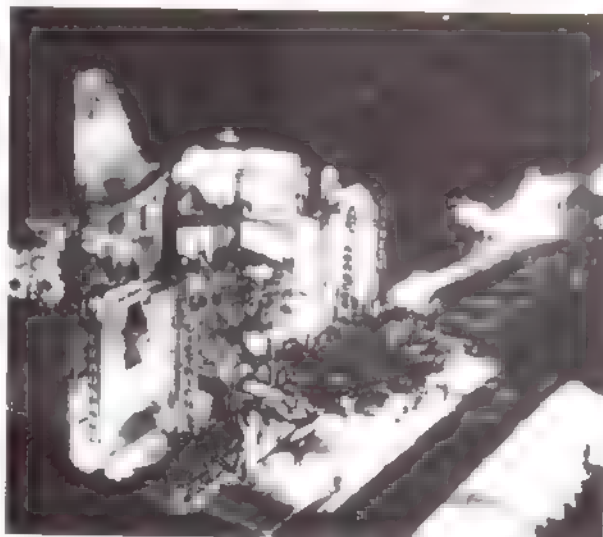
The most successful attempt to emulate the Hollywood system was made in Britain where American backing enabled Alexander Korda to establish the world's second-largest film industry. Aided by the widespread introduction of colour at the end of the 1930s, the studio system in both countries survived World War II and box-office takings rose to a peak in 1946. During the next ten years, however, Hollywood was increasingly affected by rising production costs, labour disputes, anti-trust laws, foreign taxes and witch hunts for alleged communists. At the same time, the competing attraction of television halved audiences in a single decade.

To counter the challenge of television the studios tried to provide a more lifelike film image. Experiments with three-dimensional effects failed. But with Cinemascope (1953) the technique of film-making as mass entertainment moved into a significant third phase. Using versions of an anamorphic lens invented by a French optician, Henri Chrétien, nearly 40 years earlier, Hollywood began to mount multi-million dollar "blockbusters". Despite such notable epics

as *Ben-Hur* (1959) and the emergence of new super stars such as Marilyn Monroe (1926-62) [8], the big studio system with its top-heavy executive structure began to break down in the late 1950s. Individual directors and stars began to regain control of production and make films whose themes would appeal to discriminating audiences. By the 1960s, more films were being shot increasingly on location. The Western, a distinctive Hollywood genre [6], was transplanted to Europe in "spaghetti Westerns".

Hollywood nostalgia

As mass entertainment films remain most important in Asia, whose rising output has matched a production decline in the West. But the Hollywood era has been rediscovered in a nostalgic flood of old movies sold to television, which reveal the craftsmanship of the gangster films, comedies and musicals made in the 1930s and 1940s. At the same time, there are signs that a reorganized Hollywood industry will hold its place as a producer of big scale films such as *The Godfather* [9].



A glittering premiere
of the 1930 Dietrich film *Morocco* at Grauman's Chinese

Theater, captured in its heyday "Strip off the

phony from the Oscar Levant and you'll find the real use underneath



5 *Gone With The Wind* (1939) has been seen by more people than any other film. Produced in the early days of colour, it ran nearly four hours, had a wilful heroine (Vivien Leigh), a hero (Clark Gable), saintly supporting leads (Leslie Howard and Olivia de Havilland) and a story of high passions and turbulent events, the American Civil War. In true Hollywood style, it was directed by three men, chief by Victor Fleming.



7 The super typical American family invented by Hollywood's dream factory appeared in an MGM series about the life of Andy Hardy. As played by the irrepressible Mickey Rooney, this small town boy represented all the bounce and vigour of American youth without of fending anybody's mother. The rose tinted series was hugely popular and made Rooney himself the top star at the US box office in 1939.



6 Gary Cooper (1901-61), a famous cowboy hero, reached the climax of a long career when he played Marshal Will Kane in Fred Zinnemann's 1952 film *High Noon* in the ritual of the Western showdown.

Hollywood found but an image of frontier virtues and a moral conflict that could be restated endlessly. After James Cruze directed *The Covered Wagon* in 1923, the Western became the princ-

paled monument of the scenic epic. Great directors like John Ford and stars like Cooper, Henry Fonda, James Stewart and John Wayne made the cowboy a figure of courage, honesty and endurance.



8 Marilyn Monroe was at the height of her fame as a sex symbol when she posed in a scene from *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), one of two films she made for comedy director Billy Wilder. But within seven years she was dead of a drug overdose. The warmest and most tragic of all Hollywood sirens, she appeared just as the film capital's ambivalent attitude to sex (long hedged by a "code of decency") was giving way to a less restrictive approach.



9 A scene from *The Godfather* (part 1), in which Al Pacino played the vengeful son of a Mafia chief, could have come straight from any of a dozen gangster films made during the 1930s heyday of Edward G. Robinson and James Cagney. But *The Godfather* and its sequel are films of the 1970s testimony to the enduring appeal of Hollywood's gangster idiom. Directed by Francis Ford Coppola, *The Godfather* had by 1973 earned more than any other film in history.

Music from Stravinsky to Cage

The history of serious Western music in the twentieth century has been mostly one of experiment and innovation. Already in the first decades, existing conventions that had governed Western music for centuries were finally giving way under the intense search for new expression in sound.

Experiment and innovation

In fact, harmony (that body of classical rules governing the way sounds were put together to determine key and to a large extent musical form) had been disintegrating quietly since the lush sounds of Richard Wagner's opera *Tristan and Isolde* (1865). The continuous stream of luxurious chromatic music cultivated by Wagner from then into the 1880s now bloomed in the music of Claude Debussy (1862–1918) into a colourful range of sound patterns.

In art the innovations of the French Impressionist painters (to whom Debussy has been compared musically) were overtaken in reaction by the Expressionists and Cubists. Similarly in music Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) [4] and his pupils Anton

Webern (1883–1945) and Alban Berg (1885–1935) [9] in Austria moved directly from Wagner's influence to the exploration of sounds in a more abstract sense.

About the same time, Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) [2] was writing for the Paris-based Ballets Russes of impresario Sergei Diaghilev (1872–1929) a series of vital imaginative ballet scores – *The Firebird* (1910), *Petrushka* (1911), *The Rite of Spring* (1913). These were rich in asymmetrical rhythms and orchestral colourings.

In Hungary, Bela Bartok (1881–1945) [5] was composing a vividly personal music strongly rhythmic and striking in its sophisticated use of modal and dissonant folk elements. In America, Charles Ives (1874–1954), was producing prolifically an original if uneven corpus of music that has come to be generally considered America's most individualistic and unconventional.

In Russia, the mystic and harmonically adventurous Alexander Scriabin (1872–1915) called for the projection of coloured lights in his *Prometheus, The Poem of Fire* (1909–11). And at the boundary of music

the short-lived Italian Futurists used the sounds of machine guns, aeroplanes and steam whistles in their new music of noise. The notion of music as organized sound was to be taken up in America by an expatriate Frenchman, Edgar Varese (1883–1965), in the 1920s, using percussion that included sirens and whistles.

Continuation of traditional music

Against the excesses of experimentation composers such as Richard Strauss, Paul Hindemith, Dimitri Shostakovich, Edward Elgar, Aaron Copland, Zoltan Kodaly and the group *Les Six* (Poulenc, Milhaud, Honegger, Durey, Tailleferre and Auric) in France continued in a more traditional vein derived from the nineteenth century, as others would for decades afterwards. Stravinsky himself, also in reaction, embarked on a Neoclassical period that lasted from *The Soldier's Tale* (1918) until the *Symphony in C* (1940), a time during which elements of formal restraint characterized his works. This trend was adopted by many composers at the time, as was the slight

CONNECTIONS

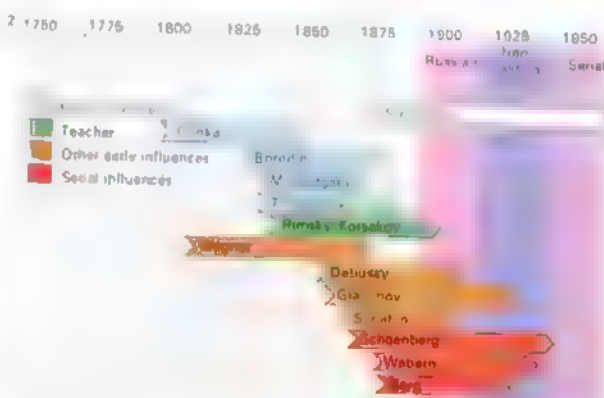
See also

The world in the first half of the twentieth century
The world in the second half of the twentieth century
The world in the third half of the twentieth century
The world in the fourth half of the twentieth century
The world in the fifth half of the twentieth century



1 These 70 important composers from the rich diverse 20th century world of serious Western music, represent many styles. Symbolists in traditions established last century.

Schubert, Shostakovich, Nielsen or Vaughan Williams are contemporary with the 12-note composition school of Schoenberg, Berg and Webern. Elton John's music composers, Stockhausen, Milton Babbitt or Xenakis, contrast with those rooted in a more traditional national style like Casella, Falla or Khachaturian. In recent years an international modern style that depends on abstract notions of sound, has come to be recognized.



2 Stravinsky is one of the giants of 20th-century music, largely because his work shows an outstanding originality through his changes of style. The diagram shows which of his predecessors and contemporaries most influenced him and the stages through which he moved. Born in Russia he transformed his native harmony and rhythms in his early scores, especially for the Ballets Russes in

Paris after World War I a restrained Neoclassical quality informed his works until his death he found "serial" music a dynamic inspiration, as in his *Centricum sacrum* (1956).

Paris after World War I a restrained Neoclassical quality informed his works until his death he found "serial" music a dynamic inspiration, as in his *Centricum sacrum* (1956).



3 The impact of recording in general on the appreciation and spread of music this century has been incalculable. From the first commercially successful 3 minute shellac discs made by the Italian tenor Enrico Caruso in 1903 he received

the first ever gold disc for one million records sold of the aria 'Vesti la giubba' from Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci* to the 4 channel quadraphonic and video reproduction of the 1970s, a vast audience outside the concert hall has



been given easy contact with every kind of music and performance through records and tapes. The illustration shows old and new styles of recording Poland's noted pianist and prime minister (1918–20) Ignacy Paderewski (1860

1941) making an acoustic recording at his home in Switzerland in 1911, the sound being cut directly on to a wax disc (A), and the New Philharmonie Orchestra and chorus under Raymond Lappard recording onto magnetic tapes (B).

influence of emergent jazz seen in music by composers such as Milhaud, Copland, Kurt Weill (1901-50), Walton, Kienek and George Gershwin (1898-1937).

Schoenberg's 12-note system

In reaction on a parallel plane Schoenberg, committed to the emancipation of dissonance, produced in 1912 the classic *Sprechstimme* (speech-melody) work *Pierrot Lunaire*. This was for five musicians and a reciter who loops and slides through the poems (a composition called by Stravinsky 'the mind and solar plexus of early twentieth century music'). He eventually refined a 12-note method of composition this was to dominate the rest of his work. In this the 12 notes of the chromatic scale are arranged in rows or series (hence 'serial music') that replaced traditional keys and harmony.

His pupil Alban Berg did not adopt the 12-note method until his *Violin Concerto* (1935), where he applied it undogmatically and romantically, while Anton Webern showed far-reaching insight into the extensions of music possible through it.



4 Arnold Schoenberg

has been as much celebrated in 20th century music for the dominating influence of his 12 note method of composition as for his own works. Yet his music, from the early Brahms and Wagner influenced pieces like *Transfigured Night* (1899) to the late (1949) *Phantasy for Violin with piano accompaniment* reveals a striking adventurous imagination that is not confined by a rigid method.

9 Alban Berg and Anton Webern

are Schoenberg's two most brilliant pupils. Each demonstrated and developed the influence of Schoenberg's ideas and method in his own way. Although all three were collectively seen as the Viennese school of early 20th-century composition and were close friends, Webern's very precise music was to have the greater influence later in the century.

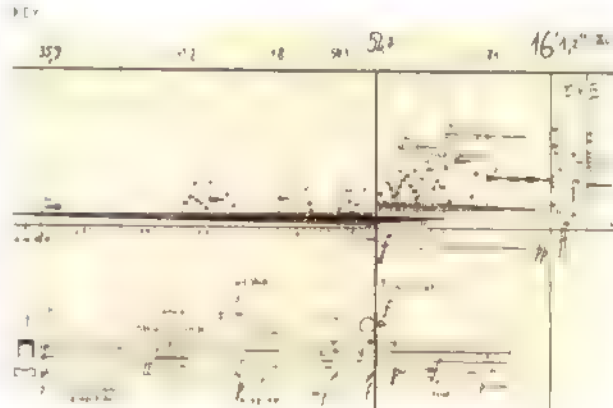
10 John Cage (1912)

has been a fearless and prolific American explorer of sounds and silences. His 'absurdist' experiments have had a stimulating influence on avant-garde painting, theatre and multi-media happenings. From early performances (1938) on a prepared piano (nails, bolts, rubbers etc. between the strings) he has prescribed chance music using several radios, silence - his 4'33" for silent player(s) - and even funny stories to a piano background.

5 Bela Bartók



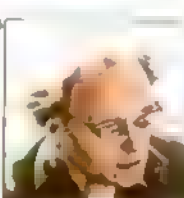
is the most strikingly successful of the modern composers who found folk music a vivid source of inspiration. Professor of piano at Budapest Academy for nearly 30 years, he began in 1905 to transcribe Hungarian folk songs on field trips with his friend, the composer Kodály. By the end of his life he had noted and recorded about 8,000 tunes and his music drew imaginatively from their style.



New notation has been a major innovation in music this century. Shown here is a page from the score of Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Kontakte* ('Contacts') for electronic sounds, piano and percussion (1960). The elec-

tronic sounds that issue from loud speakers (indicated by Roman numerals I to IV) in the four corners of a staff are described graphically above the thick line, while the live sounds made by the two performers are

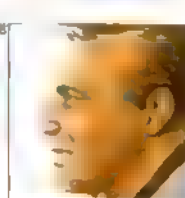
represented below. Time in seconds is given at the top to enable the players to co-ordinate precisely with the tape. The percussion instruments are shown by symbols. Composers also use graphs and drawings



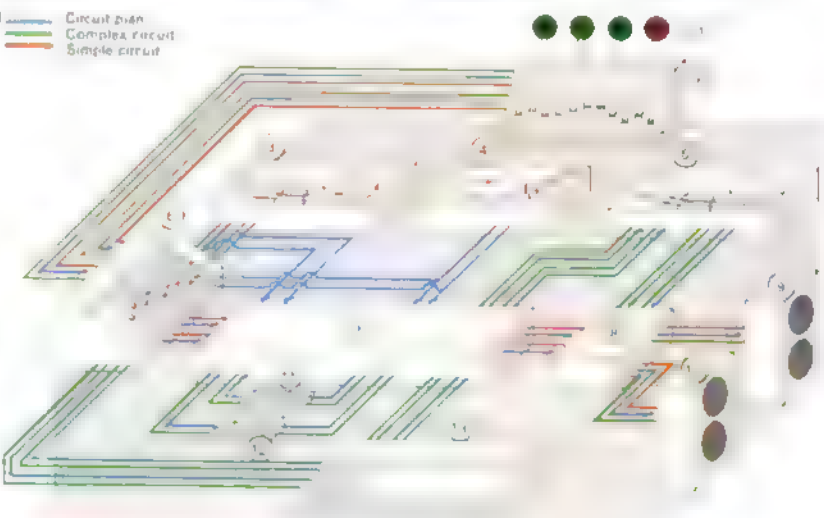
Olivier Messiaen has been the most durable, imaginative and individually poetic French composer of the 20th century since Debussy. From 1931 organist at the Church of the Trinity in Paris, and a teacher at the Paris Conservatoire since 1942, he has written music characterized by unusual rhythmic series and influenced by oriental melody and plain chant, bird song and religious themes.



Benjamin Britten (1913-76) had been for many years the central figure in the development of 20th-century British music. Turning from full Romantic expression he integrated new sounds and classical techniques (influenced at first by Stravinsky and Gustav Mahler) into the English choral and vocal tradition, always with a concern for directness of expression and melodic clarity.



Hans Werner Henze (1926-), generally recognized as one of the most outstanding of the younger generation of composers, studied and worked in his native Germany before turning to composition full time. He has produced opera, ballet, symphonic works, chamber music and music for voices, all of which demonstrate his chief virtue: the constant assimilation of contemporary styles in an original way.



11 A small electronic music composition studio based on a synthesizer (13), is shown here. The syn-

thesizer is waves together with signals from microphones and mixer (1, 2), tape decks (3, 5) and re-

corder (4) are modified by the use of mixers (8, 9), filters (11) and reverb unit (12).

All outputs go to a patch-board (7) and then through amplifier (6) and speakers (9, 10) as sounds.

Jazz and pop

Western popular music during the twentieth century has been dominated by the United States, and especially the new forms resulting from the interaction of differing African and European musical traditions of melody, harmony, rhythm and instrumentation. Black artists have played a crucial role, especially in the first half of the century. The folk-music of the slaves [2] had, by 1900, been transformed into a new kind of music – jazz.

The new sound was rhythmic, emotional and vital. It could be joyous or sad and could be played either by a full band or a soloist. Above all, it could be danced to.

The stages of jazz

Jazz went through four main periods, while the wider field of 'popular' music tagged along behind. In the period from 1890 to 1917, jazz became popular among most black Americans. The first jazz style, known as ragtime (played on the piano), emerged from St Louis, with Scott Joplin (1868–1917) as its principal exponent. Then came a second jazz style, the classic blues, performed by professional entertainers such as Ma' R.ii

ney on the music hall and tent show circuit.

New Orleans was not the only town in the United States where jazz could be heard in this period, but it was certainly the most important [3]. In 1910 the city with its 89,000 black population had at least 30 bands. They were small units playing improvised pieces that had developed from parade marching tunes. White Americans called the twenties 'the jazz age', but the 'jazz' that dominated their dance music was highly diluted and often had little in common with black music except the syncopation.

In the 1930s jazz suffered badly with the Depression and many musicians were forced to move to Europe. But in 1935 jazz suddenly leapt back in America – this time as swing. Swing was big-band music and used large brass sections to provide a tidal wave of sound. It appealed particularly to young white audiences, and bandleaders such as Benny Goodman (1909–) and Glenn Miller (1904–44) achieved a popularity as great as the important black big band leader Duke Ellington (1899–1974) [4].

The public flocked to hear swing, but

many black musicians began to react against the 'composed' and 'arranged' styles. They wanted to get back to something that had the chance for greater improvisation.

The development of the blues

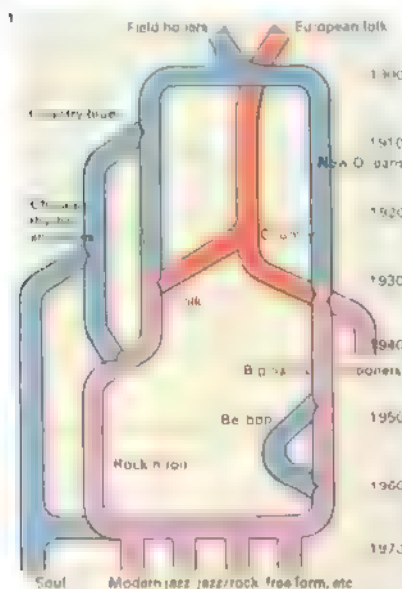
The result, in the 1940s, was 'bebop', a musically sophisticated product of young black musicians such as trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie (1917–) and saxophonist Charlie 'Bird' Parker (1920–55) [5]. The blues had also been evolving. The '12 bar' style was not only the basis for much early New Orleans band music, but was used by guitar soloists as the basis for powerful 'folk-blues' or 'country blues', songs about their lives and problems. But as black workers left the farming lands of the south to move to the northern industrial cities, they took their blues with them and the music changed with the new environment. In the cities, particularly Chicago, rhythm and blues was formed. It was played on electric guitars with bass and drum backing and the sound was now harder and more driving.

Only one white American style flourished,

CONNECTIONS

See also

100 Years of Jazz
The African American
The Blues
The Jazz Age



1 The development of jazz and pop

has been the result of the interaction of two musical forces: black music taken by the African slaves to the USA and white, originally European folk music. The USA was the cultural melting pot, and black music developed through blues into the various jazz styles, and then mixed with the urban rhythm and blues to produce rock. By the 1970s it was a free for all.

3 Louis Armstrong (left, foreground), 1900–71, was born in New Orleans and learned to play the cornet at reform school. Later he met the famed King Oliver (1885–1938) who became his teacher



2 The African slaves brought with them songs that had rhythmic complexity and a certain 'feel' or 'groove'.

It was the call and response pattern in its most primitive form that could be found in functional songs, work songs and lullabies. Gangs working in the plantations eased the work with rhythmic songs in which the lead singer was echoed by the group.

and whom he replaced in Kid Ory's band. In 1927 he formed his own band. Armstrong became the best known exponent of 'Dixieland' jazz, establishing the eminence of the virtuoso soloist.



4 Duke Ellington (left), whom many regard as the most important single talent jazz has produced, was a composer, song

writer, arranger and pianist. The most masterful exponent of big band jazz, he developed a unique style by working on

the individual sounds of the first-rate instrumentalists in his band. He gave the blues its finest orchestral form, and

wrote composed jazz that still left room for improvisation. The subtlety of his orchestration was unique.



5 Charlie Parker was as influential in the 1940s and 1950s as Armstrong had been earlier. Born in the slums of Kansas City, he played in big bands, then rebelled against their rigid styles to become the leading revolutionary of 'bebop'. His alto sax playing was complex and tortured, but for all his experimentation his roots were in early blues. An unhappy vagabond and drug addict, he has been called the 'Rimbaud' of modern jazz.

successfully against all this black competition - and that was country music [6] centred in Nashville, Tennessee. There were also a handful of extraordinary, itinerant white folk-singers, who travelled across America in the 1930s. Woody Guthrie (1912-67) was the most important of them.

By the 1950s the big band jazz era had passed - leaving only ballad singers and crooners such as Frank Sinatra (1915-) and Bing Crosby (1904-77) - and the new "modern jazz" was popular only amongst a minority. The emergent postwar youth culture found a new style by mixing the smoother white country music styles with the energy and aggression of rhythm and blues. "Rock 'n' roll" was born. The music was rough, noisy and sexual, and its most popular exponents, initially white teenagers [7] was its earliest voice. Although it was black guitarist Chuck Berry who wrote the first rock 'n' roll songs.

By the late fifties rock 'n' roll was as pervasive and split into several forms. Some artists playing acoustic guitars resurrected folk-songs, and then moved on to write new

material, often in protest against social or political targets. Bob Dylan (1941-) [9] brought the new music to respectability by writing intelligent lyrics.

Contemporary rock music

The experiments of the sixties began with a "blues boom" - a mixing of rock 'n' roll with authentic black rhythm and blues styles. Guitarists such as Eric Clapton and Jimi Hendrix mastered the blues, then began to push the music forward in longer, semi-improvised pieces. The "underground" [10] - a youth rebellion against conformity, greatly influenced by drugs - further changed the music. "Acid rock" attempted musically to recreate drug experience through lengthy instrumentals and the use of elaborate lighting. The style started in San Francisco with bands such as the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane. In Britain, Paul McCartney (1942-) and John Lennon (1940-80) of the Beatles [8], came under this influence as they progressed from simple, clever songs to the complexities of the "Sergeant Pepper" album.

KEY



Bessie Smith (c. 1898-1937), one of the greatest jazz blues singers of all time, was born into poverty in Chattanooga, Tennessee. At the age of 11 she began touring the southern

states with the Rabbit's Foot Minstrel Show, where she was greatly influenced by "Ma" Rainey. Bessie was extraordinarily popular from 1924 until 1932 when the Depression hit show

business and the taste for the blues began to wane. A large, handsome, tragic woman who was alone for most of her life, she sang about the transitory nature of men, money and drink.



Jimmie Rodgers (1897-1933), an important country singer and guitarist, was the first man to be installed in Nashville's "Country Music Hall of Fame". The son of a Mississippi railwayman, he him-

self worked on the railway as a flagman, broken at an early age because of ill health and became an entertainer. He wrote his own songs, which incorporated yodelling with a blues influence.

Elvis Presley was born in 1935 in East Tupelo, Mississippi, and moved to Memphis as a cinema usher after leaving high school. He came to the attention of the local record company and

became a show business phenomenon by being the first white artist to mix the wildness of black rhythm and blues with country music. He has survived because of his mastery of vocal technique.



The Beatles were for eight years, from 1962 to 1970 - the most successful group in the history of popular music. From playing in Hamburg

and Liverpool clubs, they became a legend transforming rock 'n' roll with their fine melodies and harmonies. They had a truly progressive

and experimental attitude to songwriting and record production, which developed with uneasy passages. The more successful they became,



Bob Dylan was the leader of the "folk rock" wave that swept America and the UK during the 1960s. His singing was first influenced by Woody Guthrie, in whose style he wrote protest classics such as "Blowin' in the Wind". He later moved to amplified blues styles and has remained a remarkable lyricist.

Pink Floyd were originally a London rhythm and blues band but they soon switched to mixed media experiments and the use of elaborate light shows. By the late 1960s they were the leading British "underground" band. They have pioneered lengthy rock symphonic works using a mass of electronic equipment.



Classical and modern ballet

The Romantic movement, represented by the writings of Byron and the paintings of Delacroix, soon spread to ballet. Dancers abandoned masks and began to act the emotions required in the ballet, thereby effacing the distinction between dance and mime. The techniques of the ballet were expanded to express these moods and emotions.

The first Romantic ballets

La Sylphide, the first Romantic ballet, was first presented in 1832 with choreography by Filippo Taglioni. The role of the sylphide was created by his daughter, Marie Taglioni (1804–84) [2], the dancer most closely associated with the Romantic ballet. It was she who first wore the shortened skirt, still referred to as 'ballerina' length.

La Sylphide was the first of many ballets featuring strange and mysterious creatures. Wilis, the spirits of girls who die before their wedding day, appeared in *Giselle*, the undoubted masterpiece of the Romantic era. It was first given in Paris in 1841 with Carlotta Grisi (1819–99) in the title role.

By the middle of the nineteenth century

Romantic ballet became merely a vehicle for the ballerina's virtuosity and fell into decline. Dancers, choreographers and musicians turned to Russia, its state ballet school founded in 1735, its artistic tradition kept alive by men such as Marius Petipa (1819–1910), a Frenchman who went to St Petersburg to become principal dancer. He showed off the ballerina to advantage, using the *corps de ballet* (an ensemble of dancers who accompany the lead) usually as a decorative background. One act was often given over to a series of unrelated dances known as *divertissements*, the highlight being the *pas de deux* by the two principals.

The importance of Russia

The Sleeping Beauty [3], generally considered to be Petipa's masterwork, was given its first performance at St Petersburg in 1890 with an inspired score by Tchaikovsky. When Petipa fell sick, Lev Ivanov, his assistant ballet master, took over the choreography of *The Nutcracker* and with Petipa created *Swan Lake*, one of the greatest of all ballets.

The elderly Petipa was quick to

appreciate the early work of the young Michel Fokine (1880–1942) [4]. However Fokine rebelled against many of the traditions of the Petipa ballets. He abolished the antiquated mime and replaced the classical ballet skirts (tutus) with costumes appropriate to the period in which the ballet was set. So it was not surprising that the impresario, Sergei Diaghilev (1872–1929), chose this young rebel to be his ballet master and choreographer in western Europe.

The influence of Diaghilev

During the first season of Russian opera and ballet presented by Diaghilev in Paris in 1909 the Fokine works included *Les Sylphides*, with music by Chopin, and *Prince Igor* (music by Borodin). The company was a tremendous success and Tamara Karsavina (1885–1978), Anna Pavlova (1881–1931) and Vaslav Nijinsky (1890–1950) [Key] became famous overnight. Four years later Diaghilev broke away from the Russian Imperial Theatres and formed the Ballets Russes, which became one of the greatest ballet companies the world has ever known.

CONNECTIONS

See also

18
19
20
21



1 The five positions of the feet are the starting point for all ballet steps. In the first position (A), the heels touch. In the second (B) and the fourth (D), the feet are 30cm (12in) apart. In the

third (C), fourth and fifth positions (E) the feet are parallel. Turnout is where the legs are rotated outwards from the hips. The arm movements are known as *port de bras*. The two most

familiar poses are the arabesque and the attitude. Steps can conveniently be classified as either jumps (eg the *jeté* beats (the *entrechat*), or turns (the *pirouette* a full turn on one foot).



2 Marie Taglioni in *La Sylphide*, the first Romantic ballet. She danced the part of the sylphide (fairy-like being) who falls in love with James a Scotsman. Taglioni wore a bodice which left the shoulders bare, a knee-length muslin skirt, tights and pink satin point shoes, and this has become the accepted costume for the Romantic ballerina. *La Sylphide*, with different music by Lvenskold and new choreography by August Bournonville, has been in the repertory of the Royal Danish Ballet in Copenhagen since 1836. The leading roles in the ballet are now most closely associated with Margarethe Schanne and Erik Bruhn.

3 *The Sleeping Beauty* was chosen by the Royal Ballet – at that time the Sadler's Wells Ballet – to reopen the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden after World War II. Margaret Fonteyn and Robert Helpmann (1909–) danced in the first act, sometimes given on its own as *Aurora's Wedding*. London had seen nothing so splendid as the sets and costumes by Oliver Messiaen since the Bakst decor for the Diaghilev production at the Alhambra Theatre in 1921. Petipa's masterpiece (1890) is the cornerstone of the Royal Ballet repertory. The version most often mounted today is by the present company director Kenneth MacMillan, with sets by Peter Farmer.



Diaghilev felt that ballet was part of a complex spectacle made up of poetry, literature, painting, music and choreography, and he tried to gather all these elements in the ballets created by his successive choreographers: Fokine, Nijinsky, Léonide Massine (1896-1979) Bronislava Nijinska (1891-1972), George Balanchine (1904-) and Serge Lifar (1905-). When he died in 1929 his company disbanded and dispersed, spreading his ideas throughout the Western world. Marie Rambert (1888-) came to London and formed what became the Ballet Rambert. At about the same time Ninette de Valois (1898-) formed the company that today is known as the Royal Ballet. De Valois's first ballerina was Alicia Markova (1910-) and when she left Margot Fonteyn (1919-) flowered into the *prima ballerina assoluta* of British ballet.

Serge Lifar stayed in Europe and became dancer, ballet master and choreographer at the Paris Opéra. George Balanchine [6] went to the United States and became director and choreographer of New York City Ballet. However, companies which already had a

strong tradition of their own were not so affected by Diaghilev. Thus the Royal Danish Ballet in Copenhagen has continued to train dancers in the style of August Bournonville (1805-79), and in Russia the two major companies - the Bolshoi Ballet in Moscow and the Kirov (formerly the Maryinsky) Ballet in Leningrad - still present their post-revolutionary works with Soviet themes and spectacular dancing as the principal ingredients of the display.

There have been many developments in modern dance both in America and Europe since the pioneering work of Isadora Duncan (1878-1927), most notably from Martha Graham (1893-) [5]. Subject matter has become more realistic and the use of dance in the cinema has greatly expanded this genre, for example in *West Side Story* (1961) Jerome Robbins (1918-) devised modern ballet sequences for a highly successful film. With the current proliferation of dance companies throughout the world and a growing audience for both classical and modern ballet there can be no doubt that ballet will continue to flourish for many years to come.

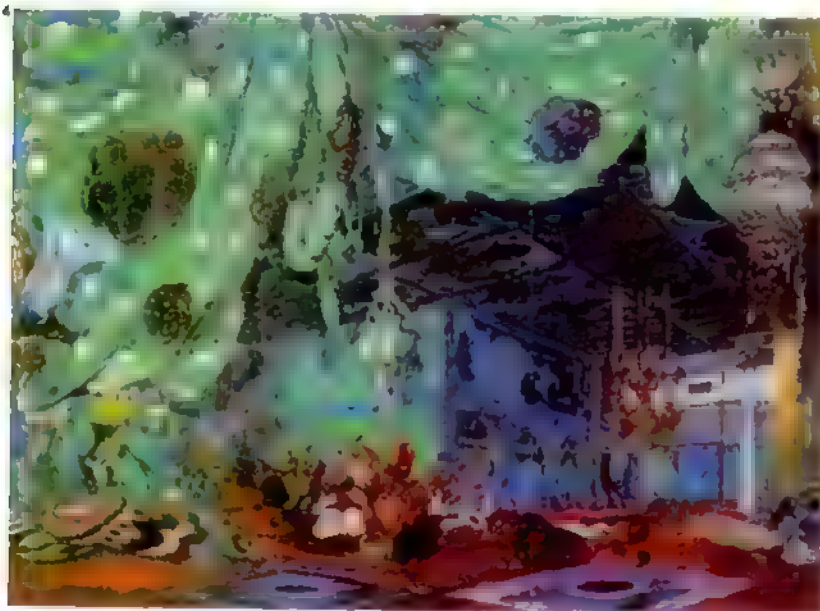
KEY



Vaslav Nijinsky was probably the most accomplished male dancer of this century. Fokine created several ballets for him, including *Petrushka*

and *Scheherazade*, but Nijinsky also created several for himself. His performance shown here in his own *L'Après midi d'un faune* (1912)

caused a scandal and there was a riot at the premiere of his *Le Sacre du Printemps* in 1913. Madness ended his career after only eight years.



4 Michel Fokine's *Scheherazade* (1910) had Ida Rubinstein as the Shah's favourite wife and Vaslav Nijinsky as her Negro slave. This was one of several Oriental ballets given by Diaghilev. Léon Bakst's brilliantly coloured decor had a great influence on fashion and interior design.

5 Martha Graham, seen here in her ballet *Hérodiade* produced in 1944, has created an entirely original style of dancing, a school of dance and a company in New York. The Graham dancer places much less emphasis on leaving the floor and executing the dance in mid-air than the classical dancer.



6 George Balanchine, artistic director of the New York City Ballet, has created numerous ballets for it since 1948. His company and the American Ballet Theatre are the two foremost classical companies in the city. Perhaps

most notable have been the works he produced with Igor Stravinsky, including *Apollo Musagoras* (1928), choreographed for Diaghilev and *Agon* (1957). *Agon* (shown here) is a plotless one-act ballet danced in black and white

practice costume to a twelve-note musical score. This ballet, together with other works from this repertoire including *Dances at a Gathering*, choreographed by Jerome Robbins, is also performed by Brittain's Royal Ballet.



7 Marguerite and Armand was the first ballet to be created for Margot Fonteyn and Rudolf Nureyev. Frederick Ashton used music by Franz Liszt and decor by Cecil Beaton to recreate in dance the familiar story of the *Lady of the Camellias*. Ashton's collaboration with Fonteyn during the formative years of the Royal Ballet produced masterworks such as *Ondine* and *Symphonic Variations*. Nureyev's partnership with Fonteyn resulted in a wonderful *pas de deux* in *Le Corsaire* and a memorable *Giselle*. He not only dances in a wide range of ballets and styles but also has produced several of the classics, including a sumptuous *Sleeping Beauty*.

Cinema as art

The cinema as a mirror of man's thoughts combines and extends the ancient arts of painting, music, dance, theatre, literature and architecture. It is the most persuasive and total medium of creative expression ranging from a close reproduction of reality to the most extravagant fantasies.

Mainstream influences

At the outset of the sound era three main styles had emerged in cinematic art. The first was montage, a method of editing and reassembling isolated shots pioneered by D. W. Griffith and refined by Sergei Eisenstein. The second was *mise-en-scène*, in which the director attempted to present a view of life by planning longer narrative sequences as Erich von Stroheim (1885-1957) had done in 1923 in *Greed* [2]. The third was documentary, a journalistic approach which derived from the sensitive study of Eskimo life. *Nanook of the North* [1], by Robert Flaherty (1884-1951). The history of films as art is largely the story of how these three styles have been used and blended by directors seeking to express their individual vision.

The coming of sound in 1927 was resisted by many who felt that the unique art of the silent film would be debased and restricted thereby. One of the first to show that sound films could persuade, move and inspire was Lewis Milestone in a 1930 adaptation of Erich Maria Remarque's anti-war novel, *All Quiet On The Western Front*. With a few exceptions, such as Joseph von Sternberg's (1894-1969) *The Blue Angel* (1930), the pressures of commerce in America and of propaganda in Russia and Germany [3] hampered the use of film as a medium of personal expression during much of the 1930s.

More independent work emerged in France where major production studios had collapsed during the Depression. Jean Vigo (1899-1933) and Marcel Pagnol (1895-1974) used film to satirize or reflect the mood of their country or to turn ordinary life into poetry. In *La Grande Illusion* (1937) and *La Règle du Jeu* (1939) Jean Renoir (1894-) [4] foreshadowed modern cinema by shaping his films round an idea rather than a well-made plot and by resisting fragmentation of the camera's view. A more startling

enlargement of the camera's range of vision came with *Citizen Kane* (1941). Orson Welles's original recapitulation of a newspaper magnate's life [5], which used newsreel techniques developed in the late 1930s.

The realistic tradition

In the mid 1920s, the Soviet director Dziga Vertov had argued for a "cinema of actuality". The most successful attempt to find drama in the reality of working life emerged in Britain with the documentary work begun by John Grierson and continued by Basil Wright during the 1930s. In the postwar era realism influenced feature films made by Italian directors such as Roberto Rossellini (1906-), Vittorio de Sica (1901-74) and Luchino Visconti (1906-), who improvised action on real locations, often using untrained actors [6]. The use of untrained actors became an article of faith for French director Robert Bresson (1907-). The end of the war also brought a resurgence of the poetic French tradition with outstanding work by Clair, Cocteau and Marcel Carné.

In the 1950s the growth of film societies

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Eskimo life with its stark daily battle for survival inspired a film that is generally regarded as the starting-point of the documentary. *Nanook of the North* (1921). Its director was an explorer Robert Flaherty who set out not to make a scenic travelogue in the conventional style of the day but to show the humour and tenacity of an Eskimo hunter and his family. This creative treatment of reality led on to British documentaries of the 1930s which took the camera into the daily lives of working people, pioneering many techniques (such as synchronous sound interviews) that would later be used for in-depth television reporting.

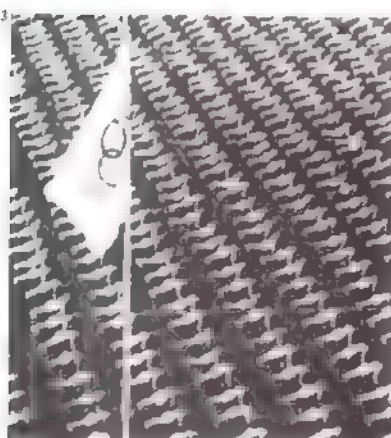


2 *Greed*, a penetrating study of human behaviour set in San Francisco before 1914, was the product

of an individualistic actor and director Erich von Stroheim. His film was slashed to about a quarter of

its original 10-hour length but remains a significant early example of the way in which the camera

could reveal life by dwelling on a group of characters carefully manipulated by the director.



3 The use of film as a political weapon originated in Russia but was perfected by the Nazi regime in Germany during the 1930s when the Goebbels ministry brought a previously marginal film industry under

almost complete control. Leni Riefenstahl in *Olympia*, her masterly film of the 1936 Olympics, was alone able to reconcile the demand for propaganda with creative use of the camera's possibilities.



4 Lyrical photography and warm observation of ordinary people distinguished *Une Partie de Campagne*, Jean Renoir's 1936 film based on a story by Maupassant. Renoir, son of the painter Auguste, broke away from the vogue for montage editing in several films he made during the 1930s, preferring fluid use of his camera and composition of scenes in depth, a technique that was further developed in the postwar period.

5 Orson Welles starred in his own film *Citizen Kane*, a devastating study of the psychology of a business tycoon who bore a close resemblance to the newspaper owner William Randolph Hearst. Although he was only 25, Welles established himself



immediately as a director of rare ability, combining a dynamic use of simulated newsreels

with weird camera angles and original lighting and sound effects with photography of unusual depth.

and international film festivals introduced Western audiences to the artistry of Asian films. Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* [7], and Kenji Mizoguchi's *Gate of Hell* won major prizes for Japan in 1951 and 1954 while Satyajit Ray's (1921-) story of Bengali life, *Pather Panchajali*, was acclaimed at the Cannes film festival in 1956. The documented personal statements of the Swedish director Ingmar Bergman (1918-) [8] found a wide audience. In Italy the potential of better lenses was exploited by Michelangelo Antonioni (1912-) [9], who used landscape to express the inner world of his characters, and by Federico Fellini (1920-), whose influential films reworked parts of his own life and fantasies.

The New Wave and modern cinema

The decline of commercial cinema in the 1950s left a large minority audience of discriminating filmgoers. Together with the availability of technically refined 16mm film and equipment, this led to the re-emergence of a wholly individualistic *avant-garde* film spearheaded by Maya Deren and Stan

Brakhage in America. Although rarely surfacing in a commercialized way [10], the *avant-garde* has become an international art form with techniques that vary from fast cut distorted images to half-hour takes of whatever passes before the lens.

In the commercial cinema a new group of film-makers, led by the New Wave directors in France, took up the idea of the author-director controlling a small team to realize his personal vision. The disruption of hardening conventions by directors such as Jean Luc Godard (1930-) and Francois Truffaut (1932-) [Key] fed back into mainstream film-making everywhere. Even in Eastern Europe, where political control of the cinema was weakening a little, Milos Forman (1932-) and Ivan Passer pushed forward naturalism, and in Hungary Miklos Jancso choreographed intricate patterns of actors and camera movement in ultra-long takes.

Since 1960 the availability of silent hand-held cameras and lightweight tape recorders has allowed the development of *cinéma vérité* style that is able to record more of the actuality of life than ever before.



Francois Truffaut gave an insight into the mechanics of modern film-making in *La Nuit Américaine* (1973), which showed him directing in the matter-of-fact style of the New Wave.

This is a term that was used to describe a group of French directors led by Truffaut himself, Jean-Luc Godard, Jean Resnais and Claude Chabrol who, at the end of the 1950s,

made films in an improvising style which broke with many conventions of narrative film. Truffaut's *Jules et Jim* (1961) was among the most successful of their films.



Neo-realism gained a world audience with the release in 1945 of *Rome, Open City*. In both this and a subsequent film *Paisà* Roberto Rossellini used a mixture of trained and untrained actors, real and staged action to 'reconstruct' the story of the Italian partisan movement with a startling sense of authenticity. The neo-realists, led by a writer, Cesare Zavattini, wanted to discard falsehood and take the camera into the streets and fields to film actual situations that would express the drama of life in post-war Italy. Until sentimentality crept in the movement produced some fine work, notably in *Bicycle Thieves* (1948).

Rashomon established the reputation of Japanese film-makers when it won the Grand Prix at

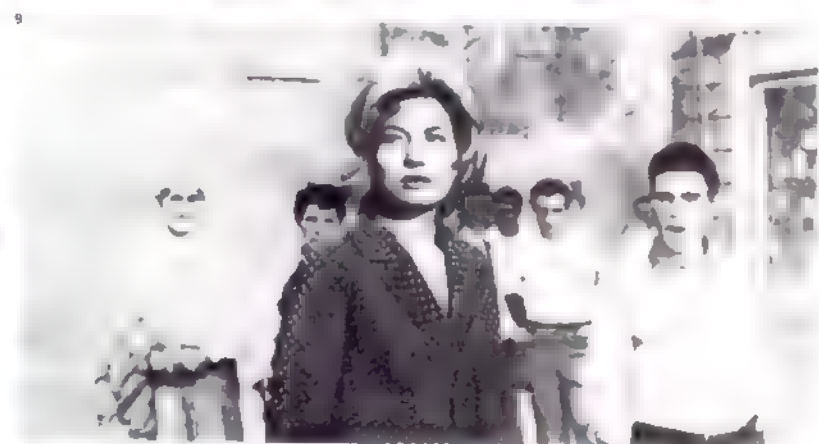
Venice in 1951. Its use of telephoto lenses was eagerly taken up by many Western directors.



In *The Seventh Seal* (1957) the black draped figure of Death was one of many powerful images used by the Swedish director Ingmar Bergman to explore the meaning

of human life. Bergman set this and other films in medieval Europe, making heavy use of symbolism and allegory and drawing intense contrasts between happiness and suffering. He has

also made perceptible studies of contemporary life and particularly of marital relationships. Although enigmatic and oppressive, his films have won a worldwide intellectual following.



The brooding face of Monica Vitti was used by Antonioni in *L'Avventura* (1959), in audaciously slow-paced sequences that explored the thoughts of his characters and the emptiness of their lives.

Underground films reached the surface in *Flesh* (1969). Paul Morrissey's film that exploited form the personalities and methods previously used by the pop artist Andy Warhol.



Recent trends in the visual arts

The visual arts since the mid 1950s are unprecedented in their variety. Never before has the definition of art included so many different kinds of activity. The diversity of today's art phenomenon embraces such creations as Gilbert and George's "Singing Sculpture" [6], the miniature fish farm devised by the American artist Newton Harrison as a demonstration of a possible solution to world food problems, and Conrad Atkinson's written and visual record of social injustices and inequalities. All these are unified by a single factor – the art gallery, the context in which they appear.

It is paradoxical that the very system denounced by many contemporary avant-garde artists as a symptom of a corrupt society should provide a fertile arena for their activities. But art has developed to a point at which it queries its own existence and this is partly an aspect of the current self-doubts of Western civilization.

One can trace the dilemma of art in the mid-1970s back to problems confronted by the pioneers of abstract art in the early years of the century. Both Kasimir Malevich

(1878–1935) and Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) discovered that, if abstraction was to develop into an independent means of expression, the formal elaboration of the image brought with it unwanted associations with the outside world. If abstraction was to imply a total aesthetic autonomy, without a claim to intellectual

Texture and op art

Among European artists the solution was generally to provide some additional interest to compensate the spectator for the lack of a subject. This could take the form of an exploration of texture. The outstanding exponent of this procedure is the Spaniard Antoni Tàpies (1923–) [3]. Another solution is an offshoot of the constructivist tradition involving the creation of patterns that give the appearance of movement. Popularly known as op art, the best known examples are the dizzying compositions of Bridget Riley (1931–)

Because a mistrust of any kind of illusion is a characteristic of postwar artists, the ten-

dency towards the presentation of real movement – "kinetic art" [4] – is not surprising. This was not a new idea, since the early 1930s Alexander Calder (1898–1976) had been producing delicate and colourful mobiles.

Action painting and flat colour

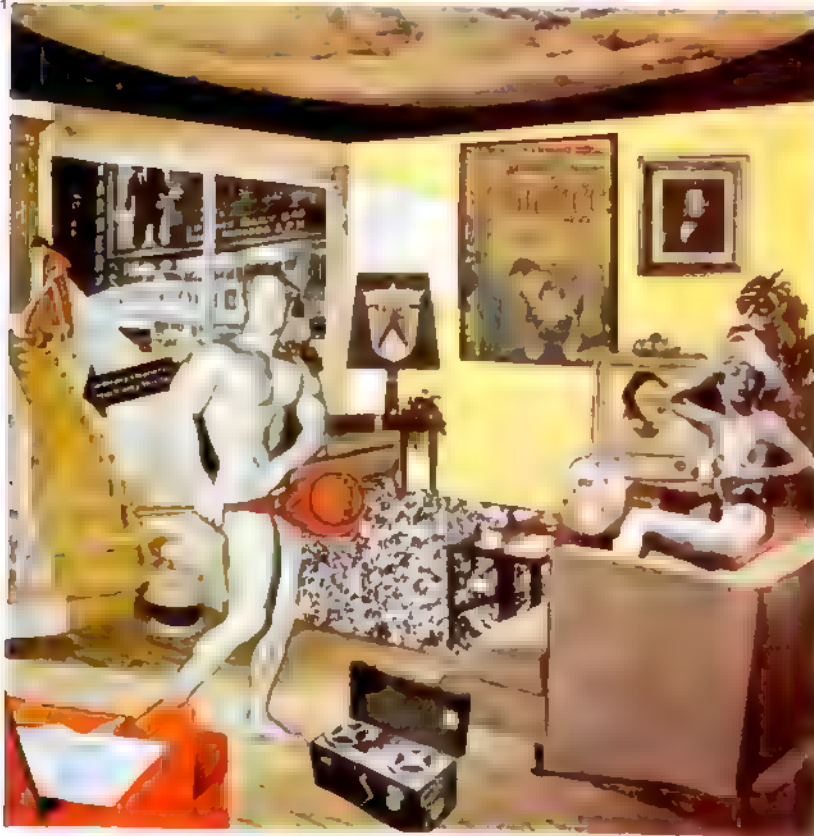
More radical views of what art could be about are suggested by developments in the USA. The action paintings of Jackson Pollock (1912–56) encouraged an unprecedented awareness of the painting as an object. Not only could the spectator participate vicariously in the excitement of painting them, but their "all-over" pattern resisted the kind of spatial interpretation that had actually been courted by earlier abstract painters. Painting had long since ceased to be regarded as a beautiful girl or an uplifting moral scene. Now its existence as a coloured flat surface seemed to stand up without recourse to the spiritual justifications sought by Kandinsky.

The influential American art critic Clement Greenberg (1909–) proposed that the essential development of modern art was towards each medium divesting itself of qual-

CONNECTIONS

See also

1970s
1980s
1990s
2000s
2010s
2020s
2030s
2040s
2050s
2060s
2070s
2080s
2090s
2100s



1 Richard Hamilton's "Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?" Effectively launched British "Pop Art" in 1956. In contrast to the directness of Warhol, Hamilton creates a complex

composition using collages to incorporate images from a wide variety of sources including romantic comics and advertising material. A figure from a body-building magazine is the dominant image.

2 In his "Vells" series of the 1950s, Morris Louis tried to establish a formal permitting the purest possible experience of colour. In his later paintings colours were not merged but separated into stripes.



4 Kinetic art is often elaborately programmed but the most satisfying examples tend to be based on simple principles that leave exact movements to chance. Takis' sculptures, for example, merely employ magnetism which either makes them quiver discreetly in space or, as this "Tele-sculpture", swing violently in an arbitrary motion around the electrified coil. In other works Takis has added sound by causing magnetic vibrations against wires or gongs. When several of these sculptures are exhibited together and their movement amplified the result is undeniably powerful but also demonstrates much showmanship.



3 Many Spanish painters have specialized in texture painting. Here in "Composition" (1958) by Antoni Tàpies, sand and plaster are used in a way that evokes crumbling walls. The general air of desolation and dilapidation is characteristic of much recent European painting and sculpture. It's a kind of anti-aestheticism in reaction to the over-refined, rather bloodless abstraction produced by fashionable painters in the immediate postwar years.

ities belonging to other forms. A painter particularly encouraged by Greenberg was Morris Louis (1912-62), whose respect for the flatness of painting was such that he even soaked his surfaces with colour rather than disturb their two dimensionality [2].

A neat way of producing a two-dimensional painting is to paint a flat subject as Jasper Johns (1930-) did when he painted straight renditions of targets and flags. Another possibility is to use an image which has been processed into two-dimensional form, such as the blown-up frames from cartoon strips of Roy Lichtenstein (1923-) or the standardized "Marilyn Six-Pack" [Key] of Andy Warhol (1930-). The commercial sources of these works has led to the term pop art which has also been applied to British artists, such as Richard Hamilton (1922-) [1], who define their stance towards their material.

Trends in sculpture

Sculpture, like painting, has become an art form primarily concerned with itself. In order to divest sculpture of its associations with the

human figure, sculptors made use of such devices as brilliant synthetic colour expanded it to an inhuman scale and fragmented its traditional monolithic form [5]. One extreme development known as minimalism reduces sculpture to such simple elements that one is forced into contemplation of the work's basic physical nature or into a total loss of interest in it.

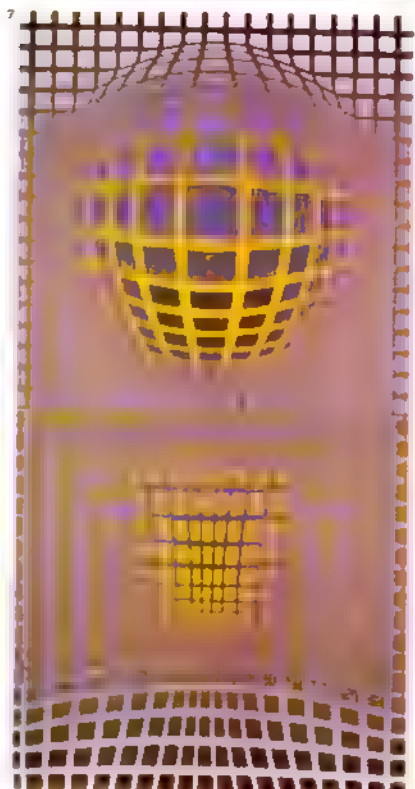
This preoccupation of the traditional media with their own problems, generally branded as formalism, has led many artists away from them. The much sought after freedom of the artist in capitalist societies is seen as a trap to involve the artist in the problems of art alone, a feeling enhanced by the suspicion that American Abstract Expressionism was a propaganda weapon in the cold war. The alternative, however, has tended to take the form of an attempt to escape from the commercialism of the art-world by avoiding the creation of conveniently saleable artworks. This explains the development of both performance art and earthworks, which are immovable from the site at which they are made.



Andy Warhol's "Marilyn Six Pack" (1962) shows the uncompromising directness with which American Pop artists present their material. Warhol's subject matter has always become a standardized image before it reaches him. Warhol comments on the way in which the media distort experience by processing it. The repetition of the motif is a device also used by other painters and sculptors. With Warhol the result is that we are more aware of technical factors that differentiate each set on rather than the content of the image. Other artists aim to break with tradition in composition and attempt to create works in which all the parts function in an equi fashion.



5 "Bird in Arres IV" (1989) is by Tim Scott (1937-), one of a group of British sculptors who gained prominence in the mid 1980s using brightly coloured shapes in synthetic material. The group was primarily concerned with creating an abstract sculpture by completely removing any figurative connotations and by avoiding mathematical methods of composition that leave little to the imagination.



7 Mathematical systems are the basis of the compositions of many of today's artists. The resulting combination of repetition and change can give rise to a specific optical resonance of the kind deliberately cultivated by Victor de Vasserey (1908-), a Hungarian-born painter working in Paris, who is often regarded as the inventor of op art. Although totally abstract, his paintings create potent sensations of space, movement and volume.

6 Few artists have merged art and life as totally as Gilbert and George in their performance of "Singing Sculpture" in which they mimed mechanically for eight hours to Flanagan and Allen's "Underneath the Arch". Their art is the expression of elaborately created personas - a parody of respectability which is the limit in non-conformity. Perhaps the ultimate attempt to link art and reality is the American Alan Sonfist's bequest of his body to the New York Museum of Modern Art. He considers that the process of decay will be his final art work. Some Austrian artists have already resorted to the desecration of animals.



8 Packaging is the one idea that dominates the work of Christo. This idea he has carried out with astonishing consistency and thoroughness, graduating from supermarket trolleys through shop fronts to part of the Australian coastline. Since such works cannot be exhibited in galleries, they are economically dependent for their very expensive realization on the sale of documentary "souvenirs" such as this drawing of a valley in Colorado which was covered by Christo with an enormous curtain. While the traditional arts have become totally immersed in their own specialized problems, an art such as Christo's perhaps demonstrates a means of escaping from some of the older limitations.

Art and architecture in 20th-century Britain

Twentieth-century British art and architecture is mainly a history of a varying relationship with European and American movements. For despite the presence of a number of internationally important artists, Britain did not emerge as an innovative centre

Painting and sculpture before 1940

There was little contact in the first decade of the century with the more advanced tendencies of European art. The British vanguard was represented by Philip Wilson Steer (1860-1942) and Walter Sickert (1860-1942), who practised what was essentially a local version of Impressionism, although Steer was also affected by the Aesthetic movement. In 1910 and 1912 the critic and painter Roger Fry (1866-1934) organized two Post-Impressionist exhibitions that brought to London paintings by Van Gogh, Cézanne, Matisse and the Cubists. The general public was outraged but the impact led to a remarkable, if short, burst of innovative art between 1911 and 1914.

Although the central figure of the Camden Town Group, formed in early 1911, was

Walter Sickert, its younger members, including Spencer Gore (1878-1914) and Harold Gilman (1876-1919), applied the monumental simplicity of Gauguin and the colouristic freedom of Van Gogh to scenes of everyday life Fry himself founded the Omega Workshops, in which the most notable painters were Duncan Grant (1885-1978) and Vanessa Bell (1879-1961) Fry's theoretical opposition to narrative and illustrative art helped to lead Grant and Bell to take up abstract painting by 1914

The most radical of all these movements was Vorticism. The Vorticists were a loosely knit group in which the painter and writer Wyndham Lewis (1884-1957), the painters David Bomberg (1890-1957) [1] and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891-1915), and the sculptor Jacob Epstein (1880-1959) figured like the Italian Futurists, whose influence they scorned, they wanted to create a harsh, precise and mechanistic art for the new age.

The brilliant and superficial portraits of Augustus John (1878-1961) and the Neoclassicism of Mark Gertler (1892-1939) in the 1920s mark a return to conservatism. Al-

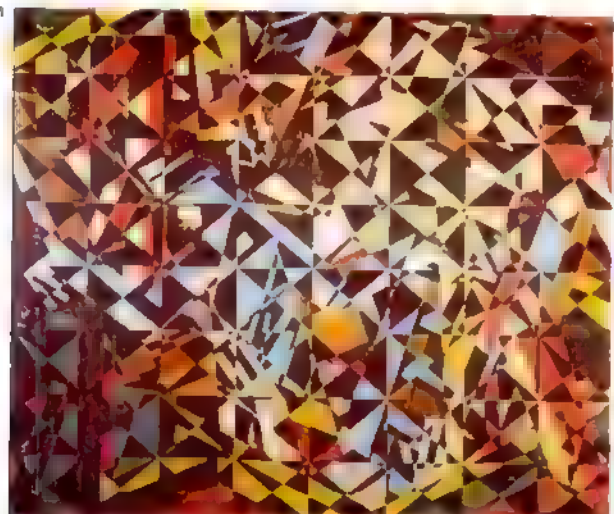
though the erection of Epstein's sculpture "Rima" in Hyde Park in 1925 created a scandal, the strident primitivism of Epstein's work had little to do with the progress of art on the European continent. But in 1929 Paul Nash began a series of pictures which could not have been created without an appreciation of de Chirico and Metaphysical painting and of Surrealism. Henry Moore (1898-), following Constantin Brancusi took as his starting-point the substance of the material with which he was to work. Although the human figure remained his central theme, after 1934 Moore's work and the sculpture of Barbara Hepworth (1903-76) reflected both surrealist and abstract aims. Her carvings are neither representational nor geometric, but evoke natural processes. The paintings of Ben Nicholson (1894-) pursued the pure Abstractionist ideas of Piet Mondrian and the De Stijl movement.

Developments since 1940

In the 1940s a new romantic trend emerged, perhaps encouraged by wartime isolation. The former Abstractivist John

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 David Bomberg's "In the Hold" (1913-14) is not a fully abstract painting. Traces of the original drawings of figures in movement are still visible, such as the man standing over on the left. The way the picture is drawn by a craftsman that

Fragments into multi-coloured facets is anti-Ichus onistie however and prophetic of later Abstract onism. The British Vorticists led by Wyndham Lewis in opposition to Isian Futurism did not seek to express dynamism

movement but he loved the spirit of the age to be best suited by a harsh, static geometry. The Vorticists were a violent reaction against both Victorian taste and ideas of the atmospheres of impressionist painting.



2 Event on the Downs'

1934) by Paul Nash exemplifies a native tradition of visionary landscape being transformed and enriched by interaction with the avant-garde in Europe. There is a Surrealist confrontation of tree stump and tennis racket but the point is not shock. By the implied movement of the ball rolling down the slope, Nash expresses the rise and fall of his vale. Nash's powerful placing of objects in a landscape 'equipped with a haunting picture of German bombers brought down in England during World War I'.



3 E. Maxwell Fry's
Sun House was built
in 1936 in Hampstead
London. It is one of the
first attempts in Britain
to realize the rationalist
ideals of Le Corbusier
who preached an architec-

ture based on strict engineering principles. The house is made of concrete, glass and steel used quite explicitly and uncompromisingly. No applied ornament clouds its visual purity.



4 "The Eclipse" (1950, by Victor Pasmore [1908-] is also called "Square Motif Blue and Gold" It is transitional between a representational and an abstract stance Pasmore was

known in the 1940s for Whistlerian studies of the Thames and his conversion to abstract painting caused a stir non-figurative painting was still a controversial issue in the 1950s.

Piper (1903–) began painting evocative landscapes, Lawrence Lowry (1887–1976) and Graham Sutherland (1903–) exploited the potential of industrial scenes.

After 1945 many painters turned new to Abstractionism. Some, such as Kenneth Martin (1905–) were attracted to the Constructivist tradition. Others, such as William Scott (1913–), explored a more subjective and personal style. Figurative painting was vitalized by the disturbing private images of Francis Bacon (1910–) Lucian Freud (1922–) and Michael Ayrton (1921–75). The most successful sculptors of the 1950s such as Kenneth Armitage (1916–) were making powerfully expressive use of stylized figures.

The impact of American art at the end of the 1950s influenced younger artists towards experiments in pure form without content, most notably in the sculpture of Anthony Caro (1924–). Pop Art seemed particularly appropriate to the colourful, youth-orientated commercialism of the 1960s, in which the painter David Hockney (1937–) [6] figured. Recently, in Britain

as elsewhere, artists have been moving away from the traditions of painting and sculpture towards performance, Land Art [8] and political discourse.

Modern British architecture

The Art Nouveau designs of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868–1928) for the Glasgow School of Art at the turn of the century had no successors, and early twentieth-century building was characterized by a neo-baroque eclecticism, practised most successfully by Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944). Functionalism first appeared in Britain in 1926, in a house in Northampton by the German Peter Behrens (1868–1940). Soon men such as J. Maxwell Fry (1899–) [3] and the partnership of Cornhill, Ward and Lucas began to make full use of metal and reinforced concrete. Berthold Lubetkin (1901–) pioneered high-rise residential blocks with Highpoint 1 in Highgate, London, in 1935. Since 1945 extensive government building has made the modern style almost official and its ethos of efficiency has made it equally attractive to commercial interests.

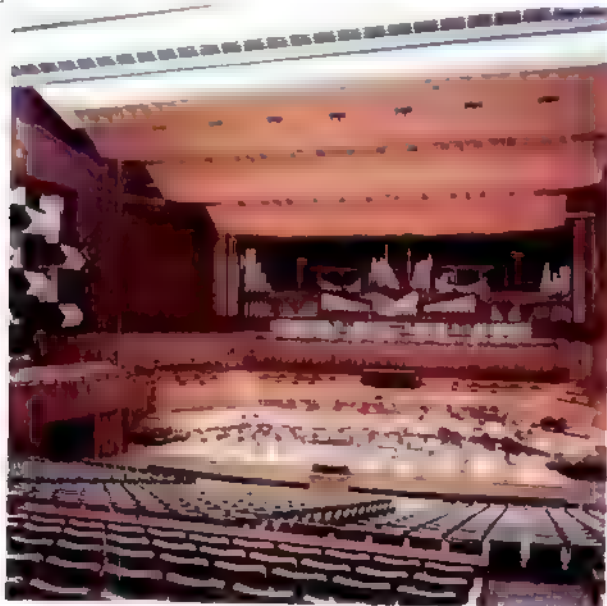
KEY



"Reclining Figure" is a stone sculpture of 1938 by Henry Moore. He had early reacted against the academic tradition, looking to primitive art as the more vital tradi-

tion. He dogmatically believed in direct carving but exhibited with both the Abstractists and the Surrealists in the late 1930s, although he vigorously opposed

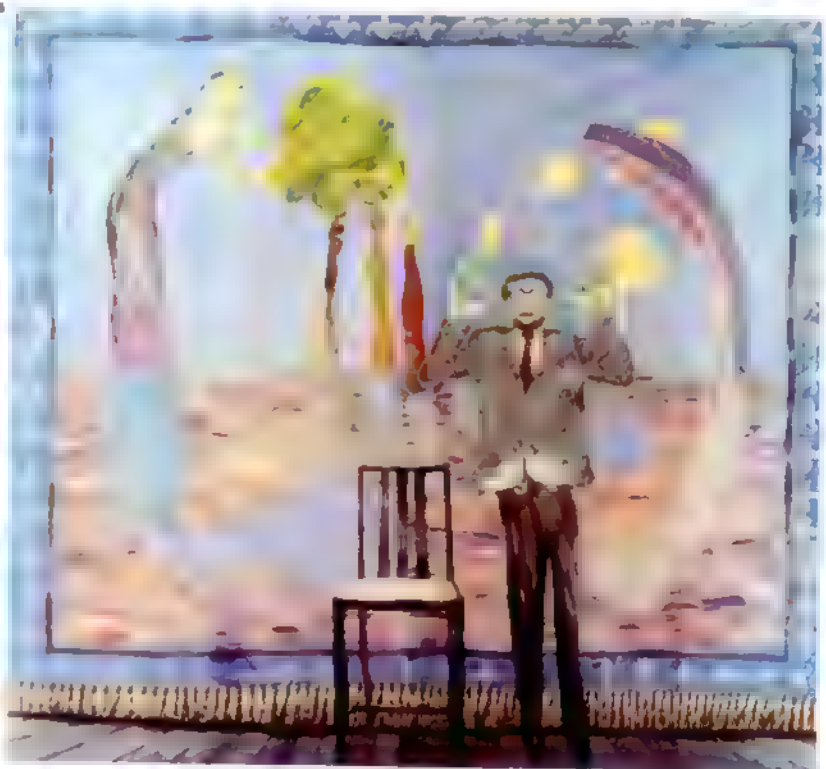
these movements at various times. In this carving, fluid holes vary the monotony of the surface while its weathered texture lets it blend into the landscape.



5 The Royal Festival Hall was built for the Festival of Britain of 1951 by Leslie Martin (1908–) and Robert Matthew (1906–). Its galled acceptance of the new

style. Contemporary architecture from Europe and America are evident in the way the acoustics dominate the design of the interior of the auditorium.

6 David Hockney's early paintings, such as "Play within a Play" (1963), were exercises in paradox. The tapestry in perspective; the figure is flattened.



7 Anthony Caro made "Yellow Swing" from welded steel plates in 1965. His characteristic use of colour and refusal to provide any base for his sculpture challenged American art on its own terms and influenced his pupils at St Martin's School of Art, London. The aim of "Yellow Swing" is to create an active relationship with the ground and with the spectator. Caro later added textural interest to the formal interplay by using rusty scrap steel and visible welds. The rejection of both monumental function and domestic scale has made such sculpture dependent on a wealthy art world for support.



8 The Land Art movement in Britain is represented by environmental works such as "England" by Richard

Long (1945–). Made in 1968 by pulling off the heads of daisies, "England" exists only in the form of documentary

photographs. Long has not only taken art into the landscape; he has brought sticks and stones into the gallery.

Irish culture since 1850

The Irish Famine (1846-7) greatly accelerated the linguistic change which had been in progress in nineteenth-century Ireland. Landless labourers in the west were the chief victims and of these a large proportion were Irish-speaking. The Irish language and such vernacular literature as was still produced now became quite marginal. Where the language was still spoken, it became such a great social disadvantage that the practice of punishing children in school for speaking Irish was not only tolerated but approved.

Cultural revival

Later nineteenth-century Ireland therefore saw the process of anglicization brought virtually to completion. The older culture was celebrated sentimentally as something conigned to the past. The ballads of Tom Moore (1779-1852) remained popular, and nationalist sentiment ensured the popularity of such minor poets as Thomas Rolleston (1857-1920) and Samuel Ferguson (1810-86). The drawing-rooms of Dublin and Belfast accepted the change readily enough, but nineteenth-century Ireland was

mainly rural and traditional: an underlying resentment at the destruction of cultural identity soon produced powerful reactions. The famine was hardly over when language revival movements were being attempted in the provinces. Then in 1884 in County Tipperary one of the most important cultural institutions of modern Ireland was founded designed to encourage ancient games such as hurling [3] and to discourage foreign games associated with the English. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) checked anglicization by separating the Irish people in their sports, from those associated with the British garrisons.

In 1893 a small group in Dublin founded *Conradh na Gaeilge* (the Gaelic League) [1]: the most important of the linguistic revival organizations. This had remarkable success, especially in the establishment of nationwide classes to teach Irish.

Irish drama and literature

The literary revival - in English - was not a single or a unified movement. Many people belonging at one level or another to the

half-world of Anglo-Ireland were attracted by the sentimental mistiness of the 'Celtic twilight'. Those with real talent and with genius, went on to make contact with the reality behind the mists.

William Butler Yeats (1865-1939) [2] found in the speech and memory of the peasant and in what he himself understood of Gaelic literature, the recollection of a clean heroic world, far removed from the commercialism of his own time or the banalities of the popular press. George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) found realism in Ireland and tilted at cant in England. John Millington Synge (1871-1909) appreciated the realism but heard closely the heroic echoes. James Stephens (1882-1950) perceived the fantasy of the old literature and less significant writers, such as AE (George Russell) (1867-1935) hovered on the edge of Celtic whimsy. James Joyce (1882-1941) [5] is somewhat separate. He was rooted not in the world of Anglo-Ireland, but in the native tradition which he did not regard as exotic. In his novels he wrote freely about the familiar and

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*) a society founded in Dublin in 1893 for reviving the Irish language and publishing in Irish included among its early members

Stephen McKenna, William Gibson and Lord Ashbourne (1837-1913), seen here at language classes achieved great success and although founded purely as a

club, it became a literary society. One of its founders, Eoin MacNeill, headed the Irish Volunteers in the 1916 rebellion.

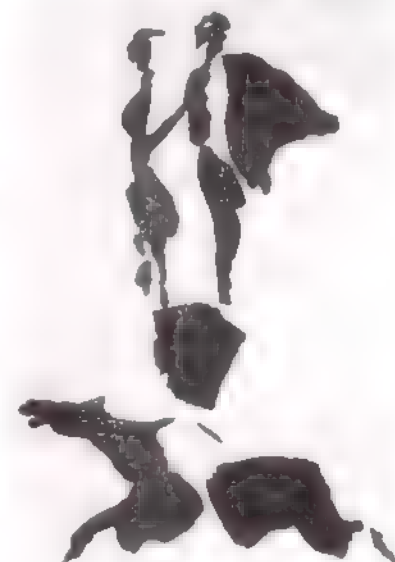


2 Yeats was the leading poet of the literary revival. He went through many phases of development in a life in which he was passionately involved with his ideas of art and life. As an Anglo-Irishman he was initially attracted by the exoticism of the Celtic past, but he developed in severe different worlds, one of which was London, the capital of an empire. As he developed he drew much on other cultures, apart from the Celtic, to treat his themes on Irish history and myth. But he lived in severe different worlds, one of which was London, the capital of an empire. As he developed he drew much on other cultures, apart from the Celtic, to treat his themes on Irish history and myth.

3 Hurling, the national game of Ireland, is a tough fast field sport with a superficial resemblance to hockey. The All Ireland championship final in Dublin is an annual highlight. It is one of several traditional Irish games such as Gaelic football that were cultivated by the Gaelic Athletic Association with a consciously revivalist and de-anglicizing purpose. Members of the GAA were prohibited from playing 'foreign' games such as soccer, rugby and cricket. This gave the organization a strongly national character making it a fertile recruiting ground for revolution. Its countrywide organization makes the association a force that cannot be ignored today, especially in rural areas.



4 This illustration by Louis le Brocqy was one of those made for the major early Irish epic *Finn Bó Cuiligne* in the translation by the poet Thomas Kinsella (1928-). The work depicts an heroic Iron Age world of war, goddesses and magic most of which was written in a terse prose style with short passages of rhetorical verse. It has attracted many writers, including Yeats and Synge who based plays on it. Le Brocqy who left Ireland for France in 1911, the early twentieth century Irish poet. Most of his later work was written in France, but in the *Finn Bó Cuiligne* pictures all in stark black-and-white catch the spirit of the epic.



cized, europeanized Ireland of his own time.

The literary movement, largely through the searchings of Yeats and Lady Gregory (1852-1932) for an Irish literary identity, produced the Abbey Theatre [Key], where realism vied uneasily with high stylization. This institution weathered the political storms and was the most important force of the literary revival to survive into the new Irish Free State. Sean O'Casey (1880-1964) [7] maintained its imperus throughout the 1920s. After this the Abbey went into a slow decline and for a long time the real life of the Dublin theatre was in the Gate Theatre, where the productions of Hilton Edwards and Michael MacLiammóir (1899-1978) brought the world to Dublin's stage.

Meantime, Irish governments for several decades pursued obscurantist policies, and the banning of books on "moral" grounds by officially sponsored boards became something of an international scandal. This policy, although it produced a dreary dearth in bookshops, did little harm to writing. The Cork writer Frank O'Connor (1906-66) and Sean O'Faolain (1900-) used their work

largely outside the country. A little later Samuel Beckett (1906-) [8] lived abroad and Brendan Behan (1923-64), although he lived in Ireland, achieved his main successes overseas. The foolish banning perhaps hurt most severely poets such as Patrick Kavanagh who lived in Ireland without any significant world market.

Music and the visual arts

The visual arts have been feeblier than the literary in modern Ireland. There were a few painters of modest distinction in the nineteenth century, such as William Orpen (1878-1931) and the portraitist John Yeats (1839-1922), the poet's father. John's son Jack B. Yeats (1871-1957), developed from run-of-the-mill book illustration to a highly abstract Expressionist style. Since the 1920s and 1930s there have been numerous painters and sculptors working in standard international idioms. Ireland, in medieval times, noted for its music, has greatly lagged behind in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This time, music, however, has had popular revivals in the 1930s.



The Abbey Theatre, Dublin, was founded in 1890 by Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats and Lady Gregory.

and staged many plays, the first to be given by M. Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*.

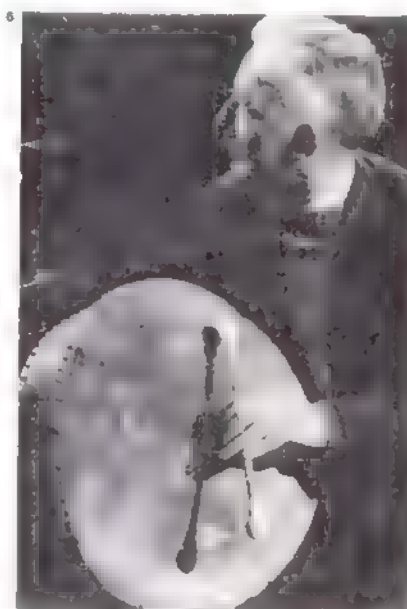
In 1907 caused a riot among the audience when its portrayal of the Irish peasantry.



7 Sean O'Casey was a working-class Dublin Protestant who looked with a somewhat sceptical eye on the national fervour of his time although he was interested in the labour unrest of the early 20th century. The Abbey Theatre staged his first major writings - the plays *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924) and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926) which expressed the humour and fantasy of the Dublin slums. He went on to write a further series of plays which were more impressionistic. His other work included a very successful sequence of volumes of autobiography, which was published in nine volumes as *Autobiography* (1963).



5 James Joyce unlike most writers of the literary revival, came from a Catholic middle-class background. His first major work was *Dubliners* (1914). *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) is largely autobiographical in which the central character finally decides to leave Ireland. Like Joyce, to become a writer. From 1904 Joyce lived nearly all his life abroad. Between 1914 and 1922 Joyce worked on his major novel *Ulysses*, an account of the events of one day in Dublin. The work, now regarded as one of the most important novels of the 20th century, was delayed by charges of obscenity.



6 Sean O'Riada (1913-71) was an important figure in the postwar revival of traditional music in Ireland. In 1951 *Cumhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* (Traditional Music Society of Ireland) was founded to sponsor traditional Irish music. It had remarkable success. Its *Fleadh Ceoil* (music festival) attracts thousands of people. O'Riada, a serious composer and performer who took a keen interest in all aspects of the tradition and his arrangements for his own group of players, *Ceoltóirí Cuairinn*, has created a widespread taste for this kind of music. His work was ended by his untimely death at the age of 40.



8 Waiting for Godot (1952) was the play with which Samuel Beckett first gained international fame like James Joyce.

which influenced him strongly his later work. Beckett has won a Nobel Prize for literature in 1969.

some of his work of quality. The work of a playwright, author, and director, he is a leading figure in the world of letters.

fluence, but his pessimistic view of life came out in his later work. It is seen in *Endgame* (1958) and *Quad* (1981).

Scottish culture since 1850

The Scottish educational tradition has relied strongly on the written word and the communication of factual knowledge and this undoubtedly has contributed to the high esteem in which it is held today. Scottish religious tradition discouraged both music and the visual arts. Nineteenth-century society was sharply divided between middle and working class, but there was considerable opportunity to move from the working class to the professions by the educational ladder. On the other hand, there was much more limited scope for the development of artistic or musical talent.

Music and the visual arts

Important changes began in music when, in the mid-1800s, Edinburgh University set up a Chair of Music. The various churches came gradually to allow the use of organs and a structure of musical education and activity was slowly built up. The creation of the Edinburgh Festival in 1947 [key] and later of a youth orchestra gave the city more musical facilities than usual, while Glasgow founded the Scottish Opera [6]. In The

Musgrave (1928) Scotland has produced one of the most distinguished of modern composers, a musician of great and varied initiative, prepared to experiment boldly with new techniques and structure.

At the end of the century the rise of the architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) for a time brought Scotland to the forefront of artistic innovation. Mackintosh combined the influence of Art Nouveau with a real feeling for building materials and motifs from seventeenth-century Scottish vernacular building. Before him, Scottish architecture had either used a classical style as in the work of Alexander ("Greek") Thomson (1817-75), or exploited Gothic motifs as in the work of David Bryce (1803-76) with little regard to appropriateness or physical comfort. Mackintosh's most famous work, the Glasgow School of Art [3, 4], became the first significant modern building in Europe that was widely influential, particularly in Germany and Austria. His simple geometric line and concern for the integral design of exterior and interior presaged later movements in modern architecture. The ad-

vances he made in architecture and design, however, were not followed.

Painting lapsed after the late nineteenth century, to revive again between the wars on a more permanent basis. After 1945, particularly in Glasgow, there evolved a flourishing group of painters who, by selling their work locally, cultivated the taste of the public for their individual styles. Perhaps the most significant of these was Joan Eardley (1921-63), whose feeling for the environment of poverty in Glasgow was particularly acute. Sculpture has done less well, and Scotland's most distinguished sculptor, Eduardo Luigi Paolozzi (1924-) [9], developed mainly under foreign surrealist influence and has done his work in England.

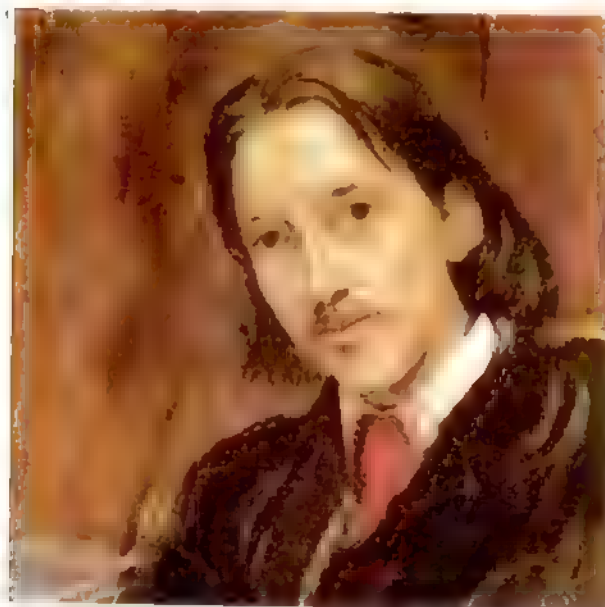
Literature, discovery and history

In the nineteenth century Scottish literature was aimed at the general English-speaking market. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94) [1] probably had more to say to the young writer than any other writer of the 1880s, but he had struggled so hard to free himself from the Edinburgh middle class ethos that only

CONNECTIONS

See also

1850-1900
1900-1950
1950-2000
2000-2010
2010-2020
2020-2030
2030-2040
2040-2050
2050-2060
2060-2070
2070-2080
2080-2090
2090-2100



1 Robert Louis Stevenson came to the forefront of Scottish letters in the late 1870s as an essayist, light versifier and novelist. As a youth he was stricken with a severe illness that strengthened his desire to write. His work is conspicuous for its modernity and for its willingness to study sympathetically the semi-underworlds of various societies. Two of his most popular works are *Kidnapped* (1886), an adventure story set in the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion, and *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), an early macabre treatment of schizophrenia. Perhaps his best known work is *Treasure Island* (1883), a tale about pirates and treasure.



2 Highland Games, so-called, are held in many parts of Scotland in summer. They involve piping contests, Highland dancing and various specialised sports such as tossing the caber. As displays they are popular both with Scots and tourists, but they cannot be regarded as being deeply founded in traditional culture. They are largely a creation of the same 19th-century romantic movement that developed the artificial clan tartans, but the music is traditionally High and the two most famous of the Games are the Royal Highland Gathering or Braemar Gathering held at Braemar, Aberdeenshire, and the Northern Meeting Highland Gathering held at Inverness.



3 Glasgow School of Art is the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and is his best known piece. It makes skilful use of a difficult sloping site and handles stone, glass and ironwork boldly.



4 The Mackintosh Room, in the Glasgow School of Art, was designed by Charles Mackintosh and displays some of the best features of his work — his strong emphasis on verticality in the windows, his sense of space, and his original handling of the fire-

place. It is free from the boneless tendency of Art Nouveau. Mackintosh stood for a reduction in the clutter of interiors and an emphasis on plain surfaces. His aesthetic inventiveness and perceptiveness strongly influenced European architectural design.

The room was originally the Board Room of the School of Art, but now houses a collection of Mackintosh's furniture. His tables are generally quite sturdy but most of his chairs look obviously uncomfortable and appear likely to be broken in use.

at the end of his life did he attempt to use his insight into the Scottish past with his unfinished novel — *Weir of Hermiston*

The contribution of the Scottish universities to discovery is shown in the work of James Clerk Maxwell (1831-79), the originator of modern physics. An interesting gap in Scottish intellectual life was the failure of the general public and the schools to treat Scottish history as a subject for serious thought and research. A generation of late nineteenth-century scholars did valuable work, but until recently they lacked successors and made little impression

The problem of language

Between the wars Scottish literature became overtly national and began to grapple with the special problem of language. Edwin Muir (1887-1959) [7], who as an Orcadian had an awareness of national feeling wrote: 'Scotsmen feel in one language and think in another'. The problem was not only the issue of Scots or English, but the divergence within Scots idiom. This has been tackled with characteristic vigour and some success

by Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) [5], who opened up a new range of possibilities in his handling of Scots words, and attempted to develop a synthetic dialect called Lallans. In spite of the handicap of this medium, his has been the dominant poetic voice in Scotland this century. The language problem lessened with the development of broadcasting because the modern child is brought up hearing a variety of personal dialects. A recent Orcadian poet, George MacKay Brown (1921-), seems to have no difficulty in using English as the language of feeling.

Broadcasting has increased the pressures on Scotland's other language Gaelic. Nineteenth-century Gaelicdom was in thrall to extreme Calvinist repression. The visual arts were dead, and literature, confined to songs and sermons (for poetry in Gaelic is synonymous with song) came under the religious disapproval of song. State schooling imposed English instruction, and was followed by the influence of radio. Surprisingly in spite of these pressures, poetry has remained alive and in Sorley Maclean (1911-) has today a distinguished voice



Edinburgh is a city where, with abundant opportunities for cultural life, the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama, an annual three-week celebration of music, drama and art, also

1947 Artists and audiences come to the city from many parts of the world to party in an idyllic way, a wide and varied offering of cultural entertainment, from the traditional piping and military tattoo

the opera, concerts, ballet, and a large body of fringe drama and art shows, increasingly making the festival heard. Although popular and successful, the festival has not made much use of Scottish creativity

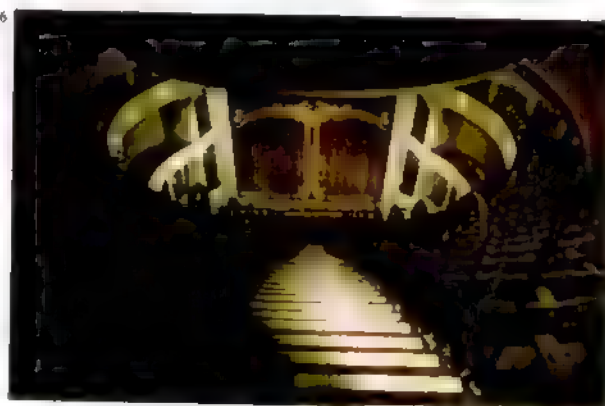


5 Hugh MacDiarmid is the literary pseudonym of the communist, nationalist author and poet, C. M. Grieve. He has been one of the most influential voices in Scottish literature since the early 1920s, revealing the

rhythmic possibilities of the Scots tongue. One of the founders of the Scottish Nationalist Party, he has always seen his writings as nationalist. He received an honorary Edinburgh doctorate in 1957.

6 Glasgow Opera House is the home of the Scottish Opera. In the comparatively short time since it was formed, the company has built up an enviable reputation. It has provided Scottish audiences with the

opportunity of seeing and hearing distinguished works performed by international artists in productions of significance. The opening season of Scottish Opera was performed in Glasgow in 1962.



7 Edwin Muir, poet and essayist, was born Orcadian or Scottish. He writes in his moving autobiography of the traumatic effect of moving from life on an Orkney farm to the urban wilderness of a big city.



8 Cottages at Dunbar form part of a rebuilt area round the harbour. They were designed in 1952 by the Scottish architect Basil Spence (1907-78), famed for his major works such as Coventry Cathedral (1951-62). Here he represents the movement to restore small-scale traditional buildings. The houses won an award in 1952.

9 The sculptor Eduardo Paolozzi was born in Leith but has done most of his work outside Scotland. In the 1950s his material was mainly rough cast bronze. With this he produced figures using machinery and debris, but with the emphasis on crude human forms rather than on mechanical aspects. The results resembled technological monsters.



tastes were heavily influenced by the popular music of London, and harpists tended to play the novel Italian instrumental and operatic music. At popular levels, the Welsh peasantry retained their folk-music traditions [2], particularly the art of singing *penillion* (stanzas), a highly specialized form of vocal music which was accompanied only by a harpist.

During the eighteenth century hymn singing became an intrinsic part of revivalist meetings and in the nineteenth century amateur music-making was stimulated by the tonic solfa movement, the singing festivals and the local *eisteddfodau*. Between the two world wars interest in instrumental music burgeoned as a new generation of Welsh composers, notably Daniel Jones (1912-), Arwel Hughes (1909-) and Grace Williams (1906-77), penned imaginative orchestral pieces. In modern times lively composers such as William Mathias (1934-) and Alun Hoddinott (1929-) have successfully introduced recent innovations, often showing strong Welsh-folk influences, to Welsh musical tastes. Even so

only now is Wales beginning to develop and sustain those institutions which are necessary to a truly professional musical culture.

Drama and the visual arts

Prior to the twentieth century Wales had virtually no tradition of professional drama and, before the advent of Saunders Lewis, doyen of Welsh dramatists, original Welsh plays were few. Similarly, the growth of an indigenous artistic tradition has been hampered by poverty, by the lack of true urban settlements and the dearth of Welsh institutions. The old puntant hostility to painting remained deeply rooted in Welsh society and talented artists such as Augustus John (1878-1961) and J. D. Innes (1887-1914) were forced to learn their trade in London.

In many ways, however, the prospects for the arts in Wales are bright. The Welsh Arts Council is responsible for allocating funds for literature, music, art and drama. This much needed financial assistance will place the arts in Wales on a more secure economic basis and will help to foster and enrich the cultural life of the Welsh people.

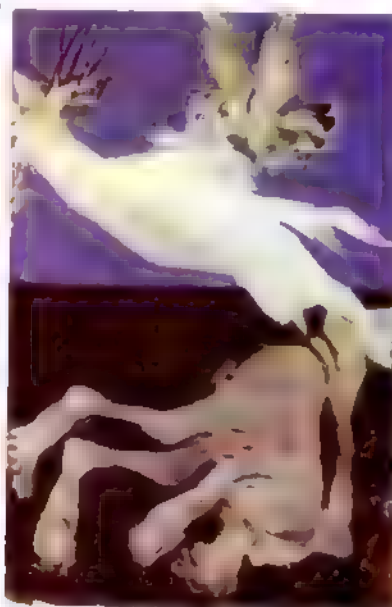


The Gorsedd ceremony of the Bards at the annual National Eisteddfod of Wales was first held in 1791 and subsequently

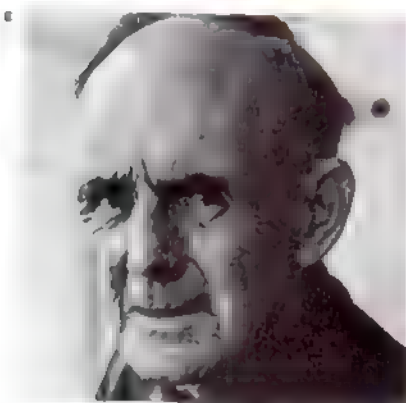
became part of the eisteddfod. It was invented by the remarkable forger and scholar Iolo Morganwg (1747-

1828) and a guild of bards headed by an arch druid. After 1860 druid pageantry became an essential part of the eisteddfod.

6 Ronald S. Thomas (1913-) is probably the most outstanding contemporary Welsh poet writing in English. A Cardiff-born clergyman who earned the Welsh language as an adult, he has steeped himself in the Welsh literary heritage. His poetry, which includes imagery from the Welsh rural hill-farming communities in which he chooses to live and work, often focuses on the Welsh men seemingly vain struggle to protect his environment and traditions. Many of his most striking images are based on the natural world: the earth, trees, stars and wildlife. Yet his view of the natural world is completely unromantic and unsentimental.



7 "Do not go gentle into that good night" was painted by Ceri Richards (1903-71) in 1956. Henri Matisse and subsequently the Surrealists, especially Max Ernst, have visibly influenced his work, which reveals a highly individualistic style, combining a masterly command of colour, rhythm and line. Richards frequently paints visual interpretations of musical themes and poetry. This particular work is one of three based on a poem of the same title by Dylan Thomas. More abstract, yet no less lyrical and evocative, is Richards' interpretation of the piano music of Debussy in "La Cathédrale Engloutie" (1961).



8 Gwyneth Jones (1899-1968) poet and social critic articulates in her writings the predicament of Welsh society and culture in the 20th century. Gwyneth's hard-hitting and militant poetry expresses a distinct longing

for capitalism and materialism in socialist nationalist and Christian terms. His verse vividly portrays the many hardships and sufferings that the Welsh rural and industrial communities went through during the economic slump of the interwar years.

9 The Welsh National Opera Company, founded in 1946 by an enthusiastic and forward-looking group of opera-lovers and businessmen, was established in order to present grand opera in Wales and to contribute to the musical and cultural life of the community. Since its foundation the company has opened its own opera school in Cardiff and this has proved an invaluable training ground for inexperienced singers. The baritone Geraint Evans (1922-) and the soprano Gwyneth Jones (1938-), who has sung with the National Opera, are two Welsh opera singers who have won a deservedly high reputation in the world's leading opera houses.



American writing: into the 20th century

America's literature of the past two centuries has reflected her increasing self awareness. At and for some time after independence (1783) the literature was wholly colonial, but thereafter a persistent theme has been the conflict in writers between their American consciousness and their European heritage.

The early giants

The first three great figures were James Fenimore Cooper [1], Washington Irving (1783-1859) and Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49). Irving - traveller, biographer, writer of tales, essayist - hardly believed in his America and chose to live for 17 years in Europe. Poe, also a masterly short story writer, was a poet more lauded in France than in his home country.

Then came the era of "transcendentalism", led by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82), who may be called the father of the first truly indigenous literature. Emerson and Henry David Thoreau (1817-62), the great recluse, believed that only in America could individuality co-exist with group harmony. Nathaniel Hawthorne saw more

clearly than Emerson the difficulties involved in the achievement of a harmonious future; he was also perpetually haunted by the problem of evil, a theme of his friend Herman Melville (1819-91) [2]. With *Leaves of Grass* (1855), by Walt Whitman (1819-92) [3], the first completely native American poetry emerged, epitomizing a period often called the "American Renaissance". Contributing to the dominance of New England writers were the so-called Brahmins who included the poets Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82) and James Russell Lowell (1819-91). One poet of great originality - Emily Dickinson (1830-86) - lived apart from her contemporaries in total obscurity.

Realism and social criticism

Two of the most distinctive characteristics of American writing - humour and directness - came together in the stories and novels of Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens) Twain (1835-1910) [4] was the indispensable bridge between romanticism and realism. The apostle of realism was the novelist William Dean Howells (1837-1920)

and its most accomplished writer was his friend Henry James (1843-1916) [5]. The naturalists, who pushed realism to the limit in portraying the harsh side of American urban life, are epitomized by Theodore Dreiser (1871-1945) with his celebrated novel *An American Tragedy* (1925). A broader range of social criticism was provided by Sinclair Lewis (1885-1951), first American to win the Nobel prize for literature, Thomas Wolfe (1900-38), John Steinbeck (1902-68) and Nathanael West (1903-40) as well as by the influential experimentalist John Dos Passos (1896-1970). From Paris the guru of the "Lost Generation", Gertrude Stein (1874-1946), influenced many other experiments, from the lyrical prose of Sherwood Anderson (1876-1941) to the clipped realism of Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961) [9] and the "jazz age" despair of Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940) [Key]. Among more regional writers the major novelist was the complex dissector of the south, William Faulkner (1897-1962) [8].

Social criticism has also been a strong theme in American drama, which flowered in

CONNECTIONS

See also

- English literature
- European literature
- American literature
- Modernism
- Postmodernism
- Contemporary literature
- World literature
- Comparative literature
- Literary criticism
- Literary theory
- Literary studies
- Literary history
- Literary canon
- Literary movements
- Literary periods
- Literary genres
- Literary forms
- Literary techniques
- Literary devices
- Literary analysis
- Literary interpretation
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- Literary interpretation

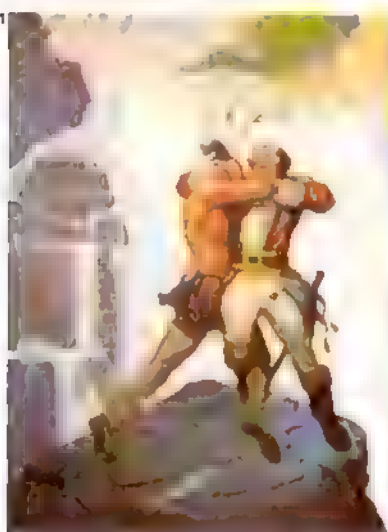
1 In *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) the author tries to portray fairly both the aspirations of white Americans and Indians. The hero is the ideal American.

2 Captain Ahab in Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851) hunted the great whale that had bitten off his leg. Melville was largely ignored until this century, but *Moby Dick*'s quality is now fully recognized.



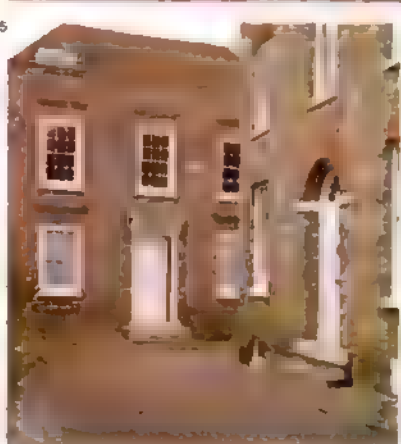
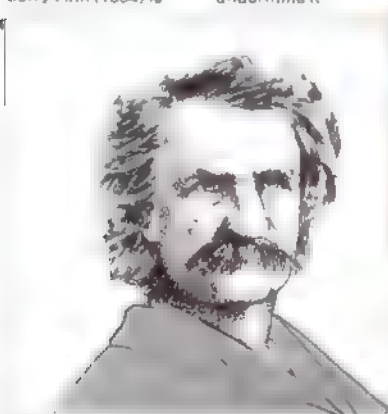
3 The Civil War interrupted the "American Renaissance" epitomized by Walt Whitman's *Leaves of*

Grass. His devoted nursing of wounded soldiers reflects the democratic companionship of his poetry.



4 Mark Twain's gusto concealed a bleak pessimism. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) is

a crucial examination of the 'American dream' and of the hypocrisies that undermine it.



5 Lamb House in Rye, Sussex, was the home of Henry James. He left the USA for England in 1877 and was the classic expatriate whose awareness remained

American. His novels, universally acknowledged, study American-European interactions, then social life and finally the influence of morals on destiny.



6 Brooklyn Bridge was built between 1869 and 1883 and spans New York's East River between Brooklyn and Manhattan. The poet Hart Crane used it

as the subject of his complex poem *The Bridge* (1930) and made it a symbol of the migration across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Crane's

optimistic vision weaves the heroes of the past with present conditions so that his poem shows an awareness of the problems of modern industrial society.

the 1920s, but only Arthur Miller (1915-) [10] ranks with those whose plays have developed more personal themes. Eugene O'Neill (1888-1953), Tennessee Williams (1911-) and Edward Albee (1928-)

Poetry and recent developments

Early this century a revival of poetry was led by Edwin Arlington Robinson (1869-1935) and Robert Frost (1874-1963). Their traditionalism has persisted in poets such as J. C. Ransom (1888-1974) and Allen Tate (1899-), while the symbolist Wallace Stevens (1879-1955) and Hart Crane (1899-1932) [6] were independent figures. The later group of Robert Lowell (1917-77), Theodore Roethke (1908-63), Anne Sexton (1928-74), Sylvia Plath (1932-63) and John Berryman (1914-72) developed freer styles from traditionalist beginnings. Their highly personal style is often called "confessional".

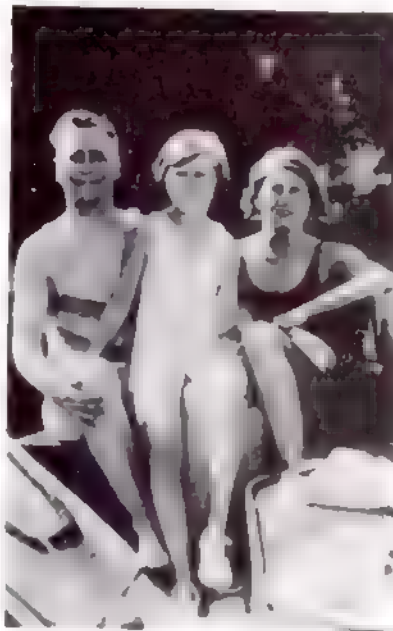
Modernism derived from Ezra Pound (1885-1972) [7] and T. S. Eliot (1888-1965), who became an English citizen, drawing on European imagery for *The Waste Land* (1922), his influential

lament for eroded spiritual values. A more consciously indigenous innovator was William Carlos Williams (1883-1963). An heir of Williams, as well as of Whitman and the outspoken novelist Henry Miller (1891-) [11] is Allen Ginsberg (1926-).

Ginsberg, the novelist Jack Kerouac (1922-69) and William Burroughs (1914-) lead the "Beat" generation that arose in the 1950s. Still more popular in the 1950s was *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) by J. D. Salinger (1919-), a novel about an adolescent boy's rejection of adult phoniness.

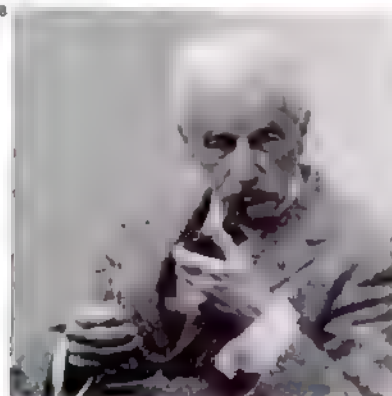
A most important development has been the emergence of black and Jewish literature. Black literature is epitomized in the works of James Baldwin (1924-) [12], Richard Wright (1908-60) and the more subdued Ralph Ellison (1914-); exponents of the new Jewish literature include Saul Bellow (1915-), Bernard Malamud (1914-), Philip Roth (1933-) and Norman Mailer (1923-). Mailer's work demonstrates vital engagement with some of the important issues that now concern American society.

KFY



F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940) was an archetypal example of the expatriate American writer. He spent much of his time in Europe (here he is with his wife Zelda and daughter Scottie at Annecy in France in 1931) apparently divided between the 'American dream', to which he was dedicated, and the urge to discover his cultural origins. *Tender is the Night* (1934) reflects his period in Europe. He was part of the 'jazz age' yet he was a horrified critic of it, as *The Great Gatsby* shows. He returned to America to work as a script writer in Hollywood (as did many other writers) but his disenchantment with its pressures and values led him to alcoholism.

7 Ezra Pound was one of the most influential and controversial literary figures of this century. His unfinished epic *The Cantos* (1925), although sometimes obscure, chronicles the cultural rot and materialism that Pound saw around him. He lived in Italy for most of his life and was an admirer of Mussolini. He is seen here in 1965 at the age of 80 when he attended the memorial service for his fellow poet and compatriot, T. S. Eliot.



8 William Faulkner spent most of his life in and around north Mississippi, a region he recreated in his fiction as Yoknapatawpha County. He

was a regionalist who also elevated the anguish of the South to the status of universal myth. He was awarded the Nobel prize in 1949.

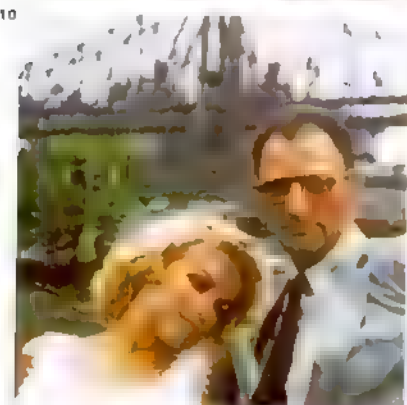


9 Ernest Hemingway wrote on the masculine line frontiers of war, bull fighting, big game fishing, and hunting, pursuits in which he found a code of courage.

and honour to set against the despairs of life. His famous laconic style was formed during his early years as a reporter and later as a war correspondent.

10 The dramatist Arthur Miller married Marilyn Monroe in 1956. This union of a national sex symbol and a sensitive liberal intellectual failed - a theme of Miller's play *After the Fall* (1964).

11 The Beat generation regarded Henry Miller as a prophetic ancestor. He left a safe job in New York to become a Bohemian writer of candid sexual autobiography in Paris in the 1920s.



12 James Baldwin was born in poverty in New York's Harlem. He is internationally regarded as the most eloquent and savage inditer of racism and as the chief representative of the ever-growing black literary movement. His essays are powerfully intelligent, although sometimes marred by justified anger, but his most highly acclaimed writing is in his first three novels, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, *Giovanni's Room*, and *Another Country*.



13 Broadway and the area surrounding it in New York has been the theatrical heartland of America since the original Broadway Theatre opened (1847). The tension between pure entertainment and dramatic truth is symbolized by the nearby Radio City Music Hall in the Rockefeller Center, a showplace of the cinema industry that has attracted much dramatic talent. Writers such as Tennessee Williams have mastered both cinema and the live stage.



Emergent literatures of the 20th century

One of the chief features of twentieth-century writing has been experimentalism – a response to the uncertainty felt after the collapse of universal religious belief in the West. Another has been the emergence of new, distinctive literatures (or revival of old ones) often involving an element of political or racial protest that is mainly, but not wholly confined to the West. After the Russian Revolution there was a decade of comparative freedom for Russian writers and much distinctive poetry and fiction was written, but by 1930 a censorship had been instituted that is still largely in force. *Dr Zhivago*, the major novel of Boris Pasternak (1890–1960), and most of the works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1918–), have never appeared in Russia and many other excellent writers have been imprisoned or exiled.

The makers of myths

The general tendency, despite the persistence of realist methods, has been towards the use of mythological themes. While James Joyce's [1] *Ulysses*, for example, is in one aspect a novel of everyday, emphatically

ordinary" experience, the famous legend of Ulysses underlies it. Even Alain Robbe-Grillet (1922–), the French exponent of the atheistic "new novel" which seeks to destroy the traditional idea of the novel as a "story" as well as to demonstrate that the world is wholly indifferent to the hopes and aspirations of human beings, made use of this myth in his first novel *Les Gommes* (The Erasers) (1953), even if only to prove that it is irrelevant, irrational and illusory.

Although twentieth-century man has abandoned many traditional beliefs in the pursuit of new freedoms he has at the same time fallen back on the old, "irrational" myths, or on individual myth-making. Thus in his poetry Leopold Senghor [Key] has relied on ancient Negro virtues, more or less ignored by the West until the emergence of African nationalism. And in the 1920s the French surrealists, led by André Breton (1896–1966), relied on material supplied by dreams and by automatic writing produced not by the conscious but by the unconscious mind. There is consequently a kind of religious element in much modernist litera-

ture – not a reaffirmation of the old conventional dogmas or even, necessarily, an acknowledgment of the existence of God, but a search for values lying concealed beneath the only apparent rationalism of human behaviour. The Indian writer Rabindranath Tagore [6], much read in the West, was a humanist, but he sought to discover everything that was valid in traditional Hinduism.

Existentialists and reformers

Where religion eschewed in favour of pure atheism, where, as in the novels of the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–), the world is seen as an absurd place accidentally created, the emphasis is on an "existentialist" effort to discover a better and juster system: man is alone in the universe and must choose of his own free will to act in the interests of others. For Sartre this effort involves a return to and, when necessary, a modification of Marxist ideas. This is condemned as "revisionist" by the official French Communist Party, of which he has never been a member.

Latin American literature [3, 4, 5] has

CONNECTIONS



1 James Joyce (1882–1941) born in Dublin but absent from it after 1912, typified in his career the development of modernism. His short stories, *Dubliners* (1914), are realistic. So is the semi-autobiographical *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). But what grew out of it, *Ulysses* (1922) is not; it is a mixture of realism, myth, interior monologue (the detailed tracing of internal thoughts), surrealist fantasy and deliberate pastiche. *Finnegans Wake* (1939) written in a complex language of the author's own creation, requires keys to be understood. Although inaccessible to most readers, it is a masterpiece of wit and vitality.



2 The copihue (*Lapageria rosea*) is the national flower of Chile and a potent symbol of the beauties and mysteries of that country which Pablo Neruda (N. R. Reyes, 1904–73) wrote about so elegantly. The most loved of all Chilean poets, Neruda was a diplomat who died under mysterious circumstances a few days after Chile's civilian government was overthrown by the military. His poetry is typically modernist in its reverence for political power and its linking of inner states with outward appearances. Neruda was much influenced by surrealism. He won the Nobel prize as did another Chilean, Gabriela Mistral.

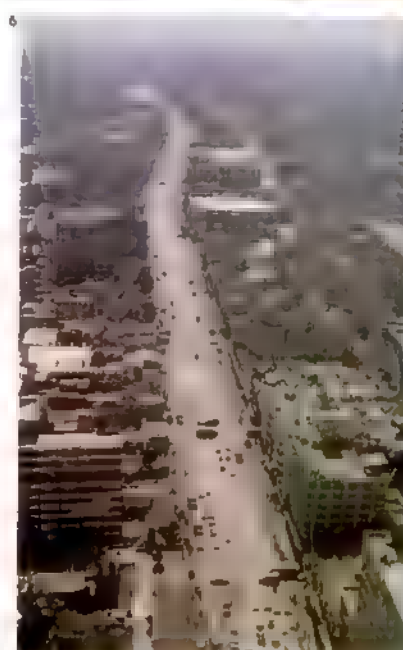


3 Gabriel García Márquez (1928–), a Colombian novelist, is one of the most distinguished of Latin American writers. The themes of his novels, which include *No One Writes to the Colonel* (1961), are typical of his town of Macondo.

symbolizes Latin America yet is treated in a convincingly realistic way. Like Neruda in poetry and the Guatemalan Nobel prizewinner Miguel Asturias (1899–1974), he conveys a sense of the spiritually regenerative power of his country.

4 The Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges (1899–) is unusual in Latin American literature. Although he has written lyrically nostalgic poetry, he is primarily an intellectual writer.

(much influenced by English literature) of short fiction concerned with the invention of various metaphysical systems. His vision is sceptical but he pays warm tribute to man's ingenuity.



5 Mexico City is the cultural centre of one of the few Latin American countries to have achieved some measure of political reform. But Mexican literature shows the objectives of successive left-wing revolutions have not been realized. The pioneer novels of Augustín Yáñez (1904) subtly examined the relations between Church and state. The leading communist novelist, José Revueltas (1914–), served a prison term. The leader of the younger generation of novelists is Carlos Fuentes (1928) whose *Where the Air is Clear* (1958) shows Mexico City as deeply corrupt, was a best-seller. Among poets, Octavio Paz (1914–) has the highest international reputation.

come into full flower in the last half-century because it simultaneously asserts the need for political reform and acknowledges the mysteriousness of human existence. The still largely unexplored interior of the continent, with flora and fauna as yet unrecorded by scientists, has been an irresistible model of the equally unexplored depths of the human mind – with its beauties and its horrors. Thus Pablo Neruda [2] could be both a communist activist and a celebrator of such mysteries.

The new African literature shows much variation. Amos Tutuola [10] reflects the complex mythological world of the African, showing its profundity; his fellow Nigerian, novelist Chinua Achebe (1930–), depicts the same kind of world in an entirely different way: he is a realist who nevertheless includes in his portraits of Nigerian life the powerful influence of purely tribal ways.

Moral and political protest

A feeling of protest at man's injustice to man naturally finds its most eloquent expression in the work of writers from countries living under extremist regimes. Solzhenitsyn in

Russia and Athol Fugard [9] in South Africa

Literary experimentalism has been applied to both form and subject-matter. New forms have sometimes been complex and demanding, but novelists such as François Mauriac (1885–1970) have written recognizable and coherent novels on subjects that are in every sense modern. Mauriac was a Roman Catholic, but the questions his novels pose are "existentialist" in the sense that they attack all conventional solutions of the problem of evil. Likewise, and more drastically, the works of his French compatriot André Gide (1869–1951) reveal a self-confessed bisexual who wants to discover, if possible, a basis for a viable human morality.

In England Graham Greene (1904–) is an avowed left-winger. In his novels there is an acute awareness of social and political problems and his Catholicism is explicitly keyed to the fight for justice. In sum, twentieth-century literature has responded to the challenge of its desperate context: it has combined imaginative genius with political concern and has been an articulate critic of social and political issues.



Leopold Senghor (1906–) President of Senegal was until the 1980s a political poet of the "Negro

renaissance" movement. This drew attention to Black culture's potential contribution to world literature by its raw vitality and original rhythms. His poem *Chaka* deals eloquently with the problem of reconciling political power with poetic practice.

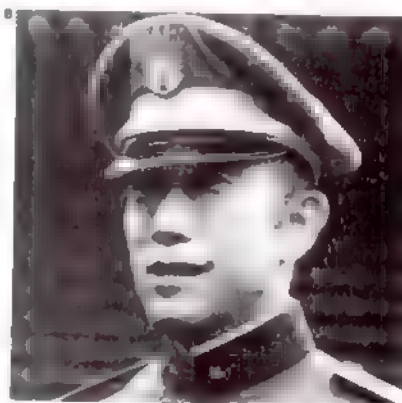


6 The Bengali poet, dramatist and novelist, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) created a literature nearer to spoken Bengali than had ever been written before. He played an important part in the liberation of India, but made himself unpopular by quarrelling with Mahatma Gandhi. As a writer his work includes the drama *The King of the Dark Chamber* (1910) and several novels of which *Gora* (1908) is considered by some to be superior to Rudyard Kipling's picture of Indian life in *Kim*. But he is best remembered as a poet whose own translation of his *Gitanjali* (1909) was acclaimed by W. B. Yeats and others.

7 The Muslim counterpart of the Hindu Tagore was Mohammed Iqbal (1873–1938). Less creatively gifted than Tagore, he was more active politically. His philosophical poetry in Urdu and Persian



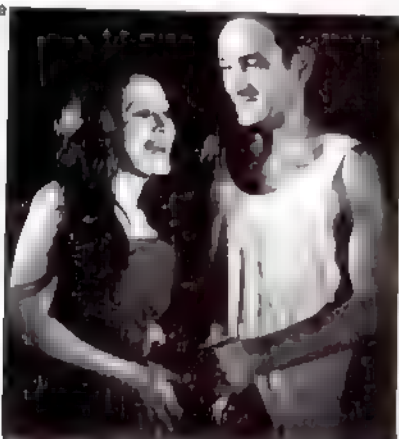
embodied his belief that salvation lay in a socially active revitalized Islam and his part in the creation of modern Pakistan is recognized there by a public holiday to mark the day of his death.



8 Yukio Mishima (1925–70), a leading Japanese novelist, created a sensation by committing a suicide in protest against Japan's abandonment of right wing discipline. His message, which went unheeded, was not obviously conveyed in his fiction. But he sharply portrayed most facets of Japanese life and was a keen analyst of the homosexual temperament and of obsessive psychological states.

9 Inter-racial problems are played out in this scene from *Statements after an Arrest under the Immorality Act* by Athol Fugard (1932–), a South African (half Afrikaner) whose drama has been

banned by his government and who has been exiled. His plays reveal the absurdity of racial laws such as the illegality of inter-racial relationships. But they are imaginative and non-propagandist.



10 Amos Tutuola (1920–) is a Nigerian novelist of little education but great creative energy. Writing in a strange, entrancing and basic idiomatic English, he succeeded in *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (1952) in conveying a sense of the spiri-

tual validity of the complex legends and beliefs of his own countrymen. He mixes fantasy and magic with fact and legend to produce startlingly powerful allegories of the predicament of human beings who are ignorant of their unconscious motivations.



11 Patrick White (1912–) was the first Australian novelist to win the Nobel prize (1973). White's complex and impressive novels, which include *The Tree of Man* (1955), *Voss* (1957) and *The Solid Mandala* (1966), are rooted in Aus-

tralia and yet are absolutely characteristic of modern fiction. He treats the innermost thoughts of his characters by direct or symbolic means, as the ultimate form of realism. His books are complex but rewarding.

His message is existentialist: a demand for utter truth to self, authenticity of being and relentless honesty. His heroes and heroines are often insane or dangerous and always unreasonable, but they triumph over life by their courage.

Alice Cooper (left) and
the band's other members
are seen in the
background of the
concert.



Uphaval in SE Asia

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The wars of Indochina

In the brief interlud between the Japanese surrender at the end of World War II and the arrival of Allied troops to enforce it in French Indochina, the communist dominated Viet Minh movement [Key] seized power in Vietnam and proclaimed the country's independence on 2 September 1945. With British support, however, the French returned to Vietnam and as a result the Viet Minh were forced to try to negotiate independence. But their hopes were dashed at the Fontainebleau Conference [2] in 1946 and fighting broke out towards the end of that year [6].

The Geneva Agreements

In spite of heavy American financial support the French were unable to defeat the Viet Minh backed by China and the Soviet Union and growing war weariness at home compelled them to seek a negotiated settlement. An international conference convened in Geneva in 1954 met in the shadow of the Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu [4]. Vietnam was temporarily partitioned and reunification elections were to be held in 1956.

After Geneva the communist regime in

North Vietnam concentrated upon socialist reconstruction and instructed its followers in the south to restrict their activities to the political sphere. An anti-communist regime in the south had supported peaceful decolonization and did not sign the Geneva Agreements. By 1956, under the leadership of Ngo Dinh Diem (1901-63) [5], it had consolidated its authority with American support and felt strong enough to block reunification elections on the northern regime's terms and to move against communist supporters in the south. In January 1959, faced with the near destruction of its apparatus in the south, the Communist Party's central committee in Hanoi gave the order for armed struggle to begin.

By the autumn of 1961 President John F. Kennedy (1917-63) felt obliged to send large numbers of military advisers to South Vietnam. These did not turn the tide of insurgency and on 8 February 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-73) ordered American bombing of North Vietnam to deter the movement of manpower and weaponry to the south. But the war on the

ground [9] continued and the United States was forced to commit further aid and growing numbers of its own troops to the fighting from April 1965 onwards [8].

American withdrawal

In January 1968 the communists, who now included large numbers of North Vietnamese regular soldiers, launched the Tet or New Year offensive through South Vietnam. After some intensive fighting, it was beaten back but it weakened America's will to fight. President Johnson announced, on 31 March, a cutback in the bombing of North Vietnam and his own withdrawal from the forthcoming presidential election campaign.

His successor, President Richard M. Nixon (1913-), pinned his hopes upon "Vietnamization". Although the United States continued to provide air and sea support for the South Vietnamese forces, US combat troops were gradually withdrawn.

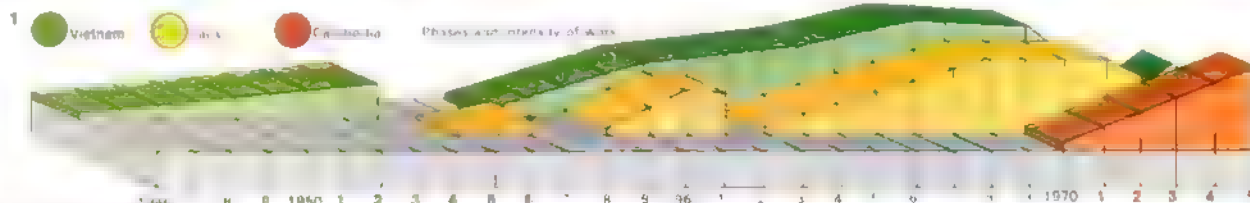
Meanwhile, negotiations between the Americans and the North Vietnamese had begun in Paris in May 1968 and after the stalemate of a second major communist

CONNECTIONS

See also

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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1 The intensity of war in Indochina increased over a 30 year period spreading from Vietnam alone to Laos and finally to Cambodia although fighting was on a smaller scale in those countries.



2 At the Fontainebleau Conference in July 1946 Ho Chi Minh insisted on the unity of Vietnam which the French had divided into the colony of Cochinchina in the south, Tonkin in the north and Annam in the centre. The conference broke down when France made Cochinchina a separate republic.

4 The raising of the Viet Minh flag on the French command post at Dien Bien Phu on 7 May 1954 marked the greatest military setback ever suffered by a European colonial power at the hands of local forces. This French fortress in north-west Vietnam fell to General Vo Nguyen Giap (1912-) after a 55 day siege.

3 Catholic influence (shown in this classroom and chapel at an orphanage in An Loc) was important in the educational system introduced to Vietnam by the French and was a factor in the anti-communism of many in the south. In 1939 about 1.6 million Vietnamese (about 8% of the population) were Catholic.



5 Ngo Dinh Diem a Roman Catholic was bitterly opposed to both French colonialism and communism. These traits initially won him US support when he became prime minister of South Vietnam in 1954. Gradually, however, nepotism and his authoritarian rule alienated the US. In 1963 the administration of President Kennedy connived at a coup by dissident South Vietnamese generals. Diem was assassinated in November 1963.



offensive in March–May 1972 and renewed American bombing raids upon Hanoi in December of that year, a peace agreement was signed on 27 January 1973.

Communist armed forces from North Vietnam were not obliged by the agreement to withdraw from the south [7] and further fighting began almost immediately as both sides jockeyed for position. The final collapse of the South Vietnamese government to communist forces [10] came on 30 April 1975.

Laos and Cambodia

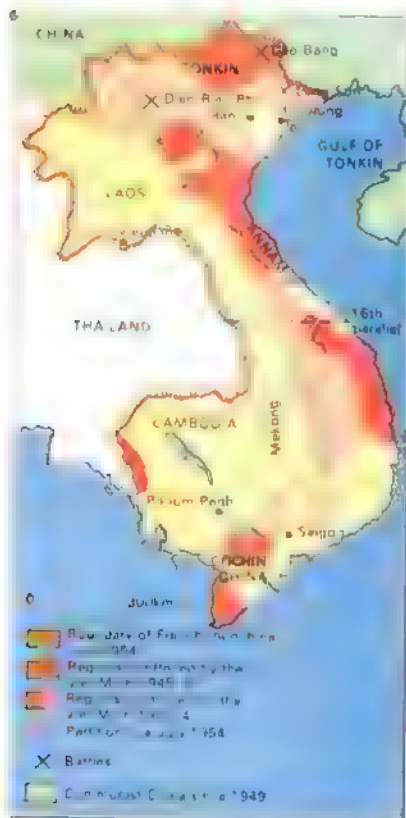
Laotian nationalism split, in 1949, into pro-communist (Pathet Lao) and anti-communist sections and it was to the latter that the French conceded independence in 1953. With the United States striving to preserve an anti-communist government and the Viet Minh supporting the Pathet Lao, a full-scale civil war developed in 1960 and an international conference at Geneva in 1961–2 only temporarily defused the crisis. United States bombing of North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao positions in Laos, controlling supply routes to South Vietnam, increased steadily

after 1964. The January 1973 ceasefire in Vietnam was followed by one in Laos on 22 February and by mid 1975 the Pathet Lao had virtually taken over the country.

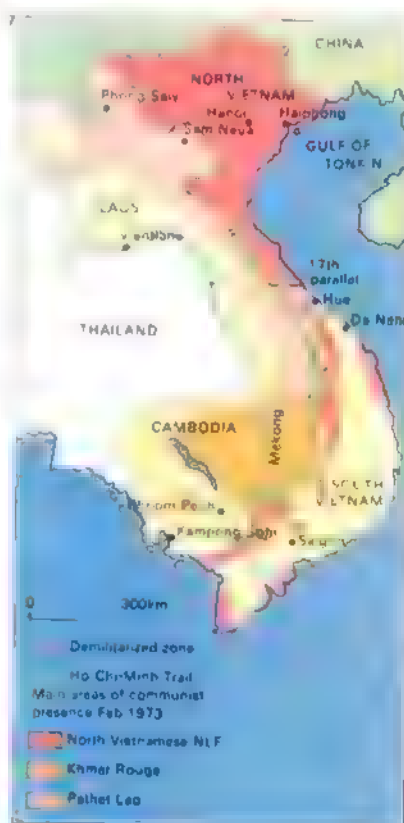
Cambodia also obtained its independence from France in 1953. Under its ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk (1922–), it managed to maintain a position of neutrality in the Indochina conflict for some years, but with the escalation of the war in Vietnam was forced to act as the main supply route for arms to the communists and to grant them virtual freedom of action in border areas. On 18 March 1970 Sihanouk was overthrown by a right-wing coup and Cambodia was plunged not only into its own civil war, but also into the wider Indochina conflict [1]. While America and South Vietnam attacked the communists in Cambodia, Sihanouk proclaimed a government in-exile in Peking and allied himself with the left wing Khmer Rouge rebels who had taken up arms against his own regime in 1967. The 'Red Khmers' took the capital, Phnom Penh, on 18 April 1975; and in 1979 the Vietnamese mounted a successful invasion.



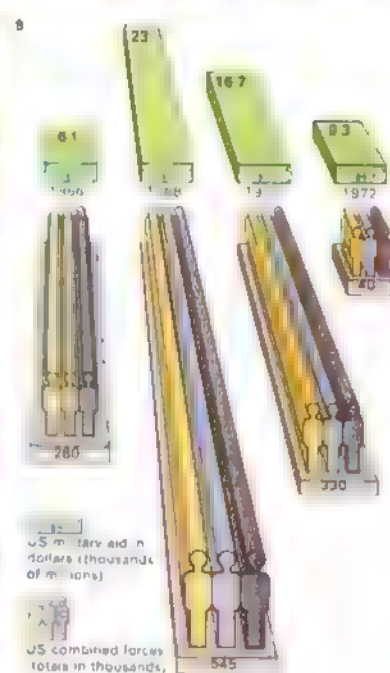
Ho Chi Minh 1890–1969: principal figure in the Viet Minh struggle against the French and leader of North Vietnam after 1954. He was born Nguyen That Thanh in north central Vietnam. He left Vietnam in 1911 and was converted to communism in France after World War I. As a Comintern agent he founded the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930 but did not return to Vietnam from France until 1941 when he set up the Viet Minh front. In 1944 he organized the Viet Minh seizure of power in August 1945. Ho Chi Minh, whose adopted name means 'he who enlightens' is shown (right) with the premier of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong (1902–).



6 The war in Indochina between the Viet Minh and the French leading to the Geneva Agreement of July 1954 had two main phases. A French defeat at Dien Bien Phu and the subsequent loss of Laos in October 1954 marked the onset of a more aggressive strategy by the Viet Minh supported by aid from the newly established Chinese People's Republic. A French recovery followed, but only temporarily.

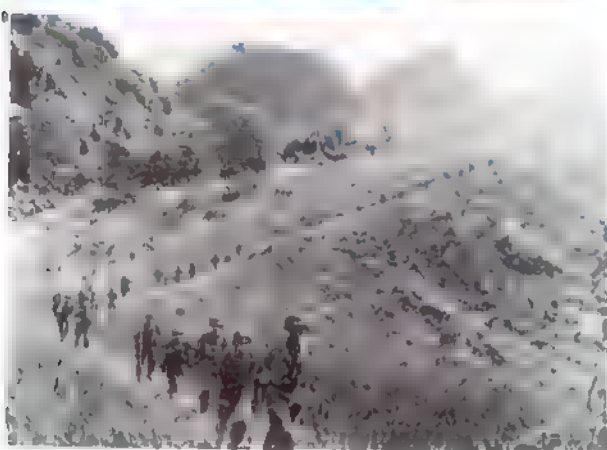


7 The ceasefire position early in 1973 left the main prizes of the long Indochina war still to be won. Communist forces held key border areas in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia along the Ho Chi Minh Trail carrying military supplies from North Vietnam. The peace agreement designed chiefly to allow US withdrawal, called for a political settlement but both sides prepared for a military solution.



8 US military aid to South Vietnam rose to a peak in 1968 when American combat troops totalled 545,000. Actual (incremental) US

war expenditure that year was \$23,000 million with \$1,000 million more in aid. Spending fell as this effort produced only stalemate.



9 An American patrol optimizes the problem faced by the US in Vietnam where sophisticated technology failed to win the war on the ground. Along side the fighting an ultimately more important struggle for the allegiance of Vietnam's mainly peasant population was being won by the communists at village level.

10 As Saigon fell American helicopters evacuated their allies on 29 April 1975.



Ireland since Partition

By July 1921 the British government was at last ready to recognize Irish nationalism and the credentials of Eamon de Valera [5] as spokesman for the Irish people. On 6 December the Irish delegates, led by Arthur Griffith (1872-1922) and Michael Collins (1890-1922), returned to Dublin with an agreement for a new Irish Dominion within the Commonwealth, with the six counties of Northern Ireland separate [Key].

The Treaty embodying the terms was passed by the Dail on 7 January 1922, by only 64 votes to 57. Opponents included de Valera, who called it a betrayal. This rhetoric was soon to be backed with arms. The majority, however, led by Griffith, Collins, William Cosgrave [1] and Kevin O'Higgins [3], claimed that they had won the freedom to achieve their ultimate goals.

From Civil War to World War II

By the time the Civil War ended in victory for the pro-Treaty party in May 1923, Griffith was dead and Collins, his successor, had been murdered. Cosgrave became leader of the new state through its formative year.

Anti-Treaty politicians continued to boycott Parliament until 1927. In December 1925 hopes in Dublin of incorporating Northern Ireland in the Free State were dashed when the Boundary Commission failed.

O'Higgins was assassinated in 1927. The ensuing tough, anti-terrorist legislation finally persuaded de Valera, who had formed the Fianna Fail Party a year earlier to take his seat in Parliament. In 1932, with Labour support, his party won power. By then much had been gained internationally. Inside the developing Commonwealth, the Irish pursued full sovereign status for the dominions and played a full part in the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 and in the preparation of the 1931 Statute of Westminster. At Geneva, where the Free State joined the League of Nations in 1923, the cause of small states was championed, and non-permanent membership of the League Council gained in 1930. De Valera did not like some of the commitments to Britain that he inherited and Anglo-Irish relations for the next six years were marked by economic and constitutional disputes. Dur-

ing those years, de Valera gained an overall majority, unilaterally cancelled some of the Treaty terms, re-defined Irish nationality and, in 1937, adopted a new constitution changing the country's name to Eire.

Differences with Britain were resolved in 1938, bringing much-needed financial and trade agreements and Irish control of three naval installations. It was this that enabled de Valera to keep his country neutral in World War II. Neutrality was favoured by most Irishmen, although many volunteered to serve in the British forces.

Inflation and austerity

In 1948, electoral discontent brought to power a coalition government, led by John Costello (1891-1976) of Fine Gael (Cosgrave's former party). This administration lasted until 1951, during which time Eire withdrew from the Commonwealth and declared itself a republic (1949). Following the collapse of the coalition, de Valera headed a minority administration for three years until Costello was again returned. But inflation and Costello's austerity programme

CONNECTIONS

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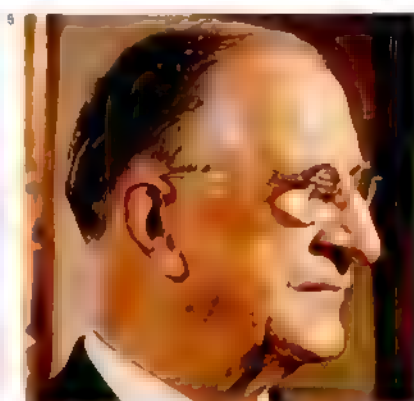
1 William Cosgrave (1880-1965), minister for local government. The first Dail showed wisdom and steadiness when he unexpectedly became president in 1922. After defeat, he was leader of the opposition (1932-44).

2 The Shannon hydro-electric scheme, constructed between 1925 and 1929, was the first major venture by the new Irish government. The scheme provided nationwide electrification over a national grid devised in 1927. It set a pattern for state aid that was extended into many areas in need of development capital. It was agriculture, however, rather than heavy industry to which money was diverted, notably towards the new beet sugar and the turf processing sectors.



3 Kevin O'Higgins (1892-1927) was the dominant figure in the first Irish government, establishing law and order and serving in many cabinet posts and from 1923 as vice-president until he was assassinated.

4 Harland and Wolff shipyards, Belfast, founded in 1863, are Northern Ireland's main employers and exporters. Business has declined during the 20th century but the firm is still a barometer of the economy.



5 Eamon de Valera (1882-1975) resigned the presidency of Ireland when he was outvoted by pro-Treaty colleagues in January 1922. He was gaolled in 1923 for fighting against the government in the Civil War (1922-3) but broke with the IRA

and became the dominant figure in Irish politics after reorganizing the Republican Party as Fianna Fail. The architect of Eire, he was a political leader from 1927 to 1973. Born in New York of a Spanish father and Irish mother, he went to Ireland as a child.

contributed to disenchantment at the polls. In the 1958 election, Fine Gael were voted back in 1958 to begin 16 years of rule.

De Valera himself refused to become president in 1959, handing over to Sean Lemass (1906-1971) who was prime minister until 1966 when Jack Lynch (91) succeeded him. Lemass made new contacts with the Northern Ireland government in 1965, when he went to Belfast for talks with the Ulster premier, Captain Terence O'Neill (1914-), but it was Lynch who had to explore the issue of conflict in the north.

In March 1973, only three months after taking office, the Taoiseach, Economic Community, Lynch's government was defeated at the polls by another combination of Fine Gael and Labour, led by William Cosgrave's son Liam.

The troubles of Northern Ireland

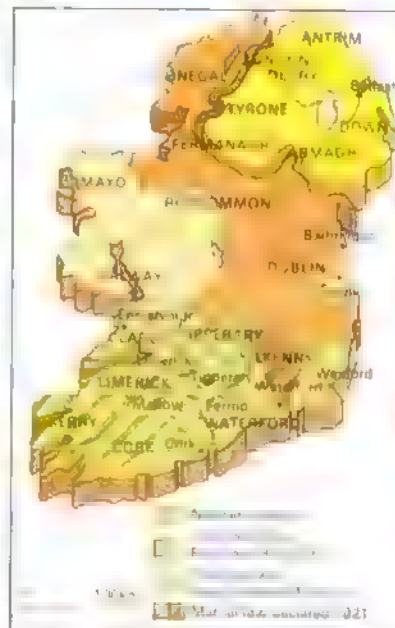
Northern Ireland has been a state, albeit subordinate, to Westminster since 1920. The last prime minister, James Callaghan (1918-1978), was involved in a series of conflicting factions, but the Catholic minor-

ity stood apart from the moulding of the state. As a result, the civil service, police, judiciary and education system were very much dominated by Protestant needs.

Postwar Northern Ireland was transformed by the Welfare State. Social benefits were introduced, though it is true that the Catholics in Northern Ireland were at first ready to identify themselves with the state, but only on the basis of equality with the state. Demands for equality were backed by the short-lived People's Democracy, and later by the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Gerry Adams (1926-), the John Hume (1927-), the Alliance Party and even by moderate Ulster Unionists.

When the civil rights movement [7] met Protestant resistance, violence erupted, enabling the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to revive the issue of nationalism. Fighting between Catholics and Protestant extremists brought British troops into the streets from 1969 [10] to 1972, and the end of the Northern Ireland Parliament at Stormont, scrapped in favour of direct rule from Westminster (1972).

60



Britain's partition of Ireland (1920) with a limited form of self-government for both north and south was accepted by the six counties of Ulster in 1921, when a partition was established at Belfast. Southern Ireland used the 1920 Act to elect the Dáil Éireann (outlawed since December 1919) but went on struggling for full independence. IRA Irish Republican Army forces were pitted against the British army. The Royal Irish Constabulary (supported by former soldiers named Black and Tans) and Auxiliaries whose reprisals upset liberal opinion in Britain, encouraged by George's government to seek a settlement. A truce was established on 11 July 1921 and four months later negotiations began in earnest.

6 A modern Dominican church at Athy, Co. Kildare, attracts controversy because of its design, which is a blend of Catholic and Protestant styles. In the 1970s, the Roman Catholics made up 93.9% of the population, showing 7,794,666 adherents as against 119,437 Protestants, 43, and 63,145, 1.1% of the population of Northern Ireland. The groupings were Protestant 811,272 (53.9%), Roman Catholic 477,919 (31.1%) and others 230,449 (15%). The state is not under a



7 Demonstrations in 1968 by the Civil Rights Association, led by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, were aimed at ending discrimination against Catholics in housing and employment.

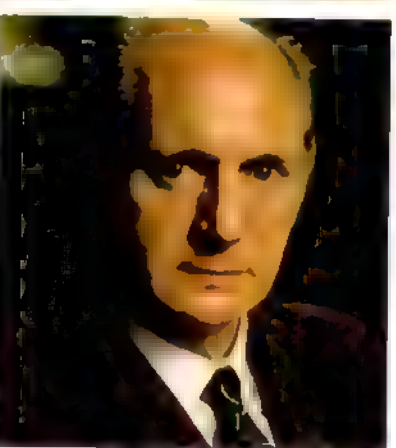
ing to remove widespread discrimination against Protestants. The Civil Rights Association was a Protestant group that was active in the early 1960s, but was not a republic.

Unionists. Extremists under Ian Paisley (1926-) stirred anti-Catholic feeling and drove some reforms. Community distrust grew. After

the disbanding of Stormont, Brian Faulkner (1921-) failed in his efforts to deal with a Catholic-Protestant executive established temporarily in 1974.



8 Guinness's brewery in Dublin is among the growth industries that have enabled the Irish Republic to reduce unemployment and emigration, two chronic features of the economy for more than a century.



9 Jack Lynch (1917-) was premier of the Irish Republic from 1966 to 1973 and minister in 1977. He was faced with the development of the IRA, not in the north but also in the south, which compromised his job in 1974.



10 British troops in Londonderry, breaking up a battle between 30,000 Protestants and Catholics in 1972, brought about the death of 13 civilians in an exchange of fire. The 'Bloody Sunday' helped to turn some Catholics against the British forces, which had been

sent to Ulster in August 1969 to separate Protestants and Catholics. After a long period of occupation, only in Belfast. The revived IRA split into feuding wings, mostly active Protestants and mostly Catholic. Posed as defenders

of the Catholic community, the 'Provos' renewed the fight for union with the south, attacking both British troops and the whole Protestant community. Protestant paramilitary groups retaliated and sectarian violence brought 1,600 deaths by January 1972 together

with widespread injuries and property damage from bombs. A peace movement was founded in 1976 by Betty Williams, Mairead McGuinness and Ciaran McKeown, offering hopes of reconciliation and strengthening the case for a peaceful settlement.

The question of Israel

Zionism, the movement by Jews to set up a state in their ancient homestead of Palestine emerged late in the nineteenth century as a form of the nationalism then sweeping Europe. It represented an attempt to channel the Jewish sense of corporate existence into a secure political entity that would provide an answer to continuing persecution. Among Arabs at about the same time the nationalist concept began to fertilize a deep-rooted sense of separate identity lying dormant under Ottoman rule.

Origins of the conflict

Zionism and Arab separatism clashed from the beginning. In 1882 the first modern Jewish agricultural settlement was founded in Palestine, where Jews had been a minority for centuries. Muslim and Christian notables of Jerusalem urged the Ottoman administration to prevent further immigration. Nonetheless, the Zionist movement grew slowly and the Jewish population of Palestine gradually increased.

During World War I the defeat of the Turks was a vital military objective for the

Allies Britain secured the assistance of Hussein Ibn Ali (1854-1931), ruler of the Hejaz and guardian of Mecca, by pledging in vague terms to help Arab independence

On 2 November 1917, Zionist hopes also seemed near fulfilment when the British foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour (1848-1930), declared, "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . ." But meanwhile, in 1916, the Allies had agreed secretly to a postwar Middle East division of spoils that paid no immediate heed to Zionist hopes and reduced the Arab state to a Franco-British puppet. At the San Remo Conference in 1920 Palestine, which had been under direct British military rule since 1918, came under British mandate.

Over the next 25 years the situation in Palestine steadily worsened. The Jewish population increased [1] and so did Arab violence against the Jews, erupting in riots in 1921 and 1929. With the advent of racist persecution in Nazi Germany during the 1930s the Zionists felt that increased

immigration was desperately necessary. On the other hand, new and more extremist Arab Palestinian leaders advocated halting immigration by force. Britain finally crushed an Arab revolt of 1936-9 [3], but its 1939 White Paper restricting Jewish immigration was a political victory for the Arabs.

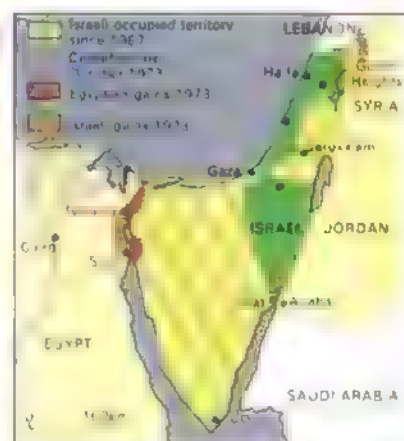
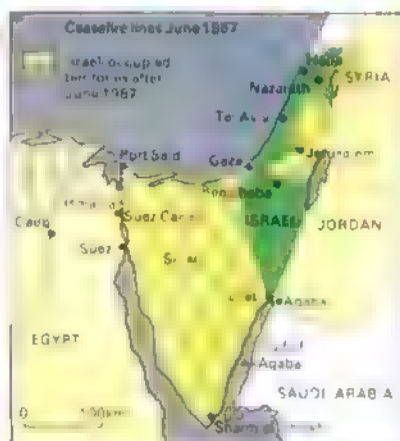
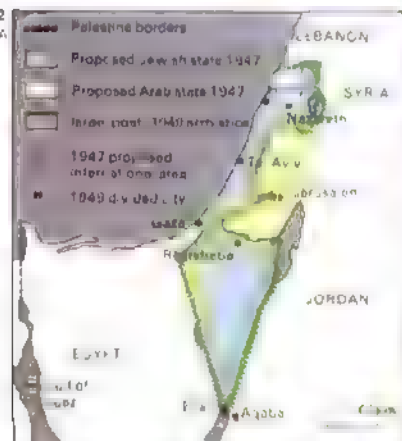
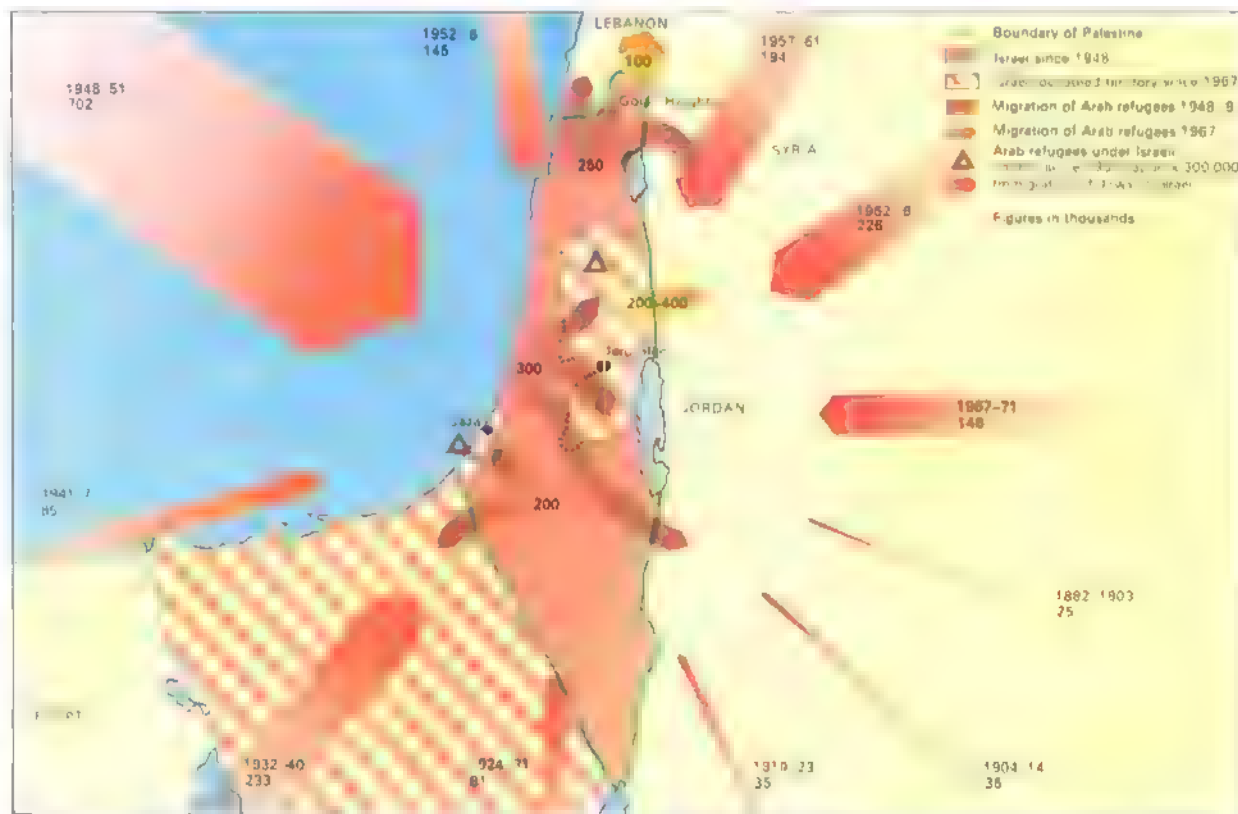
During World War II, under the stress of Nazism, Zionism became a mass movement lobbying the US government and public for support. After 1945 American Zionists shipped money and arms to the Haganah, a semi-underground Jewish army, and to more extremist guerrillas. In the face of British refusal to increase immigration, Jewish guerrilla violence and British counter-violence intensified. Finally Britain referred the problem to the UN, which in August 1947 recommended partition.

The birth of Israel

The British left on 14 May 1948, that same day the state of Israel was proclaimed (Kev) and the armies of five Arab states attacked it. But armistices in 1949 left Israel holding most of the territory it had been granted.

1 Migration to Palex.

time began in the late 19th century as groups of Jews sought freedom from persecution and reaffirmation of Jewish dignity through establishing settlements there. After the foundation of the World Zionist Organization by Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) in 1897 more Jews arrived buying land for collectives. During the Mandate, immigration fluctuated. Up to 1948 most arrivals were from Europe. After this, many Jews living in Arab countries migrated or fled to Israel. The Palestinians left their homes in two waves, the majority more than half a million in 1948 and a second group of between 200 000 and 400 000 during the war in 1967. Most were herded into UN refugee camps, only Jordan granting them citizenship. After 1967 300 000 of them lived in refugee camps run by Israel.



2 Israel's borders at the time of the 1949 armistice were wider than envisaged in the 1947 UN partition plan [A] Arab Palestine had been largely incorporated into Jordan. After the 1967 war Israel occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Golan Heights and the whole of Sinai. By the war of October 1973 and subsequent disengagement agreements returned some of the Golan to Syria and the Suez Canal and part of Sinai to Egypt. IC

CONNECTIONS

See also
 • The United Kingdom
 • 1992-2000
 • 1992-2000
 • 1992-2000
 • 1992-2000
 • 1992-2000

together with some of the territory allotted for an Arab Palestinian state [2]. In the absence of this state, Jordan acquired the West Bank and Egypt the Gaza Strip. About 600,000 Palestinian Arabs lost their homes.

Israel was left surrounded by hostile neighbours and Arab humiliation and defeat demanded redress. Open war broke out on three further occasions. In 1956, with its shipping blocked by Egypt, Israel joined in an Anglo-French conspiracy to recapture the nationalized Suez Canal. In a lightning attack the Israelis occupied the Sinai Peninsula on the east bank of the Suez Canal. Pressure by the US and USSR forced Israel to withdraw from Sinai, but a UN force was established in the Gaza Strip to act as a buffer.

When Egypt ordered the departure of the UN force in 1967 and on 22 May closed the Strait of Tiran, the Israelis seized the initiative on 6 June by a pre-emptive strike on the airfields of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq. After six days of fighting Israel held all Jerusalem [5] as well as the Suez Canal. The Jordanian army had been forced across the Jordan and the Syrian Golan Heights were

occupied. This time Israel did not withdraw.

The lesson of the first strike was not lost on the deeply humiliated Arabs. On 6 October 1973 the forces of Egypt and Syria attacked simultaneously. Egyptian troops crossing the canal while Syrian troops advanced over the Golan plain. At the end of 16 days Egypt and Syria had gained little territory and a great deal of prestige.

Distant hopes of peace

Maggnating in camps, the exiled Palestinians meanwhile had formed desperate guerrilla groups, which eventually united in 1969 under the umbrella of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In October 1974 the PLO was recognized by all Arab countries as the sole representative of the Palestinians [6].

The realities of the Arab-Israeli conflict have often been blurred by its being a focus of superpower rivalry, with the US supplying Israel and USSR arming the Arabs. In 1975 however, Egypt and Israel arrived at an interim peace agreement in which there were seeds of hope. Irreconcilable nationalist aims remain the basic problem.

REF



David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) first prime minister of Israel, proclaimed

the establishment of the Jewish state in the Museum of Modern Art in Tel Aviv

on 14 May 1948 the day on which the last British high commissioner departed



3 Arab revolts broke out in April 1936 against British rule in Palestine partly as a result of declining prosperity but mainly because of mounting Jewish immigration. Spontaneous and

horrifying attacks on Jews occurred throughout the country. At the same time Arab leaders called a six-month general strike in an effort to force the British to suspend Jewish immi-

gration. At first directed against the Jews, the revolt later became anti-British, and eventually armed bands of unemployed also attacked Arabs who opposed them. The unrest ended in 1939.



4 Martial law was imposed in Tel Aviv in 1945. Jews saw the immigration limits in Britain's White Paper of 1939 as a betrayal and reaction was muted only by the outbreak of war. Ben-Gurion said: 'We shall fight with Britain as if there was no war; we shall fight the White Paper as if there was no war.' An unofficial Jewish army, the Haganah, had existed since the 1920s and in 1937 a more extreme group formed the Irgun (or Etzra). Allied in September 1945 these groups set out to change British policy by increasingly violent attacks on British troops. British military reaction was viewed as counter-violence.



5 Jerusalem, a city sacred to Judaism, Christianity and Islam, was divided, with the east and Old City held by Jordan and

Palestine as an international city. In the 1948-9 war it was divided, with the east and Old City held by Jordan and

the west by Israel. During the Six Day War of 1967 the city was forcibly reunited by the Israelis. New buildings encircling

the whole city (in the picture here) are evidence of Israel's determination to retain control of its own hands.



6 Arab opposition to Israel has taken different forms. Under



The United Nations and its agencies

The name 'United Nations' was devised by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) and was first used in the Declaration by the United Nations of 1 January 1942 when representatives of 26 nations pledged their governments to continue fighting together against the Axis powers. The new United Nations (UN) was effectively a drastically reorganized and updated version of the League of Nations.

The charter of the UN was drawn up by the representatives of 50 countries at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, which met at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. The charter was signed on 26 June 1945 and the UN began officially on 24 October 1945 [1].

Peace and security

In theory, UN membership is open to all peace-loving states that accept the obligations of the charter. In fact, the principle of universality has been accepted, so that apart from Switzerland (with its rigid neutrality) all independent nations have joined or are doing so. By 1976 there were 144 members.

The UN is not a world government or supranational. All member states are sovereign and equal. The charter provides that the UN shall not intervene in the internal affairs of any country, except when it is acting to maintain or restore international peace.

In the Security Council the five permanent members (France, UK, USA, USSR and the People's Republic of China) each have a veto. But conflicting outlooks – particularly the ideological cold war between the USSR and the West – have meant that one or other of the Great Powers has been able to frustrate the General Assembly's wishes, although the UNiting for Peace Resolution of 1950 gave the Assembly authority to recommend enforcement action over a veto.

The UN has been involved in more than 100 situations where peace has been at risk [2, 5]. For example, the Security Council played an important part in solving the dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over the latter's independence in 1949. It prevented a threatening situation from escalating into outright hostilities when foreign troops intervened in the Lebanon and

Jordan in 1958; it contributed towards the peaceful transition of colonies to independence through organizing plebiscites and referenda; and on numerous occasions the secretary-general of the UN [4] has used quiet diplomacy to prevent conflicts over issues that could have become explosive.

The preamble to the UN charter determines to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women". Major steps to this end have been the 1946 Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1951 Convention on Genocide and the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Economic and social work

More than 80 per cent of the UN's funds are devoted to helping poorer countries develop their own human and economic resources [9].

Under the supervision of the Economic and Social Council there are seven functional commissions that make studies, issue reports or draft international treaties relating

CONNECTIONS

See also

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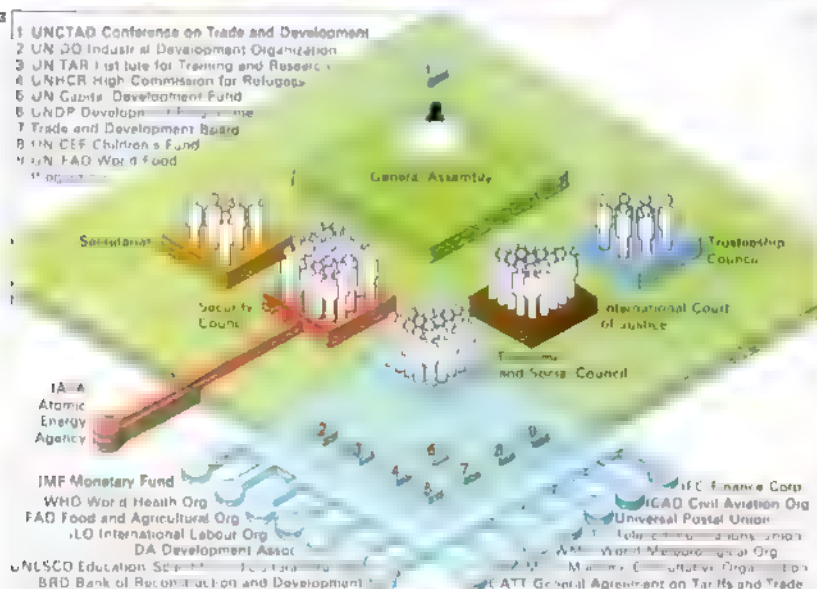
1 Joseph Paul Boncour (1873-1972) signs the United Nations Charter for France at the first meeting of the organization in San Francisco in 1945. Since the first 50 members appended their signatures to the charter, the membership has grown to almost treble that original number. As they have joined, the very many emergent nations have gradually weakened the Great Powers' 20-year domination of the UN.



2 UN troops cross the Han River in Korea as they move to meet the North Korean invaders of South Korea in 1950. It was the UN's first military intervention in a war, but almost by default.

The USSR at that time boycotting the Security Council was unable to veto a recommendation that the UN should go to the aid of South Korea. Sixteen nations responded to the call.

to arms, but in the event it was overwhelmingly the US that provided the men, equipment and overall command to drive the North Koreans back across the dividing line of the 38th Parallel.



3 The "political" aspect of the UN is dominated by the General Assembly and the Security Council, but apart from these there are four other bodies. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) under the supervision of the General Assembly

coordinates the UN's economic and social work and that of 14 of its specialized agencies. The Trusteeship Council was established to supervise the affairs of 11 trusteeship territories, of which all but one (the Pacific Islands) have now

achieved independence. The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ and all UN members are parties to its statutes and can refer cases to it. It consists of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly

and Security Council voting independently. The judges serve an initial term of nine years. Lastly, the Secretariat services all the other organs and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them.



4 The chief administrator of the UN is the secretary-general, a man proposed by the Security Council and elected by the Assembly. Since 1946 there have been four: Trygve Lie (1896-1968) [A] of Norway (1946-53); Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-61) [B], of Sweden, whose term ended tragically in an air crash in the Rhodessa; U Thant (1909-74) [C], who retired in 1971; and Kurt Waldheim (1918-) [D] of Austria.

to subjects such as human rights and control of narcotic drugs. There are also five regional economic commissions—one each for Africa, Western Asia, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Latin America. Increased stress on direct operational field activities is reflected in the stepping up of UN operations. Nations Development Programme is a voluntarily financed operation carried out by the UN and UN member agencies.

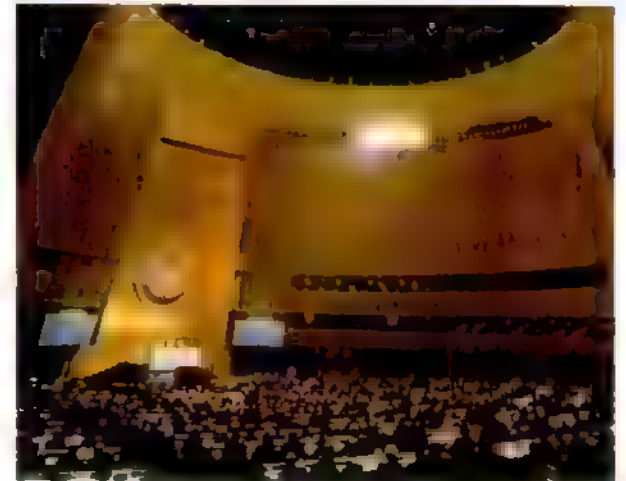
The emergence of a new majority

Until the 1960s the balance of power within the UN General Assembly lay with the Western Alliance, partly because of the opposition of the Security Council, but as colonial territories acquired independence in the 1960s so new states with traditions and interests very different from those of the US and the European liberal democracies joined the UN. The influence of these new states became manifest in the General Assembly where an increasing emphasis was placed on the evils of colonialism and apartheid and on the need for economic development. The numerical minority of present members are

from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. By 1970 it was apparent that the balance of power in the Assembly had decisively shifted to a non-aligned group which did not necessarily support either side in the East-West ideological battle (7). The states of the Western Alliance found themselves in a minority in resolutions favouring the non-aligned group was passed often with Eastern European backing.

The full effect of this change, however, were not felt until 1974 when the special session of the Assembly adopted a declaration and a programme of action on the establishment of a new international economic order. In the declaration UN members solemnly proclaimed their determination to work urgently for 'the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereignty, equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems, which shall ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development in peace and justice for present and future generations'.

KEY

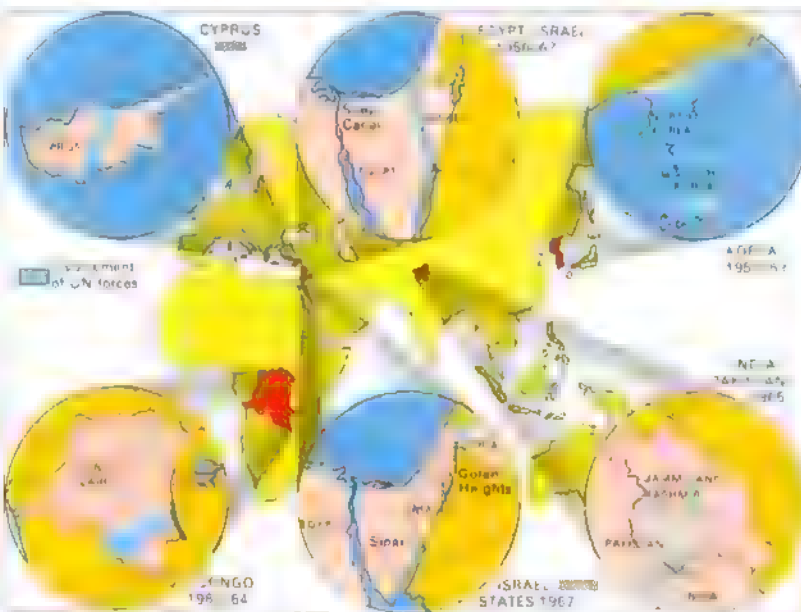


The Parliament of the World the UN General Assembly has its permanent headquarters in the United Nations Secretariat Building, New York. Here delegates discuss and make

decisions on international law and relations. It is the only body in the UN system which is not a permanent body. It is the only body in the UN system which is not a permanent body.

and represent it. It is the only body in the UN system which is not a permanent body. It is the only body in the UN system which is not a permanent body.

5 Potential "powder keg" situations throughout the world have seen the presence of UN peace-keeping forces since the organization moved to back South Korea when it was invaded in 1950. They have been used to separate forces in the Middle East to control armed conflict, and keep internal order in the Congo after its independence (1960-64) and in Cyprus (1964 onwards) where clashes between Greek and Turkish communities erupted into an invasion of the island by Turkey in the course of 1974. Non-combatant observers have been in Indonesia, Korea, Lebanon, Jamaica and Kashmir, West Iran and the Yemen.



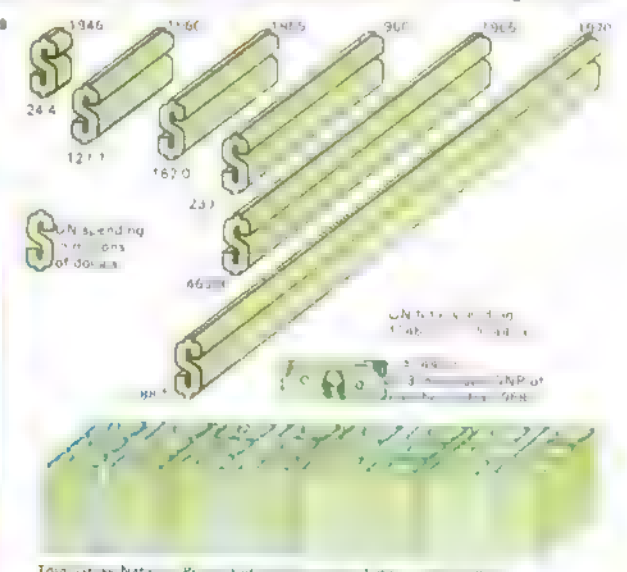
6 The giant monuments of Abu Simbel were saved from the waters of Lake Nasser by UN agencies, in particular by UNESCO. As yet the UN's efforts to wake its exercises in international diplomacy has been less than its continuing battle against disease and famine through the work of the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization.



7 The UN membership consists of sovereign states that accept the obligations contained in the UN Charter. From time to time non-self-governing territories have been allowed to put

their case to the committees of the Assembly but a precedent was set in 1975 when the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat was allowed to address the Assembly.

8 After the Arab-Israeli War resumed in October 1973 the ceasefire solutions sponsored by the Soviet Union and the US were adopted by the Security Council. But the fighting continued and it was the eight non-aligned members of the Security Council who then proposed the dispatch of this non-combatant observer force whose function was to supervise the ceasefire conditions.



9 UN members contribute according to their ability to pay.

the USA pays most. The total UN expenditure is \$41.5 million.

only a fraction of the annual world product is spent on UN activities.

The world's monetary system

The establishment of a new and more stable international monetary system was one of the most important tasks for world leaders as World War II drew to a close. At the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 negotiators had bitter memories of the 1930s when the breakdown of the gold standard [1] as a semi-automatic system of adjusting imbalances in trade and payments between nations was followed by a period of unstable exchange rates, restrictive trade practices and deep economic slump in most major countries. It was the aim of the conference to devise a monetary system that would encourage international operation and end instability.

The Bretton Woods system

The essential features of the new system were: stable, or fixed, exchange rates; the creation of a new central organization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to oversee the new arrangements and assist countries in balance-of-payments difficulties (Key, 2); and assistance, through the newly established World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), to

poor countries. Stable exchange rates required each IMF member to report to the Fund the value of its currency (in terms of gold). Since all currencies were thus "priced" in terms of a single denominator, gold, this also established rates of exchange between them. These rates were to be regarded as essentially fixed and a major change in the value of a currency was permitted only when a country was suffering from "fundamental disequilibrium" in its balance of payments. To correct a "fundamental" surplus (exports greater than imports) a country would revalue (making its exports more expensive and its imports cheaper), to adjust a deficit it would devalue.

The US dollar, and to a lesser degree the British pound sterling, came to play a central role in the new system. Sterling had long had an important position as a major "strong hard" currency [4]. The dollar's pre-eminence was largely a postwar phenomenon and reflected the economic and political strength of the United States in a world in which most other leading countries were still ravaged by the results of the war. Together

with the fact that the US Treasury undertook to convert foreign holdings of dollars into gold at a fixed price of \$35 per ounce (thus making the dollar "as good as gold") this prompted other countries to accumulate holdings of dollar balances on which they could earn interest. The dollar and sterling thus acted as key "reserve currencies" supplementing gold. The Bretton Woods system became fully operational only in 1958 when, after a prolonged period of postwar reconstruction, all major currencies became freely convertible one for another.

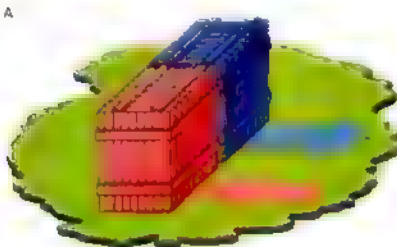
Pressure on sterling

The crucial requirement for the smooth functioning of the Bretton Woods system was the willingness of countries to hold the two reserve currencies. In general they did so until 1963, after which a series of currency crises progressively undermined the fixed exchange rate system. Pressure centred initially on sterling. International confidence was eroded by Britain's chronic economic problems at home and overseas. There was heavy selling of sterling by international

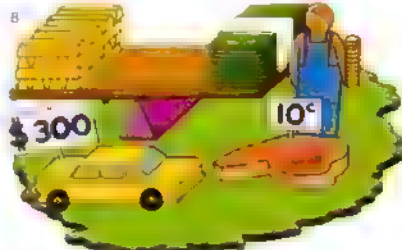
CONNECTIONS

See also
underdevelopment
and the world
The United Nations
at 11 pages, 11
SA the official
11.

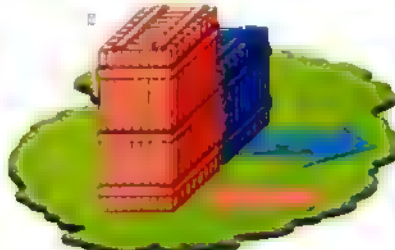
1A



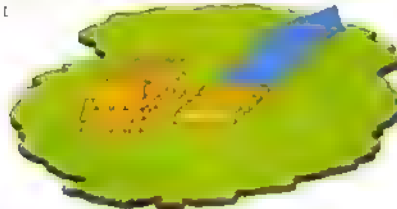
B



C



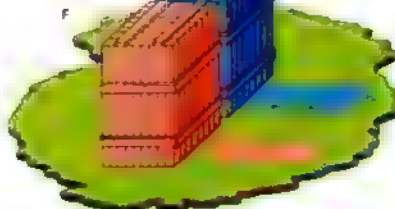
D



E



F



1 Under the gold standard imbalances in trade are settled by transfers of gold between countries. If the value of exports and imports balances, (A) a country neither loses nor gains gold. The value of money circulating in a country is directly tied to its stock of gold. (B) When a deficit arises because imports are greater than exports (C) an outflow of gold takes place to settle the difference (D). This reduces the volume of money at home, depressing wages and prices. (E) Goods for export are cheaper, more are sold, and equilibrium is restored with a smaller gold stock (F).

2 The resources of the International Monetary Fund come from quotas subscribed by its members [1-5]. 25%

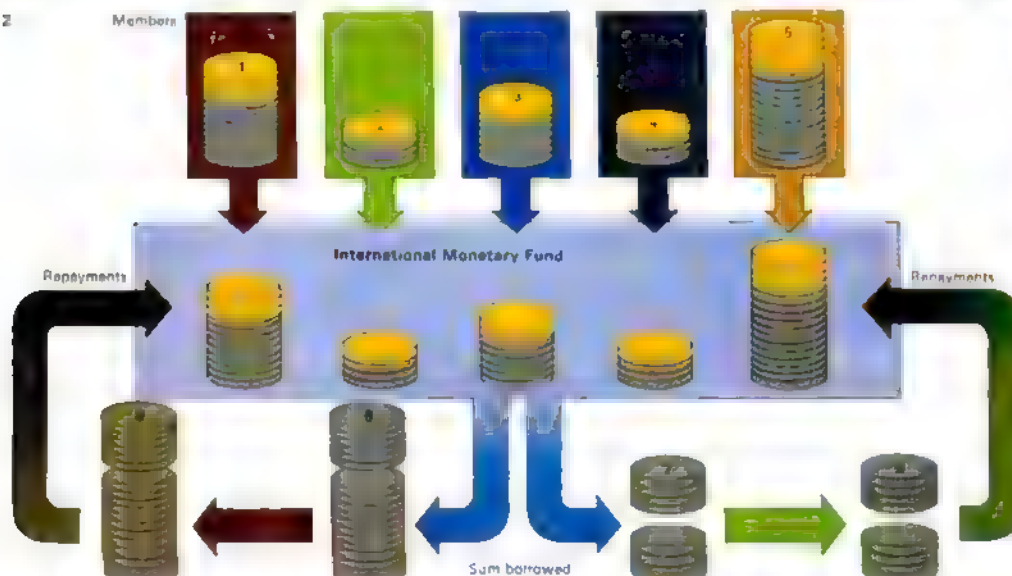
in gold (yellow) and the rest in their own currency. Any member in balance of payments difficulties can borrow from the Fund.

the currency of other members up to a total of 200% of its own quota. Country 1 is borrowing 150% [6] while

country 2 draws the full 200% [7]. So that appropriate balance of currencies is maintained repayments

to [8] must be made within five years in the currencies of members whose money has been borrowed from the Fund.

2



3 The flow of world money is very fast indeed. The foreign exchange rooms of

bankers such as Samuel Montagu turn over millions of pounds a day.

holders on many occasions, facilitated by the gradual build-up of large quantities of easily transferable or "hot" money in the Eurodollar market [8]. Selling could be stemmed only at the cost of the Bank of England's running down its own holdings of foreign currency in order to buy up sterling in the exchange markets and thus prevent the exchange rate falling below its agreed value. Even the provision of additional funds to the Bank of England by other central banks and by the IMF (through loans and by boosting total world reserves through the creation of a new reserve asset, the Special Drawing Right [7]) could not succeed in saving sterling, and in November 1967 the pound was devalued by 14.3 per cent.

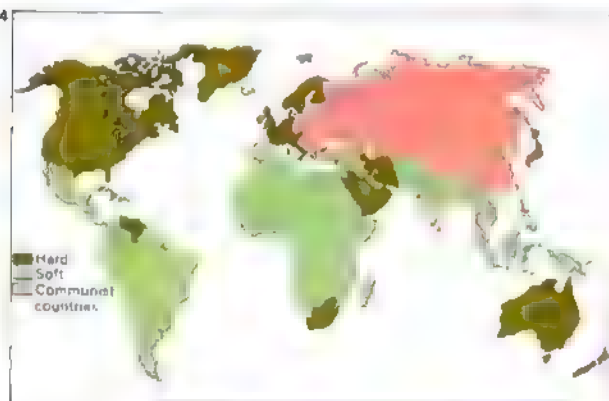
The crisis of confidence soon spread to the dollar took the form of persistent demand by holders of dollars for their conversion into gold and resulted in a serious drain on US gold reserves. In August 1971 President Nixon took steps to check this outflow and shocked the world by announcing the ending of the longstanding US commitment to sell gold for dollars. President

Nixon's surprise package prompted new international negotiations and resulted in the Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971. This provided for a substantial revaluation of all major currencies against the dollar and was intended to produce a more realistic dollar exchange rate.

Floating exchange rates

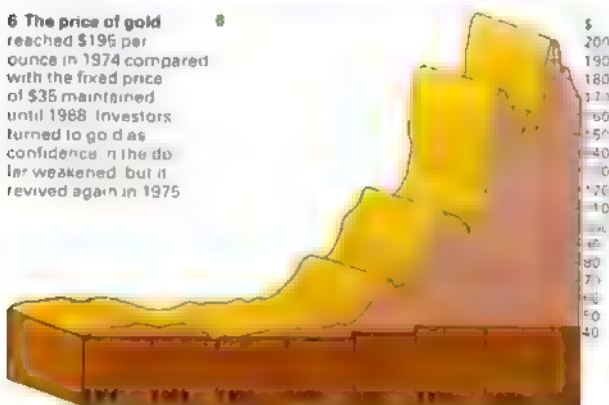
The Smithsonian Agreement failed to restore confidence [6] and renewed pressure against sterling early in 1972 culminated in a decision in June to allow the pound to "float" and find its own value in the foreign exchange markets. Early in 1973 Italy, Switzerland, Japan and eventually all the major European currencies had to follow suit and allow their currencies to float against the dollar.

This system of generalized floating [5] still prevails. The authorities however do not let the markets freely determine the rate but intervene occasionally to serve national interests. Despite repeated attempts, both within the IMF and outside to reach agreement on a more stable monetary system negotiations remain deadlocked.



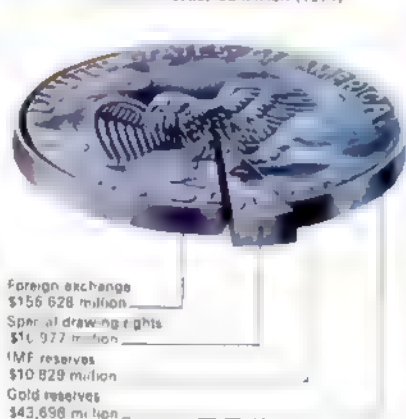
4 World currencies can be roughly split into 'hard' or 'soft' but in some areas these categories are changing notably as a result of oil revenues. Hard currencies were once those convertible at a fixed rate and much used for trade. Soft currencies included those in limited use or not convertible. With the breakdown of fixed rates the terms now have a more general meaning of strong and weak currencies.

6 The price of gold reached \$196 per ounce in 1974 compared with the fixed price of \$35 maintained until 1968. Investors turned to gold as confidence in the dollar weakened but it revived again in 1975.



7 Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), introduced in 1970, were created by IMF to increase the volume of resources for financing world trade. They have two main advantages. First, they are a stable international acceptable form of exchange. Second, they enable the IMF to make transferable loans to those countries that need additional foreign reserves to finance trade deficits. In this way they act as a convenient international system of debits and credits.

7 Total reserves \$222,132 million (1974)



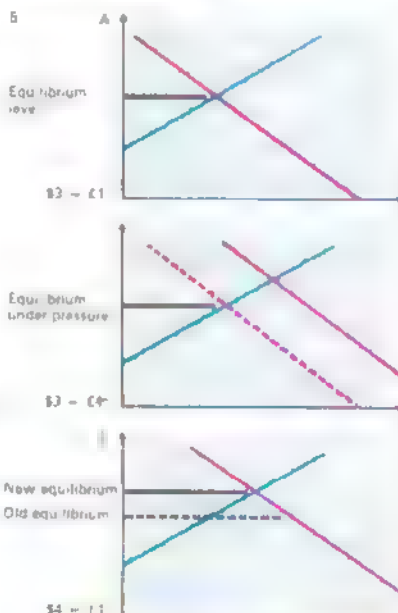
8 A Eurodollar is created when a dollar passes to a holder outside the United States and instead of being converted to another currency or deposited within the United States it is deposited with a bank outside the United States. There are other 'Euro' currencies such as Eurosterling. The term signifies that the currency concerned is deposited outside its country of origin. Once a European bank (A) has received a Euro currency deposit from, for instance, a French exporter (can lend) in turn to other banks in need of funds (B, C, D) and it may finally be borrowed by a British businessman who wants to finance investment. The Eurocurrency market emerged in the late 1950s and constitutes a vast international pool of highly mobile money sometimes used for currency speculation. Latest estimates put its size at \$200,000 million.



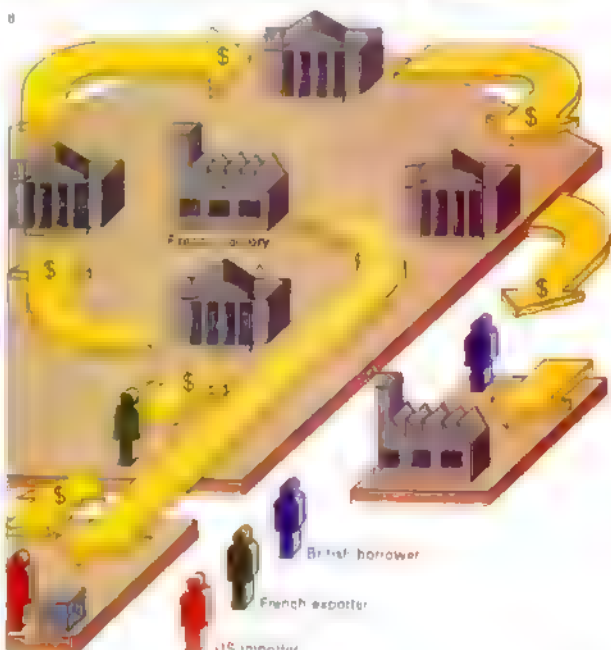
The International Monetary Fund has its headquarters in Washington.

exchange rates and a balance of trade in draw.

its membership from the major non-communist countries of the world.



5 A floating rate of exchange finds its level according to supply and demand in the world's money markets at any given point in time. Assuming that a home currency is \$ and the foreign currency is £, the exchange rate will adjust itself so that demand (red) and supply (blue) are equal. A) If demand for imports is less than the supply of foreign currency, the exchange rate will exceed the old exchange rate. B) The demand for foreign currency therefore rises or in other words, the exchange rate of the home currency depreciates. C) The world has had a system of floating exchange rates since 1972.



Underdevelopment and the world economy

The decades following World War II have been characterized by a marked division between a small group of mostly industrialized nations where general living standards and prosperity have risen quite rapidly, and the overwhelming majority of nations where poverty remains acute [Key, 1]. In the former group are found the highly industrialized countries of North America, Australia and New Zealand, and most of Europe and Japan, and in the latter the extensive regions of underdevelopment in South America, Asia and Africa, although Brazil has shown a very marked rise in gross national product (GNP) in this period.

Patterns of trade

Simultaneously with this steadily widening gap in material standards, dozens of new nations have been created in the process of decolonization. But self government has not brought economic freedom. The pattern of trade established during the colonial period means that the new nations are still frequently dependent on the old metropolitan countries. Their economic role remains

largely one of supplying agricultural goods and industrial raw materials [3], serving as markets for the surplus manufactures of the industrialized nations and acting as a reservoir of cheap labour. Finally, much of the trade and industry of the ex-colonies is in the hands of international companies based in the rich countries and whose profits do not accrue where they are created.

As a consequence of these traditional ties, the less developed countries have also suffered the booms and recessions of the industrialized world. There have been sharp swings in demand for the primary products sold by the poorer nations leading to violent fluctuations in commodity prices and therefore in their foreign earnings [2]. This (together with the inevitable unpredictability of agricultural production) makes planning a development programme almost impossible because unpredictable export earnings force planners to curb necessary imports of machinery and capital equipment.

Although the rich countries provide some overseas aid [6], the flow of funds is inadequate and few of the less developed countries

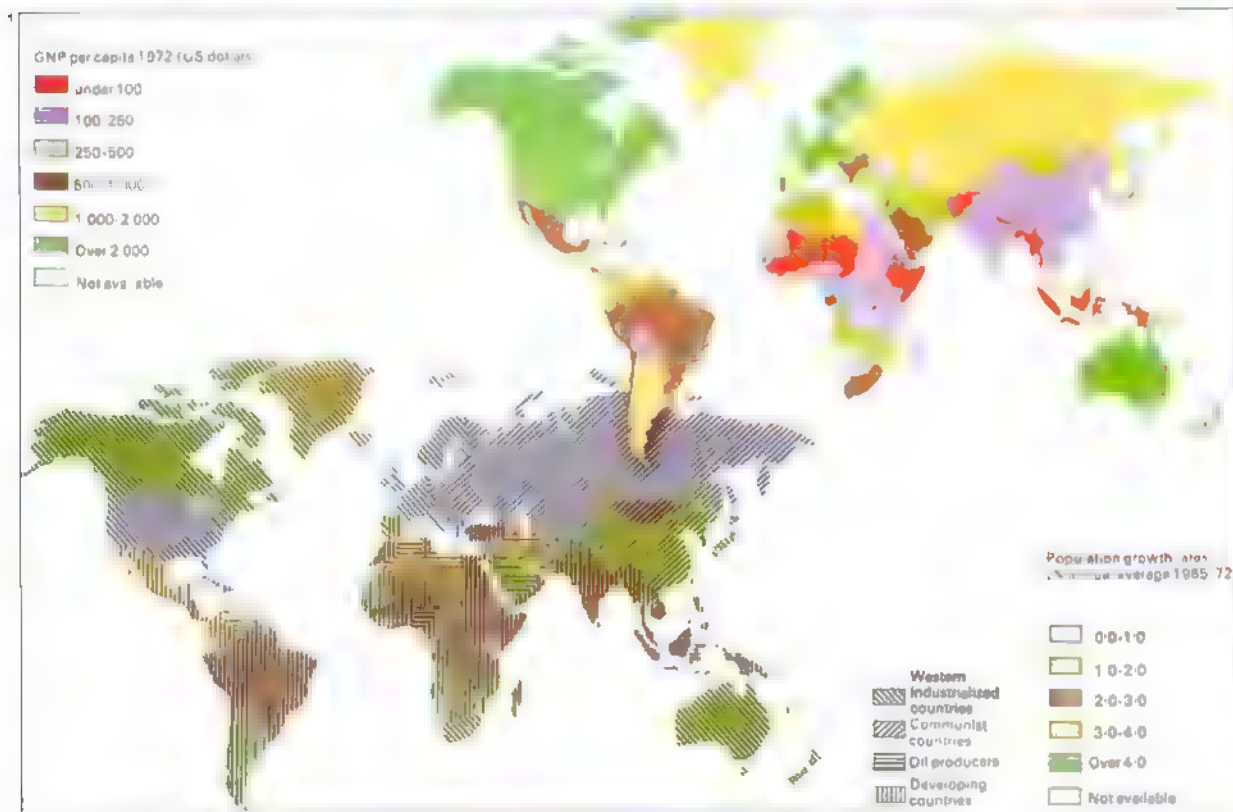
have what economists call "self-sustained growth" - that is, profit levels are not high enough to finance expansion on the scale desired. Indeed there is much argument about whether the conditions that led to industrialization and economic take-off throughout the 1800s in western Europe and North America still exist and whether it is even feasible for the less developed countries to copy the industrialized West.

The developing nations and cartels

If the governments of the Third World nations are to eradicate poverty and maintain social and political stability it would nevertheless seem that they have no alternative but to take their peoples down the road to industrialization [4] in the hope of finding a formula for self-sustained economic growth. This means mechanizing industry and agriculture and has led to demands that the existing industrialized nations should provide the requisite funds. For example, it has been suggested that they should lower the present customs duties and quotas they impose on some of the industrialized goods

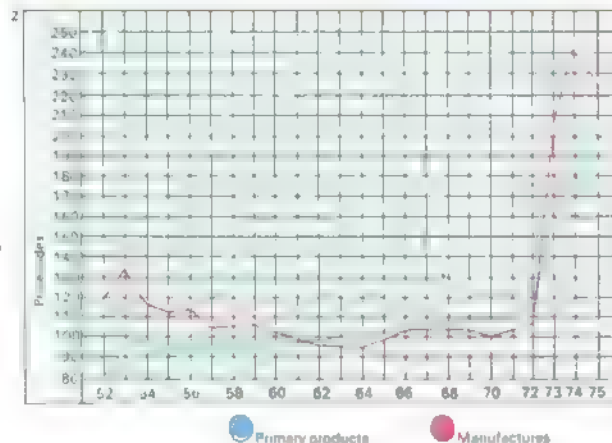
CONNECTIONS

See also
The world's monetary system
The United Nations
And its agencies
Non-alignment and the Third World
Decolonization
Latin America in the 20th century
USA and the Third World
Africa

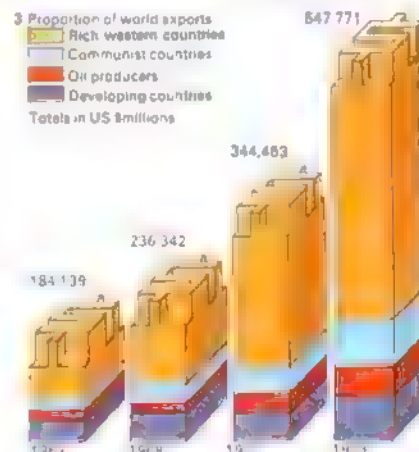


1 Some 500 million people live in countries which in 1970 had per capita incomes of between \$2,000 and \$3,000 a year, another 2,000 million live in countries where per capita incomes are estimated at less than \$200 in countries where small, labour intensive land holdings predominate rural population increase is often stimulated beyond the ability of the land to support it, encourage migration to the towns where the urban labour market cannot support it either. Indeed the poorest countries are usually those in which the population growth rate is highest: there were over 538 million people in India by 1970 and the numbers have been swelling at the rate of 2.1% a year. Mexico's annual rate of increase in the 1960s was 3.5%. By contrast population in many western European countries is rising by less than 1% per annum.

2 World export prices between 1950 (the peak of the commodity boom of the Korean War) and 1970 moved first of all in favour of the products of the less developed countries but after a period of relative strength this advantage was lost. Some economists blame the weak economic performance of the less developed countries on a marked deterioration in their "terms of trade" - the fall in the price they get for exports relative to the cost of their imports.



3 Export figures for the 1960s and early 1970s show that developing countries accounted for a relatively small proportion of world trade. This began to change in 1974, but only as a result of higher oil prices. The exports of most developing countries are still agricultural products like coffee or sugar and raw materials for industry like rubber or tin. Only about 25% of their exports - frequently textiles - are manufactured goods.



they import from the Third World – such as cotton – which at present they meet at high tariffs because they compete with the industries of the industrialized nations. For these reasons political tensions have been increasing between rich and poor countries.

Some less developed countries have also attempted to achieve higher prices for their primary products by banding together in associations. One of the most successful of these has been the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Because of its near monopoly in the export of oil, OPEC succeeded in getting a fivefold increase in the oil price during 1973 and 1974. Other groups of commodity producers have not been as successful and higher oil prices and the resultant higher price of manufactured goods have hurt developing countries, such as India, which do not possess oil. In spite of this, the example set by OPEC has proved an inspiration for other producers of raw materials, although many economists argue that such associations – or “cartels” as they are called, cannot last for long because supply and demand will eventually drive

the price back down to a sustainable level.

The desire of developing nations for changes in the world trading system has led to political initiatives such as the United Nations special conference on raw materials in 1974 which adopted a programme for a “New International Economic Order”. A resolution to this effect was approved by most countries despite opposition from many of the richer nations. However, it is generally recognized that a new economic order can be established only if the industrial countries are prepared to meet a far-reaching list of demands from the Third World nations.

Future prospects

The success of OPEC – the possible growth of more such cartels and the fear of political upheaval in the Third World should existing levels of poverty persist have produced statements of willingness on the part of the industrialized group to make at least some concessions. But despite growing concern about Third World problems and sincere efforts by certain countries, the general level of aid has been dropping since the 1960s [6].

KEY



Undernourishment
disease and bad
housing loom over

80% of the world's
4 000 million
people in stark

contrast to the
affluence of a
few nations



4 Factories set up
by many developing
countries reflected
a belief that pov-
erty could be elim-
inated by rapid in-
dustrialization. But
this proved to be over-
ambitious and led to
many problems.
There was a lack of
skilled manpower and
the industrial pro-
grammes did not help
the rural poor at
though they attracted
unskilled men
to the cities where
work was not avail-
able for the large
numbers seeking it.

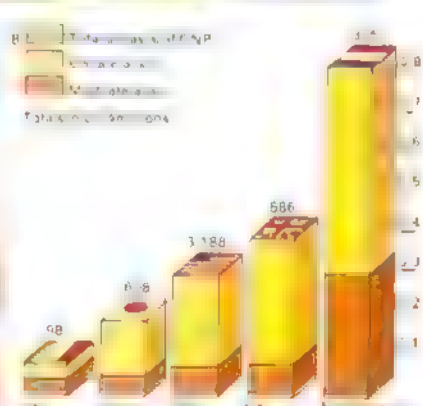


5 Rice-planting in
India and elsewhere
in the 1960s raised
hopes that some
developing coun-
tries could escape
starvation. The in-
crease in food by a “Green
Revolution”. This was
the introduction of
new, high yielding
rice and wheat plants
which could greatly
increase harvests.
Although modestly suc-
cessful in some areas,
the costs involved
have proved formid-
able for peasants
borrowing at high
local interest rates.

6 The rich countries
provide foreign aid
both in goods and
in funds. Here [A]
a US helicopter
lands supplies. But
aid is inadequate
when set against the

cost of food shortages
and lack of jobs.
Some 80% of
the money invested
in developing nations
comes from the coun-
try's own limited resources.
Official development

assistance from 17
of the world's richest
nations (OECD in 1974
was just 0.33% of
their combined GNP,
much less than the
figure of 0.53% that
was given in 1960).



7 Shanty towns
have grown on the fringes
of urban areas such
as Bombay, shown
here, because poverty
in poor countries is
less severe there
than in the country
side. But migration
puts a great strain
on services and
facilities that are
already stretched.



8 Aid is not spent
on welfare alone.
Some of it is com-
mitted to prestige
projects such as the
Organization for
African Unity build-
ing in Addis Ababa.

Modern Christianity and the New Beliefs

Developments in the life of the Christian Churches during the latter half of the twentieth century have been faster and more far-reaching than at any stage since the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. The main features have been the ecumenical movement (for the reunion of the Churches), the Churches' deeper commitment to the service of the secular world and the cause of world justice and the dialogue with "unbelief" notably Marxism. Two outstanding events have been the foundation of the World Council of Churches, in which the Roman Catholic Church does not belong, and the Second Vatican Council (1962-65).

The work of the World Council
The World Council of Churches [1] formed in 1948 today includes 271 Churches working in 90 countries. It is neither a church nor a union of churches, but a forum for the joint study of theology and ecumenism and of Christian insights into the social, political and political problems of society, it also organizes relief and other social services for the deprived regions of the world. The pri-

1 The World Council of Churches held its first General Assembly in Amsterdam in 1948. The Assembly decided to bring Christian Churches apart from the Roman Catholic Church. It is an amalgamation of Churches brought together to lead a united Christian reunion. It is also concerned with applying Christian



3 The distribution of the world's Christians is historically determined. Through the Roman Empire Christianity spread throughout Europe, to be transmitted world wide by European emigrant on and by colonial and missionary activity. The Catholic Church still has by far the largest Christian congregation, claiming almost 60 per cent of the estimated total world Christian population. World Christianity divides into three main streams: the Catholic (Orthodox, Anglican and Roman), the Protestant (Catholic and Lutheran) and Free Church (Congregationalist, Baptist and Methodist). Map figures show the estimated percentage of Christians within the population of

Church. It is an amalgamation of Churches brought together to lead a united Christian reunion. It is also concerned with applying Christian

ncipal Churches represented are Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Methodist, Moravian, Old Catholic, Orthodox, Presbyterian and Reformed; the Society of Friends is also a member.

There has not yet been a fusion of major Churches on a global basis, but there have been hundreds of unions of Christian groupings on a local level.

At first the Roman Catholic Church, although sympathetic, stood apart from the World Council, but soon it began to send observers to World Council meetings and eventually to have permanent links with it in the fields of social theology and action. A new ecumenical climate, fostered by Pope Pius XII (pontificate 1959-63) on the Roman Catholic side received dramatic impetus from the pontificate of Pope John XXIII (1963-68) and the visit to Pope Paul VI (1968-1978) in 1966 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Michael Ramsey. The joint theological commission they set up had already reached a degree of unanimity, yet, for instance, the central doctrine of the Church, for which few Christians would

teaching to the people of world justice. It gives a development in the relationship between the Church and the world, and thus



2 The Second Vatican Council was opened in 1962 in St Peter's, Rome by Pope John. It brought together nearly 3,000 bishops and other Roman Catholic Church leaders whose purpose was to renew the spirit of the Church from within. The Council, in its theological statements, narrowed the gap between itself and the other Christian communions. It committed itself to being "The Church of the Poor", and opened the way to dialogue with non-Christian religions and also with the communists, thus ending the postwar period of direct confrontation with the communist powers.

5 Total world Christian population 1,019.2m



Seventh Day Adventists	0.12%
Evangelicalists	0.35%
Anglicans	1.4%
Methodists	4.0%
Protestant and Reformed	5.15%
Baptists	5.8%
Lutherans	7.5%
Orthodox and Eastern	11.9%
Roman Catholics	57.0%

CONNECTIONS
See also
The expansion of Christianity
Masters of sociology
20th century sociology and its influence

Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras in 1964 [Key], was seen as the first great step towards healing the breach, nearly a thousand years old, between Rome and the Orthodox Churches of the East. Pope Paul's pontificate is also notable for a series of conversations with the communist powers.

Revolt against tradition

The 1960s was a period of intense interest in the concept of the "Death of God" theology identified with Protestant thinkers such as Paul Tillich (1886-1965) [4] and Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-45) ("religionless Christianity"), and popularized in *Honest to God* (1966) by an Anglican bishop, Dr John Robinson. Broadly speaking this line of thought rejected the traditional "analogous" way of talking about God. He was not a person somewhere "out there" but the transcendent ground of being and manifested to the world in the life of Christ.

Eventually the "Death of God" theology faded and was replaced by the more positive concept of the "Theology of Hope" which owes much to the thought of the Jesuit seven-

tist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955). It has been called a "this world" theology, which in Latin America has provoked what is now called the "theology of liberation" [7].

One of its first practical exponents was the Colombian priest Camilo Torres who, despairing of converting the rich oppressors of the poor, joined the local guerrillas in 1965, was soon afterwards killed by the police and became known as the Christian counterpart of Che Guevara (1928-67). The corresponding witness of the Anglican Church has been most notable in South Africa [8], beginning with the championship of the African people by Father (now Bishop) Trevor Huddleston (1913-).

Finally, the last generation has witnessed the rise of movements in the Christian communities that lay less stress on intellectual religious experience and more on emotional fervour and discernment. A convert making revivalism in the 1950s and 1960s, such as that of the American evangelist Billy Graham (1918-), has been succeeded by what is known as "Pentecostalism" or "Charismatic Renewal" [9].

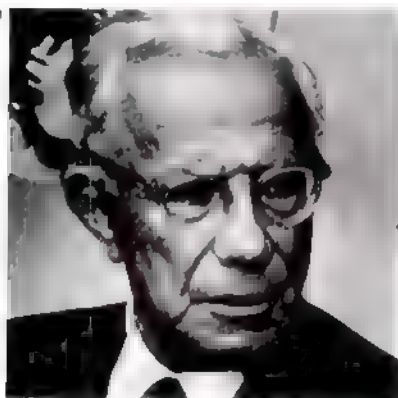
KEY



The meeting in Jerusalem in 1964 between Pope Paul VI and the Patriarch of Constantinople

Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras was the first of a kind since the

East-West Schism of nearly 1,000 years ago



4 Paul Tillich, the great German Protestant theologian, rejected traditional ideas of God and called Him instead "the ground of our being" a theme taken up by Bishop John Robinson



5 Rudolf Bultmann (1884-), another prominent German theologian, became famous for demythologizing the New Testament, stressing Christ as a spiritual rather than an historical figure

6 A freedom march of black demonstrators in Dallas, Texas, is led by a white priest. One of the Church's major objectives, abolition of racial discrimination, has been its

active opposition to all forms of discrimination and its struggle to defend the rights of the black people of North America and oppressed peoples in various parts of the African continent



7 Archbishop Helder Câmara of Recife, Brazil, is one of the religious leaders of the battle for social revolution in Latin America. The Archbishop's methods have remained non-violent, unlike those of Father Camilo Torres, the

priest turned guerrilla. The Church's struggle for the underprivileged in the sub-continent has taken many forms: the constitutional struggle through the Christian Democratic parties and the dialogue between Christians and Marxists

social action via the Church's co-operatives and credit union, housing and educational programmes and the proclamation of the theology of liberation. Many priests in Latin America have suffered heavily for these actions

8 Students in Cape Town demonstrated outside the cathedral in 1972. The meeting was called to support the principle of racial equality in education. The students obtained the permission of the Anglican dean to hold their meeting on Church property because street demonstrations were banned but this did not protect them from brutal intervention by the local police



9 The Children of Jesus, swimming in ecstasy among many spontaneous prayer groups, seeking knowledge of God and Christ through emotional experience as distinct from reasoned theology. Some of the more

extremist and grounded movements appear to be emotionalist, notably those such as the Pentecostals, who talk about "Charismatic Renewal" are a more convincing blend of quasi-mysticism and "servant of the brethren"

Europe from confrontation to détente

Between 1955 and 1975 Europe moved from the cold war to the beginnings of co-operation. In a military sense the confrontation continued because the countries of both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact built up their armed strength and deployed nuclear weapons [1]. But gradually the confrontation came to be accepted as a guarantor of stability in the relations between the Eastern and Western powers.

The meaning of détente

Détente, however, took many years to develop. Originally, it appeared that there were two reasons for optimism. The first was the denunciation of Stalin's methods by Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) in 1956. De-Stalinization seemed to promise greater liberalism in Eastern Europe and an improvement in East-West relations. The agreement on a neutral and independent Austria through the Austrian State Treaty appeared to confirm this [Key].

The second ground for hope lay paradoxically, in German rearmament

When West Germany joined NATO in 1955 the Soviet response was to organize its allies including East Germany, in the Warsaw Pact. While this reaction appeared threatening, the Soviet Government clearly expected that each superpower would now recognize the final division of Germany and that this would provide the basis for peaceful co-existence. Both hopes were speedily disappointed. When Soviet control in Hungary was threatened [2], Soviet tanks soon demonstrated the limits of the new liberalism. At the same time the Western powers refused to recognize East Germany. In response Khrushchev tried to make them do so by creating a series of crises over Berlin [3]. These crises, which continued from 1958 to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, appeared at times to threaten a third world war and helped to accelerate the arms race.

The fear of nuclear war

From 1957 onwards, nuclear missiles were introduced into the arms race (and tactical nuclear weapons into Europe). Crises between the superpowers became increasingly

dangerous and it was the most intense of these crises, over the emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962 [4-7], which induced the superpowers to reconsider their relations and move towards détente.

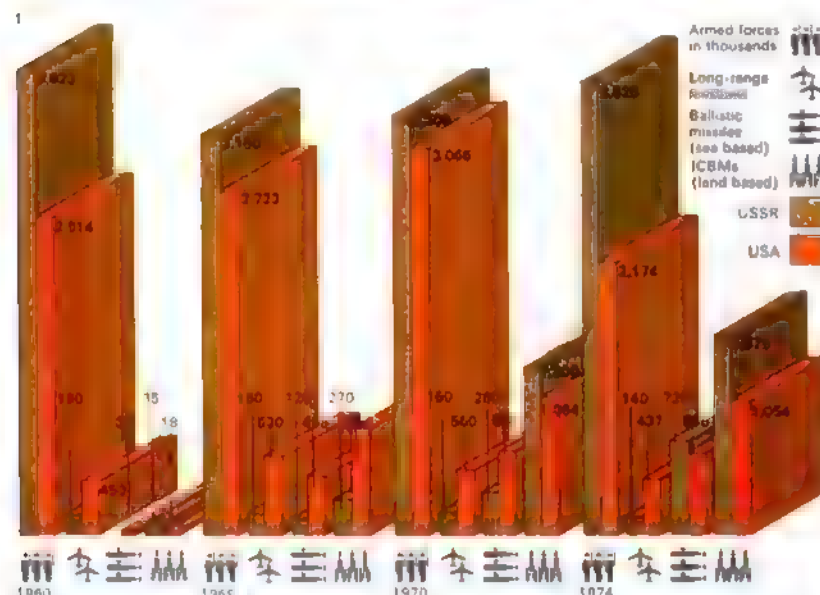
At their level the two superpowers agreed tacitly at least - to respect each other's spheres of influence and this implied an acceptance of the alliances as they stood. But at the European level there were certain attempts to change the existing system. In Eastern Europe such attempts arose from a desire to win greater independence from the Soviet Union. In Western Europe they arose from a sense of growing economic power and partly from a wish to see greater liberalization in the East. The most articulate spokesman of this Western European approach was President Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970) [9], who went so far as to take France out of military commitments to NATO (but not the alliance) in 1966 in an attempt to create a more flexible political system in Europe.

However, from 1963 onwards the two superpowers developed an increasingly close understanding, based on the attempt not only

CONNECTIONS

See also

1955-1962
1962-1969
1969-1975
1975-1981
1981-1988
1988-1995
1995-2001
2001-2008
2008-2015
2015-2022



1 The USSR maintains a much larger army than the US and now has a greater number of land and sea based strategic missiles, although the number of nuclear warheads held by each side is uncertain.

2 In 1956 there was a popular revolt against communism in Hungary. The rebel government, headed by Imre Nagy (1895-1958), demanded that the Russian troops leave. Instead more tanks arrived in

November and during the next two weeks thousands of freedom fighters were killed by Soviet troops. Despite de-Stalinization in Russia, the Hungarians were not allowed to break up the Eastern bloc.



3 Instead of leading to better relations, the scaling down of the policies of Joseph Stalin (often referred to as de-Stalinization) and the subsequent Prague Spring proved to be a prelude to crisis. Through pressure on Berlin Nikita Khrushchev tried to force the West to acknowledge the division of Germany. But the two superpowers also tried to manage the crisis through a process of understanding. Although at the 1959 meeting Eisenhower and Khrushchev failed to resolve the crisis it set a precedent for later negotiations and suggested that the powers recognize that their interests in avoiding war were more important than victory from a conflict.



4 A new crisis arose when an American intelligence aircraft was shot down in Russia in May 1960. The pilot Gary Powers, was captured. At the Paris conference in May Khrushchev demanded that Eisenhower apologize for the incident.

When the US President refused Khrushchev left the conference which then broke up. He also withdrew his offer to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. Eisenhower had previously accepted responsibility for the incident.

5 The relationship between President Kennedy and Khrushchev fluctuated over the years 1961-3. They first met in Vienna in 1961 to discuss the future of Berlin. Khrushchev demanded an end to

the military occupation but Kennedy did not agree with him. It was not until they reached the brink of war over Cuba that the Soviet premier began to respect the young, inexperienced Kennedy.



To avoid nuclear war but also to control the arms race that might produce it. Their agreements began in 1963 with the renunciation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere or space, they continued through the attempt to halt the spread of nuclear weapons (which might have made other conflicts more dangerous) in the non-proliferation treaty of 1968, and they culminated in a whole series of talks and agreements designed to control the dangerous new weaponry that each was capable of developing – the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) [8].

This understanding on controlling the arms race also helped to provide the basis for other agreements, most notably the Berlin Agreement of 1972 that reduced conflict, in addition a series of economic agreements designed to create a positive interest in détente were reached.

Problems in Eastern Europe

But this process of increased understanding was not smooth. The period of relative Soviet tolerance ended in 1968 when the Soviet Union and members of the Warsaw Pact

invaded Czechoslovakia to destroy the programme for democratic government of Alexander Dubček (1921-)

Thereafter it was the West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt (1913-) [10] who restored European détente at about the same time as the two superpowers began the SALT talks. Brandt's *Ostpolitik* established political and economic agreements between West Germany, the Soviet Union and Poland, and subsequently East Germany. It was this last agreement that led to the recognition of East Germany by all the Western powers. Since his *Ostpolitik* was also instrumental in bringing about the Berlin Agreement, it laid to rest two of the major causes of tension of the entire cold war.

Detente was by then firmly established and became the basis of US foreign policy under Henry Kissinger (1923-). At the same time the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, culminating at Helsinki in 1975, established the guidelines for agreement over a range of issues. It was still unclear how far detente could lead to real co-operation, but the foundations had been laid.



The independence of Austria was restored by treaty in 1955 as the Allies had agreed it would be after

was not signing
the Treaty in Vienna
However, the Warsaw
Pact had been set
up the day before
enabling St...

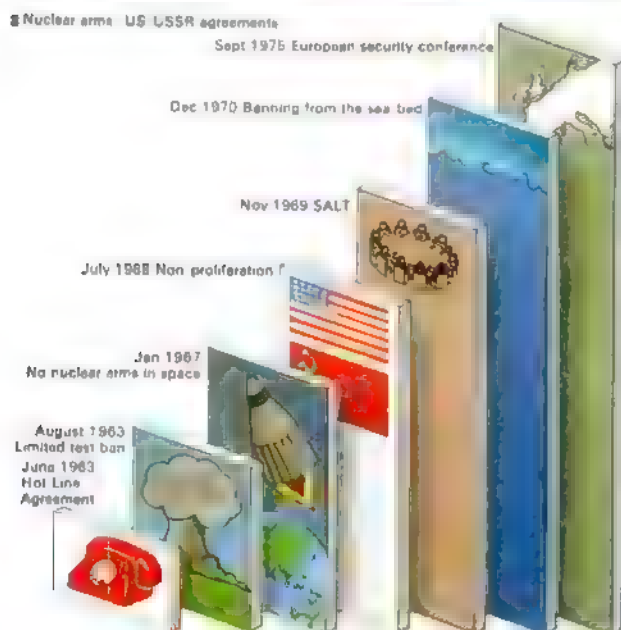
Whether this was in
fact a conspiracy of
forces if the cold
war was not known
that an agreement
could be made
and the cold
war was uncertain



By 1961 the refugee flood from East Berlin threatened East Germany itself. The government has tried to stem the flow by sealing the city off, but finally began

7 In October 1962
the US discovered
that Russia had set up
missile bases in Cuba
installed by Khrush
Evil US super
iority President
Kennedy demanded
at the Security

Coupled the removal of the missiles and isolated Cuba with naval forces. Khrushchev of the Soviet Union was forced to withdraw if the United States was allowed Turkish nuclear missiles. This resulted in the Cuban Missile Crisis.



6 After the Cuban crisis, East and West tried to come to agreement on control of the arms race and on forms of co operation which gave each side an interest in maintaining détente. They substituted agreement for threat



10 Willy Brandt
was German Chancellor from 1969 to 1974 when he harmonized the attitudes of defense that developed in France during the 1960s. He established a new relationship with the USSR and improved relations with the East.

offer amends for German atrocities
war him trust abroad
H. Ostrowski led
Western recogni
tion of East Germany
and ended the post
war German problem

Oil and the world's economies

In October 1973, the structure of the international oil industry was transformed. OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, took upon itself the right to set world crude oil prices without consultation with oil companies or oil importing states.

Within three months, world crude oil prices had risen by 400 per cent. Actually price pressure from OPEC had started at the end of 1971, when the price for one barrel of light Arabian crude was \$1.80. By January 1, 1974, the price was \$11.65. In early 1982, the price was \$34 a barrel.

To enforce this right to control prices, the OPEC states - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, Indonesia, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Algeria, Qatar and Nigeria - declared that in future they would become responsible for and owners of all oil and gas industry operations within their borders. In each case, these amounted to more than 90 per cent of gross national product, in other words, almost all those countries' industrial wealth. The small oil producers, Gabon and Ecuador, have joined OPEC since 1973, to give the organization

a membership of 13 nations.

Prior to this 'nationalization', oil fields in OPEC states had been owned and operated by oil companies. In particular they were owned by seven companies - the 'Seven Sisters' - Esso (now Exxon), Gulf, Texaco, Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Mobil and Standard Oil of California.

These steps gave economic and political power to OPEC members unrivalled by any other consortium of nations, and underlined the fact that almost every activity and product of industrialized society depends on oil, either for transportation, or for manufacture.

The consequences

It is estimated that OPEC countries possess 67 per cent of the world's total known reserves of crude oil and 32.8 per cent of the world's known natural gas reserves. For the whole world these total figures in 1982 were 648,525 million barrels of crude oil and 73,462 billion cubic metres of gas.

The energy importing areas most affected by the OPEC decision of October 1973

were western Europe, the United States and Japan. Oil was first discovered and commercialized in the US, and it had long been the world's largest producer with output running at some eight million barrels a day. But by the beginning of 1972, the US had become a net importer of oil. At that time, Japan relied on imported crude for some 80 per cent of its primary energy sources, while Europe was dependent for more than half its energy on imported petroleum.

In addition, the brilliant marketing operations of the international oil companies, and the fact that for some 15 years prior to 1970 oil had hardly changed in price, stimulated an ever increasing demand for oil and oil products. Throughout the 1960s, world oil demand had increased at some five to six per cent, per year. The oil companies, at the cost of billions of dollars, had installed refineries and distribution networks to meet this hunger for the cheapest and most convenient form of energy the world had ever known. They were committed to oil.

So it was the very success of the international oil companies that delivered such

CONNECTIONS

See also
 ENGLAND
 FRANCE
 GERMANY
 ITALY
 JAPAN
 NETHERLANDS
 NORWAY
 PORTUGAL
 SPAIN
 SWEDEN
 SWITZERLAND
 UNITED STATES

1 His Excellency Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani is probably the most influential figure in the whole OPEC partnership. As the oil minister of Saudi Arabia, which owns and produces more oil than any other OPEC state, he frequently sets oil

policy for the organization. His country typifies the paradoxes of the new oil-rich Middle East states. It is still very undeveloped - slavery was only declared illegal in 1962 - yet the royal family is one of the world's wealthiest.



3 A blow out in the Gulf of Mexico, the major problem of producing oil on shore or at sea is the possibility, albeit rare, of a blow out. Oil is trapped underground in vast reservoirs, along with considerable quantities of gas. Indeed it is usually the pressure of the gas in the reservoir that forces the liquid to the surface. Precautions are taken to ensure that the often enormous pressure is safely

contained but on occasions it becomes too much for the control valves which get blown away. In the last few years, where gas blew out the valves on the seabed and bubbled to the surface enveloping the rig in a vast envelope of gas. The merest spark set a gas cloud alight which is why no smoking is allowed on oil rigs. Following ignition, the first objective is usually to move the rig away from the burning gas



2 Flaring away the gas: almost every oil well gives not only oil in liquid form but gases. In remote oilfields such as this it tends to be too costly to collect the gas and store it for piping to a market. For this reason, the gas is separated, fed through pipes and ignited. The resulting flares are not to be confused with those often seen at oil refineries where waste gases produced are being flared off. The big oil companies are more and more anxious not to waste gas at source - a

consequence of the high price and heavy demand for oil products, plus declining reserves. As more gas is saved for use, flares such as these will become rarer. Gas or oil pipes are usually made of welded steel and up to 1.22 m (48 in) in diameter. They are covered with a protective material or buried underground. Pumping stations along the line keep up the flow. Sometimes gases are stored by cooling them to the point where they liquify so economizing on space.

power into the hands of OPEC. The extent of this power may be gauged from the fact that by 1975 Western Europe had refinery capacity installed to handle up to 1,000 million tons of crude oil a year, or 20 million barrels a day, of which more than 98 per cent. was to be imported. This heavy dependence on imported energy is a post World War II development. Before then, most of the energy needs of that area were met from its own resources, with indigenous coal covering some 90 per cent. of the demand. When oil runs out, coal is likely to become the key energy source once again.

Growth and decline in oil demand

From 1956-73, the demand for energy in Western Europe grew by the equivalent of an average of 50 million tonnes of oil a year, an average annual growth rate of five per cent. Largely as a result of the OPEC price rises, this rapid growth came to an end in 1973, dropping to eight million tonnes of oil equivalent in 1973-8, a growth rate of less than one per cent. In 1974 and 1975 there was actually negative growth. Oil demand

in 1980 was down to less than the peak level reached in the fateful year of 1973.

The recession was the main cause for this reduction, but the efficiency with which energy was used also improved after 1973. Since 1973, the relationship between growth in demand for oil in Western Europe, and overall economic growth has diminished.

The tax factor

One additional factor completes the picture. By the end of 1979, world oil consumption - rather than just Western Europe's - was running at the highest ever - 60 million barrels a day. There were grave fears that supplies would, by the end of the century, be unable to meet demand. Large-scale conservation measures were introduced to cut consumption, but almost certainly the most effective was taxation. Most states in Western Europe were gaining more revenue on a barrel of oil consumed than any OPEC state earned on a barrel produced. So not only OPEC but the consumer states' themselves contributed to the world price inflation generally put down to the price of oil.



An OPEC ministerial meeting, when all its member states oil ministers are present, is held twice yearly. There are always two main items on the agenda. The first an

oil pricing discussion, can be tense. The cartel's strength is its solidarity, and twice Saudi Arabia has disagreed with its low members refusing to raise its price. Despite

this, the organization has remained united. The second item is allocation of the OPEC fund, which provides financial loans for developing nations.

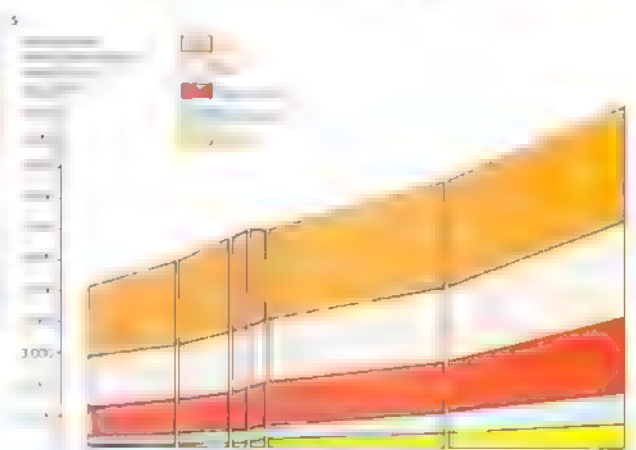


4 Queues of cars at petrol stations were first seen in October 1973, when OPEC cut off supplies to some Western countries in

the Arab-Israeli war. Available oil had to be shared out, so even the US was short for a while. Many fear that oil supply will not

meet demand by the year 2000, but conservation should ensure that queuing occurs again only due to political action.

5 The chart shows basic world energy consumption and underlines the often forgotten importance



6 Ninian Central, one of the concrete oil production platforms in the North Sea, is a reminder of the enormous investment required to exploit oil from under the seabed. Concrete is now preferred to steel in oil platforms. The flare (no longer seen on this platform) was for burning off gas coming up with the oil; now gases are piped ashore from the site. The cranes are for lifting heavy items such as drill bits and drilling pipes out of the visiting work boats. The UK's North Sea oil fields (of which Ninian is one) made it self-sufficient in fact a net exporter of crude oil in 1980. This gives a degree of protection from the whims of OPEC. However OPEC's worldwide influence remains unchanged because it produces so much more oil than it needs. The USSR has the largest

'North-South' Relations

North-South relations, so called, achieved much journalistic currency during the mid 1970s, with North-South becoming an overused metaphor to draw attention to the fundamental contrasts between rich and poor countries. (For a full account of these see pages 1788-9). Determining what real progress has, or could be made in resolving these potentially dangerous inequalities is not easy. The facts are too often obscured by jargon and by high level, but ineffective conferences.

The initial impetus for serious consideration of the problem began in 1974 at the sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development. Here it was that the Third World participants promoted a declaration and programme of action for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) to better serve their interests.

On the face of it, North-South relations appear to have been considered either at a global level in the UN and its agencies, or in individual conferences. UN activity was particularly marked in 1974-5 and again in the

early 1980s, but by 1982 there had been no real progress at this level. Of the conferences that on International Economic Co-operation (CIEC) at Paris during 1975-7, and at Cancun, in Mexico during October 1981, were the most publicized. The two-day summit meeting at Cancun brought together heads of governments and states from eight developed countries and 14 developing countries. It stemmed from a proposal made in the Brandt Report [4], published early in 1980 with the title *North-South: A Programme for Survival*.

The Soviet Union showed no interest in participating, but China did. The new Reagan government in the US insisted that it should be a deliberative, not a decision-taking body. So while vital issues were discussed, no actual agreements were made.

The Third World organizations

Collectively, the Third World consists of the ex-colonial, newly independent, usually poor countries who are today mostly associated in the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) - and the Group of Seventy-seven

G77. From these two come the most active advocacy of a new economic order.

China is something of a rogue elephant in the Third World, a member of G77 but not of NAM, usually advocating Third World causes and sharply critical of the Soviet Union and, less often, of the US.

The major trade organizations

Looking beyond the rather stylized occasions of the North-South meetings, there are several organizations which have a continuous effect of real significance.

First, GATT - the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade - the nearest the world has to a general set of rules on international trade. These are based on two broad principles: reciprocity, or mutual advantage, and non-discrimination. GATT however depends on the consent of its signatories and their sense of their mutual needs. There are many types of barrier to trade between North and South with which it cannot deal.

The European Economic Community - the EEC - is another matter. Five members are ex-colonial powers, and the community

CONNECTIONS

See also

1788-9
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1 Bombay - where a crowd congregating for a meeting, rally, protest or even just a bath is likely to be thousands or tens of thousands rather than merely hundreds strong. The city exemplifies the paradoxical nature of India's problems, and those of other Third World countries. Her population is so vast that poverty and illiteracy occur on an unmanageable scale yet they co-exist with a degree of western-style prosperity and high technology. India is now capable of launching vehicles into space. Bombay is India's principal business city with an economy increasingly orientated to oil, in particular India's own offshore oil field, Bombay High, but also trading with other oil producers around the Persian Gulf. The origins of Bombay's wealth and growing population, are late 19th century, when the city began to grow into a great cotton trading centre.

2 Debts of Third World - intensified the debt crisis. Two billion dollars in 1970, loans may be unavailing.



3 Lessons in progress at a US Peace Corps school in Chad - a reminder that aid though not sufficient for the needs of the Third World is continually given. Undeveloped nations have a high proportion of young to old (a result of limited life expectancy), so a significant portion of the money available is spent on education. Several European countries have similar overseas service organizations to the Peace Corps, much of their work being done by young, unpaid volunteers.



brought many colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and, in the early 1980s, the Pacific into an aid and trade association, the Lomé Convention, with more than 50 members.

The EEC has also made a number of other formal links with Asian countries, so it is undoubtedly the Northern body with the most extensive Southern ties.

COMECON is eastern Europe's nearest equivalent to the EEC. Its members back markets in foreign currency and high levels of debt to Western commercial banks starkly reveal COMECON's economic weakness and consequently its relatively low appeal to the South with its economic problems.

OPPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, is a major dispenser of aid to the developing countries, although the choice of recipients is selective.

OECD compared with COMECON

Propaganda often suggests that the Soviet Union and COMECON countries are closer to the Third World than the rich industrialized democracies of the OECD. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Develop-

ment. But the figures suggest otherwise.

In 1980, the COMECON countries dispensed aid totalling \$1.8 billion to a few developing countries. The same year, the 24 OECD countries dispensed \$26.7 billion to almost 100 developing countries. As a proportion of gross domestic product, OECD aid was roughly three times that of COMECON. In trade terms, Third World oil importers sold \$15.2 billion of exports to the OECD countries in 1980, but only \$1.5 billion to COMECON.

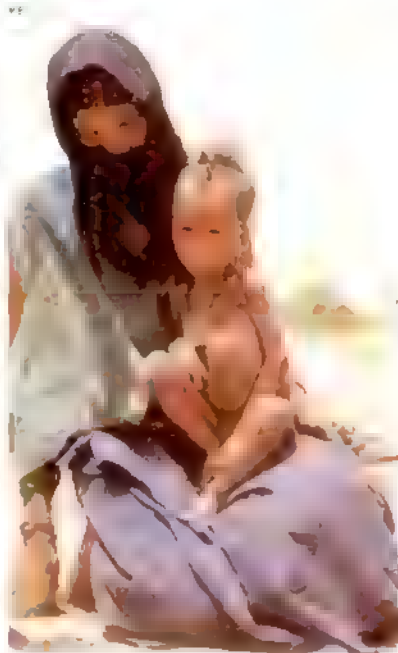
In some respects, the 1970s did give a new shape to the world economy, though hardly a radical one. Along the lines specified in the New International Economic Order proposal. Thus little was achieved by the formal North-South negotiations, and what actually evolved, and will inevitably continue to evolve, are new patterns of economic power, with new centres of production, finance and trade, and with them new trading relationships between nations. For developing countries, the vital concern is to anticipate where and how these will take place.

4 Children and food bowls - to many Northerners the most emotive image of Third World poverty. Concern for

the problem is not as the Brandt Report points out enough. Developed countries cannot afford not to give aid to and invest

in the Third World. The latter is particularly important because setting up new ~~aid~~ ^{aid} ~~will~~ ^{will} create new jobs, new

wealth, and hence new markets for the developed world's goods, for which ~~developing nations may~~ ^{developing nations may} be struggling.



Victims of drought - a Tuareg woman and child in the Sahel region of Africa, where the devastations of the Third World are as sharply illustrated as anywhere on earth. Bordered by the Sahara, Senegal and Ethiopia, the Sahel is a narrow strip of land, by drought its main agricultural resource was traditionally used by a few nomadic herds. During the 1970s, the region's population grew to 10 million. For children, the average is a meagre 47 years compared with 72 years for Europe and Australia. Tuareg, the most often mentioned people of the Sahel, are nomadic herders. In many countries, people are dying directly or indirectly of drought.



5 A skeleton forest in Brazil attempts to renew forestry are important because of bad management. A good while ago, the area was a lush forest. The trees were useless. This is because trees attract rainfall and hold the soil in place, removing them creates wasteland.

6 Señor Perez de Cuellar, a Peruvian diplomat, succeeded Dr Kun Wadhem as Secretary General of the UN in January 1982. He succeeded in dealing the North-South problems as a priority. No. 14 Secretary General can be expected to end the rhetoric that surrounds this topic but he can set guidelines for what the unwieldy UN can contribute practically.



Turbulent Africa

By the end of the 1970s, African hopes of prosperity were overshadowed by major economic problems. The world recession meant a decline in demand for the raw materials that Africa supplied to world markets. The real value of African exports had fallen dramatically. At the same time, this largely unindustrialized continent, so dependent on consumer and capital goods manufactured in the industrialized world was forced to pay higher and higher prices for imports made more and more expensive by inflation in the 'developed' world.

About 25 per cent of the continent's population were deemed to be living in absolute poverty. Of the 31 states in the world designated 'least developed' by the United Nations, 20 were in Africa. In addition, the continent's population was expanding at the rate of 2.7 per cent per year. Social and economic planning had become a nightmare for African politicians.

The coups

These intractable problems largely account for the political turbulence of Africa in the

late 70s and early 80s. Government after government found itself unable to reverse processes beyond control, internal dissent and revolution were the consequences. Coups took place in the Central African Empire (1979) [4], Equatorial Guinea (1979), Ghana (1982), Liberia (1980), Mauritania (1980) and Uganda (1979), mostly at the hands of the military. Chad suffered a protracted civil war.

There was a series of major inter-state conflicts. In the north-west there was the struggle for mastery of what had, until 1976, been Spanish Sahara. Although Mauritania renounced its claims to the territory in 1979, a guerrilla war continued to rage between Algerian-backed Polisario fighters and the Moroccan army.

In the Horn of Africa, the area known as Ogaden erupted as its largely Somali speaking population claimed independence from Ethiopian rule. This struggle led to the active intervention of the government of Somalia and its troops in the area. In 1978 a massive campaign by Ethiopian forces with Soviet and Cuban support crushed the rising

[2]. The Somalis withdrew, and in revenge expelled the Soviet officials in their country.

In the north of Ethiopia, its government claimed victory over the insurgents of the Eritrean Liberation Front. However, much of the countryside continued to be controlled by the rebels. In the southern Zairian province of Shaba (previously Katanga) a serious rebellion erupted, and was repressed with the help of mercenary and foreign troops.

South Africa

The Republic of South Africa continued to support rebel movements in the newly independent states of Angola [3] and Mozambique and sent ground and air forces into their territory on search and destroy missions. South Africa also intervened in the affairs of Namibia (formerly South West Africa), despite United Nations pressure for disengagement and free elections as a prelude to independence. The Pretoria politicians pursued their own 'internal solution', holding elections in which the major black African nationalist party, SWAPO, was banned.

CONNECTIONS

See also

1979	Angola	4
1979	Equatorial Guinea	4
1980	Ghana	4
1980	Liberia	4
1980	Mauritania	4
1979	Uganda	4
1979	Chad	4
1979	Spanish Sahara	4
1979	Polisario	4
1979	Algeria	4
1979	Morocco	4
1979	Somalia	4
1979	Ethiopia	4
1979	Eritrea	4
1979	Zaire	4
1979	Shaba	4
1979	Katanga	4
1979	South Africa	4
1979	Namibia	4
1979	SWAPO	4



1 Jomo Kenyatta, one of the most successful African leaders of the twentieth century, ruled Kenya from independence in 1963 until his death in 1978. A veteran leader of the Kikuyu

people, the largest ethnic group in the country, his career in politics dated back to the 1920s. His party portrayed him as the kindly old father of his people, but he was a tough and shrewd politician.

3 Portuguese soldiers left Angola on the eve of independence in 1975 - but Zaire, South Africa and Cuban forces were to aid opposing factions in the ensuing civil war.



2 Troops prepare to do battle in the Ogaden, the part of south eastern Ethiopia claimed by Somalia. These are paratroops, their odd

looking helmets are worn inside a metal hat to help prevent injury on landing. The level of military aid that lies behind the line turn-out amounts

every year to far greater expenditure by the developed world than on food and medical aid. With Soviet and Cuban assistance, Ethiopia

threw back the Somalis, but local insurgents continued a guerrilla war. Somalia is formerly aided by the USSR, called in the US



Major diplomatic efforts involving the US and FEC countries continue the search for a solution

Internally, South Africa's promised switch to a more liberal policy, under P W Botha, the prime minister elected in 1978, produced few concrete results: he was apparently unable to carry the right wing of his own National Party in the direction of even limited reform. The tribal 'homelands' such as Venda, Bophuthatswana and the Transkei, granted 'independence' by the government in Pretoria, continued essentially as client states of South Africa with no chance of true independence

Achievements

Negative as much of recent African history seems, there are some genuinely bright spots. Rhodesia achieved independence in 1980 [5] following a bloody liberation struggle by nationalist forces. The new prime minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, soon gained recognition as an astute and respected figure

In Nigeria, Africa's largest nation state

4 The 'coronation' of Emperor Bokassa I: Jean Bedel Bokassa, an officer in the army of the Central African Republic (1.650 men), overthrew the civilian head of state, M David Dacko, in a coup d'état in January 1979. The country (formerly French Equatorial Africa) is, even among undeveloped African states, exceptionally poor and primitive. The health service

was manned in 1978 by just 102 doctors, 131 midwives, 510 nurses, five pharmacists and one dentist serving a population then estimated at between 2.5 and 3.5 million. Bokassa set about imposing a violent repressive and corrupt personal rule which culminated in 1976, with his proclamation of himself as Emperor. The costly trappings

of the ceremony shocked observers. The country's name was changed to the Central African Empire. Three years later Bokassa was removed in a coup which put David Dacko back in power. The Empire returned to being a plain republic. Two years later Dacko once more surrendered power, to the army commander General André Kolleba.

(now even more significant because of her massive oil reserves), 13 years of military rule ended when the army returned to barracks following general elections in 1979. In Upper Volta a similar period of military rule ended with popular elections. The death of Kenya's veteran leader Jomo Kenyatta [1] was followed by a remarkably peaceful transfer of power to his successor Daniel Arap Moi. Successful multi-party elections were held in Senegal in 1978.

The ideal of African unity was served in a variety of ways. Many West African states moved towards a form of economic community under the aegis of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). A further, albeit minor step towards unity was achieved after the Gambian government effectively forestalled an attempted coup in 1981 with the help of its neighbour Senegal. This led to the foundation of a united Senegambia. The Organisation of African Unity, the Economic Commission for Africa and a number of other all-African bodies continue to work for continental co-operation, peace and development.



Tanzanian troops liberating Uganda: in fact it was rare for one African state to actually invade another during the 1970s. Most troubles were internal. In this

case id Amin then President of Uganda, had occupied part of neighbouring Tanzania. Tanzanian troops retaliated by marching into Uganda, and with the

support of Amin's opponents eventually deposed him. This paved the way for a civilian government in a country which had suffered terribly under that cruel dictator.

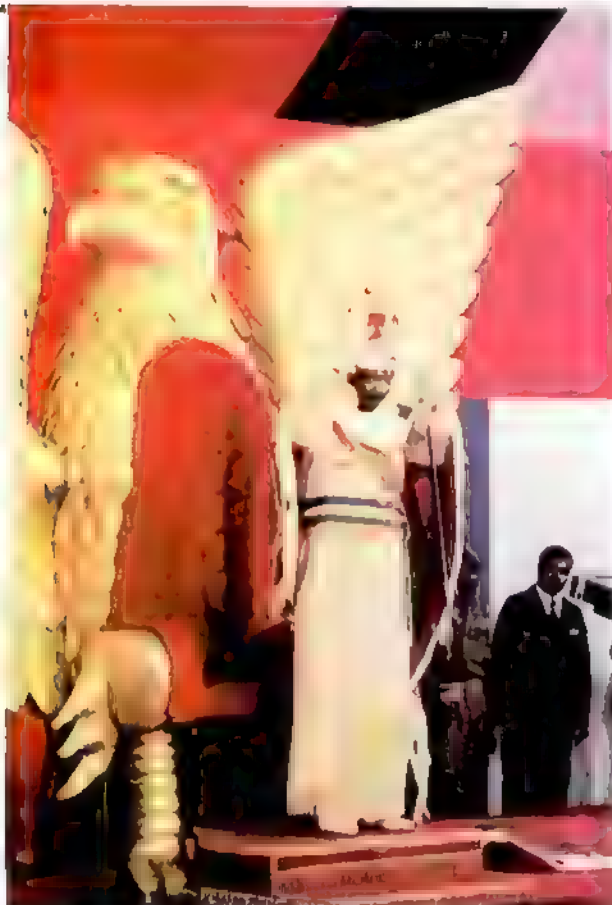


5 Salisbury celebrates the victory of Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo at the elections which took Rhodesia to independence in

1980. The huge win led to Mugabe's instalment as President, but the alliance between the two men eventually broke down.

6 Nairobi's modern skyline and huge sprawl disguise the fact that it is hardly more than 80 years old. With a population of about three

quarters of a million Nairobi like many African cities has splendid new districts sitting side by side with tragic and squalid shanty towns.



US foreign affairs from the late 1970s

Jimmy Carter's election to the presidency of the United States in November 1976 brought an end to the 'Vietnamisation' of the war in Indochina. He was elected on a platform of ending the war in Vietnam. His experience of the Vietnam War had been as a United States Congressman and as a member of the Government of Georgia.

His Democratic Alliance's motto was 'to note that we need to be his strength and we need to be his weakness'. Your government must be the catalyst for both 'major and companion sectors'. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute.

He appointed Andrew Young, a friend and of Dr Martin Luther King, as his Ambassador to the UN. His Secretary of State was Cyrus Vance. The strongest area of foreign policy was that of his Assistant for National Security Affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski. Though believing in détente, he took a firm line towards the USSR and believed in negotiation, not retreat. Nuclear policy was a key factor in the decision in February

1977 to reduce military and economic aid to Argentina, Uruguay and Ethiopia in the grounds of the violation of human rights in those countries.

As a result, relations with a number of Latin American countries worsened. Argentina protested at the US for its 'tentatious and unacceptable judgements'. The US also criticised the nuclear agreement made between Brazil and West Germany in 1975, which provided for the construction of plants in Brazil for irradiated fuel processing and uranium enrichment.

While relations between Cuba and the US also remained tense, especially over alleged CIA sponsorship of the hijacking of Cuban planes, attempts were made to establish diplomatic contact in 1977 and to make trade and travel concessions.

A similar idealism moved the President in urging Britain to make a constitutional settlement with Rhodesia and to accept the principle of majority rule in pardoning Vietnam war draft evaders (January 1977), in cancelling the B-1 bomber project, in phasing out the troops in Korea (February

1977) and notably in an agreement with Panama by which, by the year 2000, the government of Panama would assume responsibility for the canal and the canal zone with the canal itself staying permanently neutral (September 1977).

Major Achievements

There were three major achievements, starting with the nuclear non-proliferation Act of March 1978.

The second was the Camp David agreement (September 1978) with Prime Minister Begin of Israel and President Sadat of Egypt. It brought about (the reluctant) Israeli agreement to withdraw from Sinai (which it had occupied in 1967) and the visits exchanged by Mr Begin to Cairo and President Sadat to Jerusalem (1977). However, Sadat's murder in 1981 and Israel's strengthening of its forces on the Golan Heights (to protect its north eastern boundary) indicated how far from a final solution the settlement was.

The third and major achievement (after three years' negotiation) was the second

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29

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 2), signed in Vienna in June 1979 by President Carter and President Brezhnev. Its ratification was recommended by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in November after a series of stormy debates but by that time events in Iran, and within a month in Afghanistan, had altered the American mood.

The President announced in January 1980 that while he believed the Treaty was in the long term interests of security and world peace, its ratification by the full Senate should be deferred in the light of the invasion of Afghanistan.

On November 4, 1979 a group of militant Iranian "students" had occupied the US embassy in Tehran and seized its 50 staff as hostages in order to compel extradition from the US of the former Shah of Iran. They accused the hostages of espionage on behalf of the US. Efforts at mediation failed. Iran cut its oil supplies to the West.

In the aftermath of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, a further hardening of attitudes took place. The UN

General Assembly called for Russian troop withdrawals. The US (and other countries) decided to boycott the Olympic Games to be held in Moscow in 1980. It was announced that any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf would be repelled by military force if necessary. Economic and military aid was offered to Pakistan (March 1980) but refused; military aid was offered to China, economic sanctions, including a grain embargo, was imposed against the USSR.

Plans were announced to facilitate the reintroduction of the draft, should it be needed. At the same time, relations with Libya worsened, since it was seen as a main supplier of funds to international guerrilla groups. There was increased US activity in the Caribbean, notably at the base at Guantanamo in Cuba, and criticism of the scale of the Russian training unit on that island. Realism replaced idealism.

Ronald Reagan, the former Republican Governor of California, took office in January 1981, just as the American hostages in Tehran were being released.



Ronald Reagan
In 1981, Reagan was elected President of the US. He strongly criticized the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Soviet support for the Polish trade union, Solidarity. He also criticized the military takeover in Poland, which was due to Soviet pressure. Reagan's foreign policy was a return to a strong defense posture. To counter the Soviet military build-up, he announced in October 1981 a six-year \$180-billion defence programme including 100 MX missiles to replace antiquated Titans and Minutemen and 100 new B1 bombers.



5 Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shah of Iran, tried to bring forward his backward country but his own wealth and lifestyle caused religious groups to oppose him. Corruption and repression became rampant. The Shah was driven to ruthlessness. There were riots, strikes and mass anti-American and British feeling. In January 1979 the Shah went into exile. His illness led the US to give him refuge which inflamed Iranian nationalism. US religious radicals had to stand firm to the security of his staff at the US embassy in Tehran. The Shah died of cancer in July 1980 and his son assumed the title.



7 The failed rescue mission the dramatic, proudly displayed the bodies of the US. The US announced during the attempt to rescue the hostages. One of the helicopters that landed at the Great Salt Lake rendezvous had a cracked nut that caused a leak in a hydraulic pump. It was unable to take off again. As the plan demanded a minimum of six helicopters, Carter canceled the operation. During the pull-out one helicopter crashed with a transmission and five injured. The survivors departed in the remaining transports, the five helicopters and the dead were left behind. It was announced that any similar action would endanger the lives of the hostages and moved them from the embassy.



6 El Salvador government so direly protest workers restoring a pipeline destroyed by guerrillas. For more than half a century this extremely poor country, dependent on the world price of coffee, has been ruled by military dictators. For much of that time, and particularly after the appointment of Duarte as President in 1978, left-wing guerrillas, supplied from Cuba and Nicaragua, kept the country in turmoil by their efforts to overthrow the government. In early 1981 President Reagan resumed the supply of arms that Carter had suspended in 1978. In 1981 55 US military advisers were sent there with orders not to engage in combat, but the bulk of the US contribution was economic.

The Collapse of Détente

Détente—a relaxing of international tension—was the dominant theme of Soviet policy in the seventies, but it began to collapse in 1975. The Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, signed that year, had seemed to embody the new co-operative atmosphere, but it was the last multilateral gesture of détente.

To Soviet leaders, détente implied a reduction of East-West tension: it did not preclude ideological and economic competition, nor an extension of Soviet influence in the world, but Western leaders believed the Soviet expansion in the Third World threatened East-West relations. Between 1975 and 1980 there were a number of Soviet incursions into new areas. The West explained the deterioration of détente in terms of this forward Soviet policy, while Soviet leaders believed American policy towards the USSR had hardened.

Soviet Third World Relations

A coup in Portugal in 1974 brought Portuguese colonial rule in Angola to an end. Three liberation movements were already

fighting a civil war there, and when the USSR increased its support of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and transported Cuban troops into Angola, the MPLA won the war. The new socialist Angolan government established close relations with the USSR.

In the Horn of Africa, Somalia had long been a recipient of Soviet aid. When the Haile Selassie dynasty in neighbouring Ethiopia fell in 1974, Soviet relations in the Horn became very complex. Ethiopia's military regime declared itself socialist and appealed to the USSR for military aid. Somalia and Ethiopia had been in conflict for many years. Soviet efforts to resolve the conflict failed and Somalia attacked Ethiopia in 1977 to regain the disputed Ogaden area. When the USSR continued to aid Ethiopia, Somalia broke off relations. Cuban troops and Soviet advisers helped Ethiopia to win the war.

Soviet intervention in Angola and Ethiopia seemed to presage a new stage in Soviet foreign policy. The presence of Soviet advisers in countries aided by the Soviet

Union was common but this was the first time that socialist troops had been used in local wars. Although the troops were Cuban, Castro must have deployed them with Soviet approval and support. Western anxiety about Soviet expansionism began to grow.

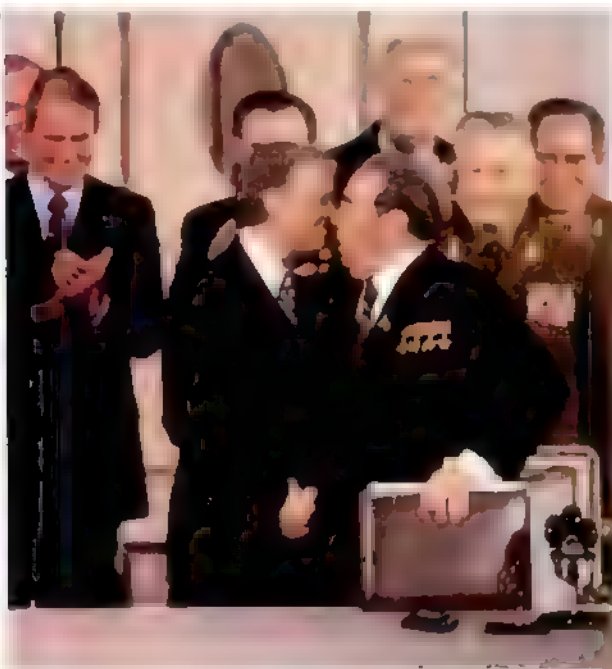
Afghanistan

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union share a border. It has always been necessary for Afghan rulers to maintain convivial relations with Russia. In April 1978, there was a Marxist coup in Afghanistan and in December a friendship and co-operation treaty was signed with the USSR.

President Taraki introduced a radical domestic programme which provoked fierce opposition. In September 1979, Taraki was replaced by Amin who was regarded as even more oppressive. Civil war threatened the survival of the Marxist regime. The Soviet Union could not tolerate the collapse of a socialist government, particularly since it would probably be replaced by a militant Islamic one. In December 1979 Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, deposed Amin

CONNECTIONS

See also

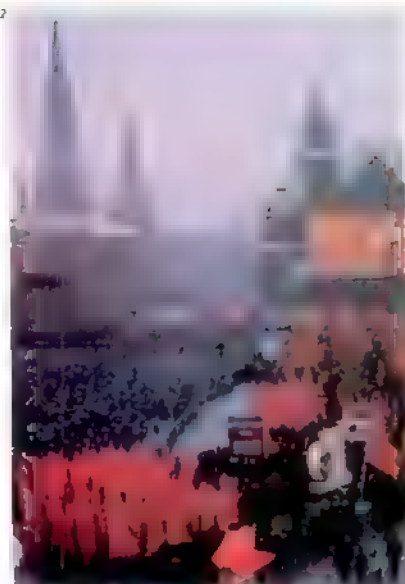
[illegible]

1 Carter and Brezhnev met in 1979 in Vienna to sign SALT 2 - the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty which it was hoped would guarantee

world peace for decades. The late 1970s were characterized by a decrease in numbers of summit meetings. Indeed this was the only occasion on

which Carter and Brezhnev met. The treaty was signed but it had taken even longer to negotiate than SALT 1 (signed 1972) and by 1979 the cold

atmosphere of
detente had been
Carter had been
elected on a human
rights platform but
Soviet leaders came
to resent his policies
and his style



2 The May Day Parade in Moscow, with its great display of military personnel and weapons, remains for many the most distinctive symbol of the Soviet regime.

3 Afghan rebels
 fled across
 resistance to the
 Soviet invasion in
 December 1979
 Many Afghan
 refugees fled across
 the border
 Pakistan then the
 major host of
 refugees continued
 to receive
 equipment both
 with the army and
 the police. The
 military forces
 were trained
 by the United States
 and other countries
 to fight the
 Soviet forces.



and replaced him with Babrak Karmal

Soviet hopes that the civil war would end quickly were disappointed [3]. The intervention cost the Soviet Union dear. Many Third World countries objected to the incursion into a non-aligned country.

Soviet-Western Relations

The West responded to the invasion of Afghanistan by economic and cultural sanctions imposed first by the United States and then rather reluctantly by NATO members. President Carter also withdrew SALT 2 ratification from the American Senate Agenda. By the time this Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty was signed in June 1979 [1], American attitudes towards the Soviet Union had hardened. Soviet leaders believed that an earlier decision to modernize nuclear missiles situated in Europe had signalled a new arms race. The West insisted that modernization was a response to the replacement of Soviet missiles with longer-range and more accurate SS 20 missiles.

For a while it seemed that arms control was unattainable. During his election cam-

paign, President Reagan expressed his approval of SALT 2 and claimed a determination to deal firmly with the Russians. But by December 1981 negotiations on the limitation of medium range missiles began.

The new arms control talks did not signify an improvement in Soviet-American relations. East-West tension had increased because of events in Poland, where economic chaos had brought down two leaders [4]. An active, popular, independent trade union movement, Solidarity, had been formed [6] which demanded a democratization of economic management and government. From mid 1980 until December 1981, Solidarity was tolerated, but hopes for a democratic Poland were dashed when martial law was declared in December 1981.

President Reagan held the Soviet Union responsible and economic and cultural sanctions were imposed against Poland and the Soviet Union. Once again, America's NATO allies followed suit reluctantly. Arms control negotiations did not fall victim to the new strained atmosphere, but the way back to detente did not appear easy.



From 1977, Brezhnev was both First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and titular head

of state. He was identified with detente by which he hoped to import technology. 1981 saw

his 75th birthday and speculation about future policy centering on the views of potential successors.

4 Jaruzelski (left) and Kania (right), the Polish leaders who achieved world notoriety during the crisis of the early eighties. Tension started with spontaneous strikes triggered by an increase in the price of meat during July 1980. Giersek, head of the Polish Communist Party, resigned in September that year. He was replaced by Kania. General Jaruzelski became prime minister in February 1981. By October that year Kania had failed to restore order and was ousted. Jaruzelski became head of Party and government and soon declared military rule.



6 Polish workers strike in Gdansk. This Baltic port was in many senses where the Polish crisis began when an informal inter-factory strike committee grew into a trade union, Solidarity, led by the

charismatic Lech Walesa. By August 1980 Solidarity had won government recognition, the right to strike and certain economic concessions. When martial law was declared it had ten

million members. Much of its success was due to Walesa's moderation in pressing for reform; the authorities may well have hardened their attitude sooner if the union's extremists had prevailed.

5 Polish soldiers enforce martial law on the streets of Warsaw. When martial law was declared on 13th December 1981, the feverish trade union activity of the previous 18 months ceased instantly. Many activists were arrested and strikes were forbidden. Virtually complete censorship made it at first extremely difficult for the foreign press to report details of the clamp-down, or of the fate of Solidarity's leaders, including Lech Walesa. Although General Jaruzelski promised that gains won by Solidarity would not all be lost and that martial law would be

temporary, the situation was still tense three months later. His hopes of finding co-operative Solidarity leaders with whom to negotiate seemed to have been misplaced. The threat of Soviet invasion appeared to have been quashed, but military rule had taken place against reports of large-scale Soviet military exercises near its border with Poland. The fear of a repetition of events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 remained strong and the future appeared to depend on a balance between pressure for radical reform and the moderation required to prevent further repressive measures.



Rulers of Britain, I

The first native ruler of England after the departure of the Romans emerged in the early fifth century. The 8th Egbert, King of Wessex from 802, became 'Breitwold', a sort of the kings in England. His successors for Centa founded Wessex in 819. In 829, the Saxons consolidated their position until they became sole kings of England. Of the subsequent monarchs, only Sweyn, Canute, a Harold's Canute II, Harold II and William I were not descended from him.

Egbert was the first of his line to have a religious coronation, a custom that has survived to modern times. Only since the Act of Settlement, 1701 has succession been by strict primogeniture, female heirs succeeding in the absence of male. Before that the

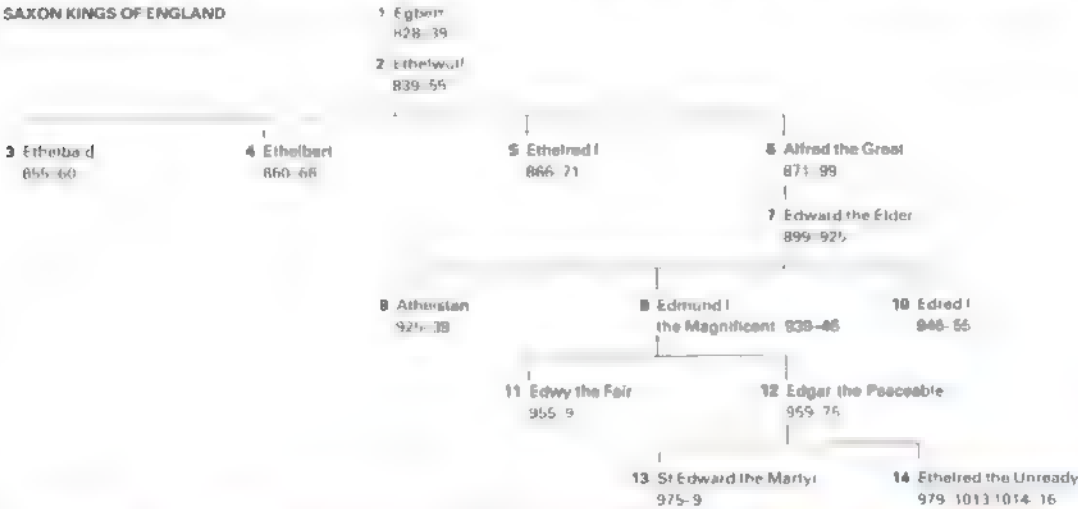
law of succession was undefined. Certain conventions are discernible: descent from Cerde, seniority by birth, designation of his successor by the reigning monarch, recognition by the great men of the realm, and the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the name of the Church, to the reigning coronation. Also admissible was the right of conquest, recognized in the cases of Sweyn, William the Conqueror, and Henry VII.

A claimant could also succeed even if he had not been designated by his predecessor nor had seniority by birth. William II was designated successor by his father, passing over his elder brother, Robert of Normandy. William II died suddenly and the youngest brother, Henry I, simply seized the

throne, the nobility and the archbishop consenting. Stephen and John rebel sons of Henry IV and Henry VII were usurpers. Henry VIII simply designated the heiress of his younger sister Mary, Queen of France, and Duchess of Suffolk, to succeed him, failing heirs to his son Edward VI.

Parliament summoned James VI of Scotland to the throne in 1603, sanctioned the rule of Oliver Cromwell and his son, restored Charles II, and deemed James II (who had fled) to have abdicated. It welcomed William III and Mary II to the throne, regulated the succession by the Act of Settlement, bringing the Hanoverians to the throne, and likewise accepted Edward VIII's abdication in 1936.

SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND



Alfred the Great, King of Wessex, circa 10th century engraving



Edward the Confessor, King of England, circa 11th century manuscript illustration

KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF DENMARK

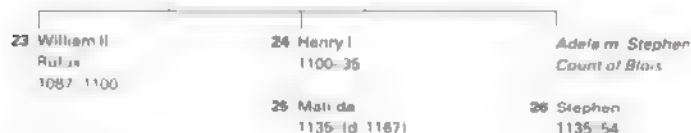
15 Sweyn, King of Denmark & Norway conquered England 1013, d. 1014

17 Canute I
Nov 1016-35



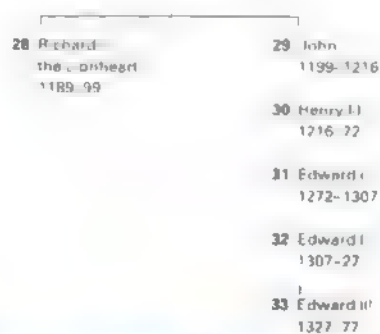
HOUSE OF NORMANDY

22 William I the Conqueror
1066-87 m. Matilda of Flanders, a descendant of Alfred the Great 16



HOUSE OF ANJOU OR PLANTAGENETS

27 Henry II
1154-89



16 Edmund II
Ironside
Apr-Nov 1016

Edward the Exile
St Margaret m. Malcolm III of Scotland
Matilda m. Henry I, 24)

20 St Edward the Confessor
1066-68

KING OF THE HOUSE OF GODWIN

21 Harold II
Jan-Oct 1066

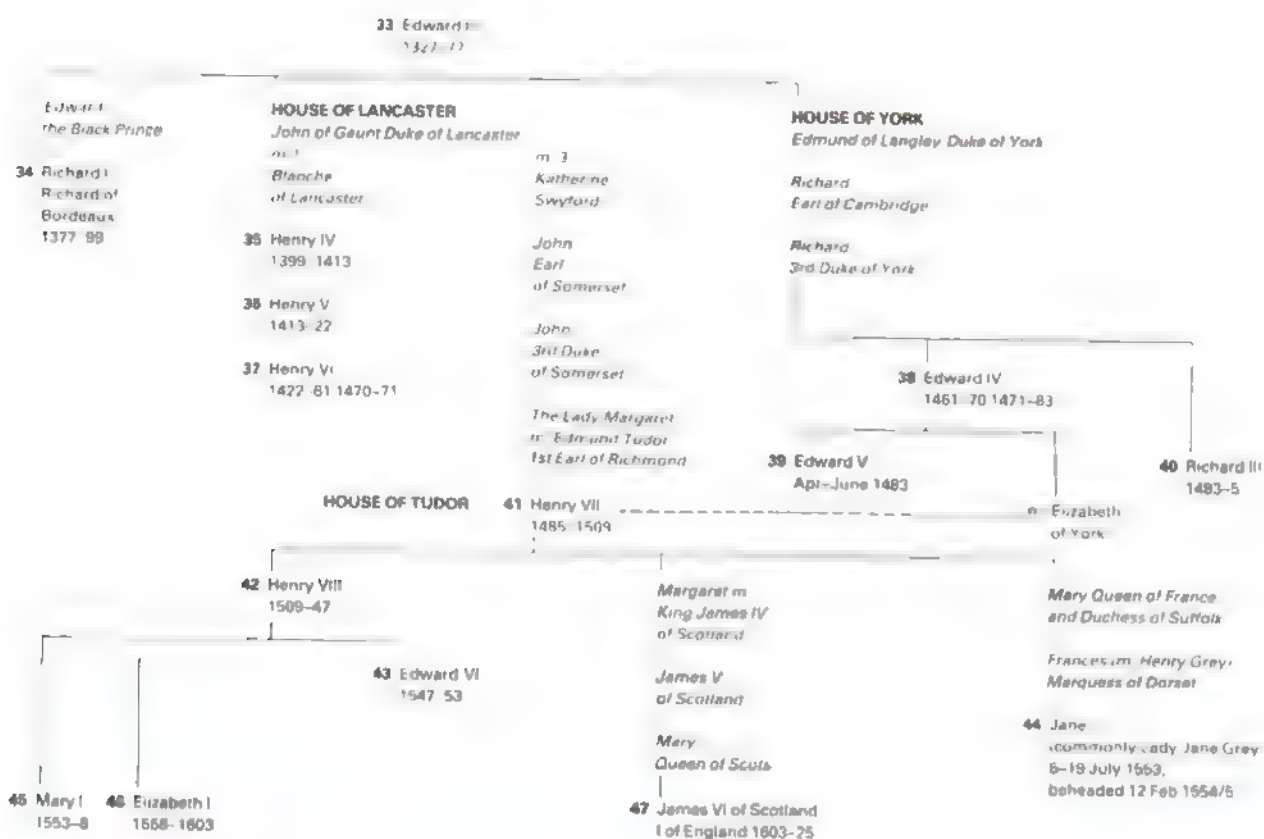


William the Conqueror, for a full century



Richard the Lionheart, for a full century

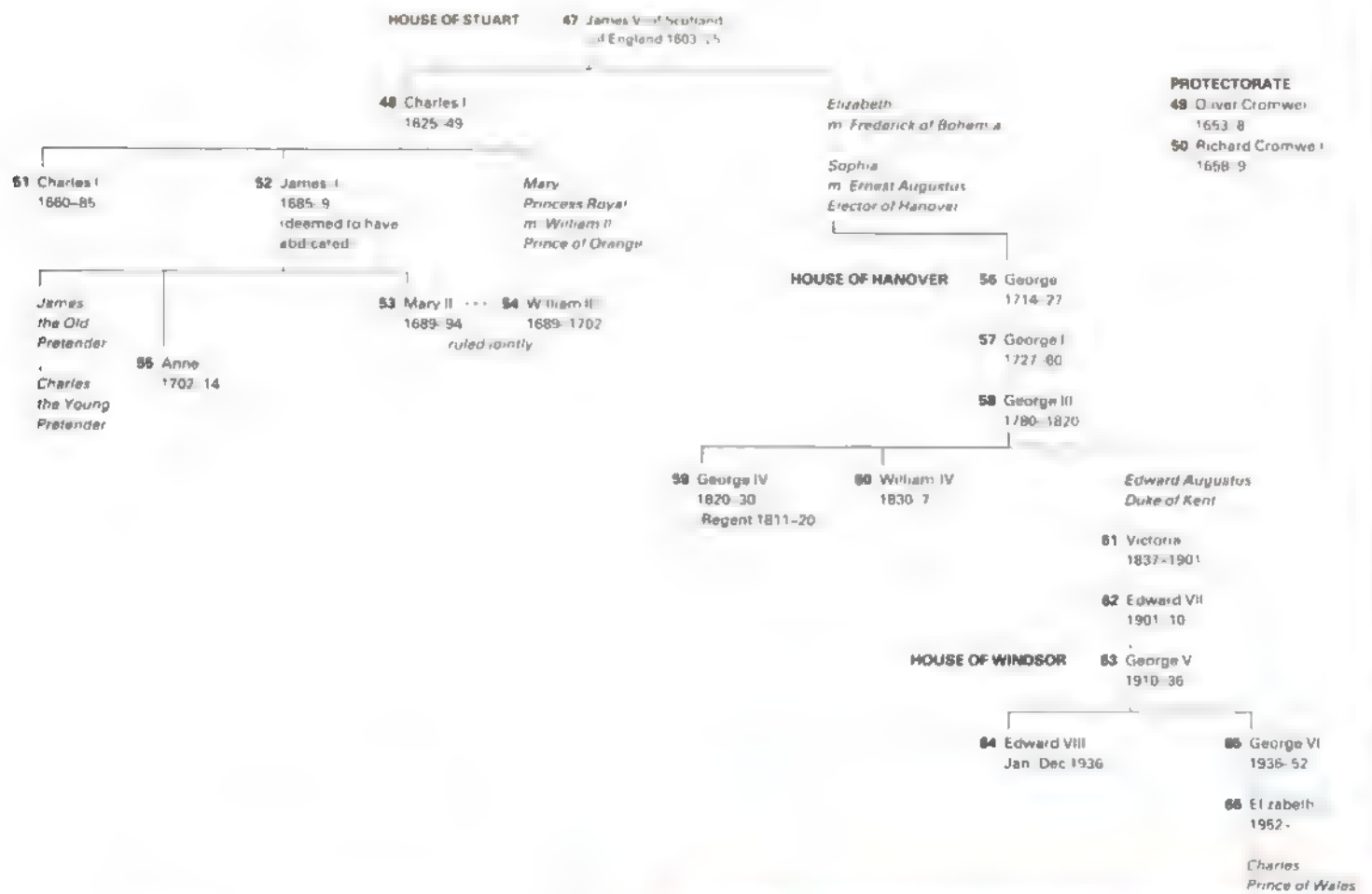
Rulers of Britain, 2



Henry VII from a painting kept at Windsor Castle



Elizabeth I from the painting by Zucchero at Hatfield House



George IV, regent and king patron of the arts



Victoria Queen and Empress in her robes of state

1760-1800 Revolution in America and France

Principal events

The old order in Europe was fundamentally shaken by three major revolutions - in America, France and England - which changed the political and economic basis of Western society and would ultimately transform the world. The American War of Independence represented the overflow of the old colonial and trading system and installed the ideas of liberty and democracy as the ideals of the United States. The French Revolution of 1789

swept away the privileges of the outdated ancien régime and established a new idea of popular right, which would be carried by Napoleon's conquests to stir the rest of Europe to revolt. In England the Industrial Revolution began in earnest in the 1780s, providing the basis for a fundamental transformation of Western and ultimately global society by accelerating urbanization and creating new sources of wealth, new social classes and democratic demands.

National events

The Industrial Revolution introduced factory-based machine production and resulted in the growth of a wealthy industrialist class and large

new towns in the north without parliamentary representation. Radical societies for electoral reform grew up, some interested in French Jacobinism.

1760-4 Prussia

The Treaty of Paris 1763

The Pontiac Conspiracy

Overseas trade

John Wilkes

Wilkes's elections

The East India Company

American War of Independence

1764-8

The Sugar Act and Stamp Act 1764-5

England ruled Bengal and Bihar

Alk Bay

Catherine II

John Wilkes

Wilkes's elections

The East India Company

American War of Independence

1768-72

The American colonies

French trade with India

James Cook

Boston Massacre

John Wilkes

Wilkes's elections

The East India Company

American War of Independence

1772-6

After Pugachev's revolt

The Regulating Act

Warren Hastings

Demands by the American colonists

American War of Independence

The East India Company

American War of Independence

The East India Company

American War of Independence



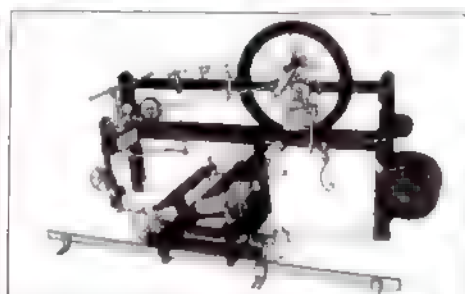
Thomas Paine



American Revolution



Iron bridge, Coalbrookdale



Mechanized spinning. Samuel Crompton's mule



Montgolfier's balloon

Religion and philosophy

The question of the existence of God became subordinate for many European thinkers to questions of social organization.

In America the revolution was associated with ideas of democracy, liberty and equality which in turn inspired the French Revolution.

In Britain new economic thinking reflected the emergence of the industrial system. Adam Smith laid the foundation of modern economics, fostering the liberal doctrine of the free

market and the absence of state encroachment on individual freedom. Bentham argued that desire for utility, avoidance of pain and pursuit of pleasure motivated behaviour. The Scottish Enlightenment advanced social thought with Ferguson's and Monboddo's work on social development and man's origins. Kant, however, laid the basis for German idealism with his opposition to pure empiricism, claiming that such concepts as time were innate.

The Scottish School of Common Sense Philosophy
Thomas Reid

Dugald Stewart

The Jewish religion
Moses Mendelssohn

Reform Judaism

Adam Ferguson

Johann Herder

Lord Monboddo

The Shakers

Ann Lee

Thomas Gray

Gotthold Lessing

Sturm und Drang

Agnes in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 1789 1790 novel The Sorrows of Young Werther

Novels

Literature

Forerunners of Romanticism emerged in Germany, France and Britain. The emphasis on unity and order in literary style and the ascription of rational attitudes of mind that marked the Enlightenment were beginning to give way to

increasing respect for human instincts and emotions, sincerity of feeling and freedom and naturalism of style. This

transition, initiated by Rousseau in France, was carried on in Germany by the Sturm und Drang movement whose greatest voice, Goethe, combined passion with discipline. The work of the British poets Gray, Cowper, Burns and Blake exemplified the transition from classicism to romanticism. In English poetic style, Samuel Johnson's work advanced literary criticism

Jean Jacques Rousseau 1712-78, who wrote the novel Emile, published La Nouvelle Héloïse 1740, a novel advocating simple pleasures in a natural setting.

In Encyclopédie, edited by Denis Diderot 1713-84 and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert

Robert Adam

Syon House

Neoclassical painting

Johann Joachim Winckelmann

Raffaello Mengs

The symphony and sonata

Joseph Black

James Watt

The spinning jenny

James Hargreaves

The Lunar Society

Neurology

Albrecht von Haller

Henry Cavendish

The water frame

Richard Arkwright

James Watt

Daniel Rutherford

Luigi Galvani

Adam Ferguson

The Jewish religion

Moses Mendelssohn

Reform Judaism

Adam Ferguson

Johann Herder

Lord Monboddo

The Shakers

Ann Lee

Thomas Gray

Gotthold Lessing

Sturm und Drang

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James Hargreaves

The Lunar Society

Neurology

Albrecht von Haller

Henry Cavendish

1776-80
The American colonies

The French government

Jacques Necker
Pombal

Relaxation of anti-Catholic laws

riots
Gordon



'The Oath of the Horatii' by David

Adam Smith

Comedy of manners
Oliver Goldsmith

Shenstone
Italian patriotism
Vittorio Alfieri

Classicism in Russia

Maurice Falconet

Cameron
Charles

African music

A practical water closet

Joseph Bramah

The spinning mule
Crompton

Cheap soap
Nicholas Leblanc

1780-4
American independence

Treaty of Paris

Industrial Revolution
Russia
Meetings

William Pitt the Younger

Immanuel Kant

The influential French novel
Choderlos de Laclos

Pierre de Besenmerais

Neoclassical painting

Fuseli
Henry
William Blake

Mozart

Uranus
William Herschel

The first manned flight
Montgolfier

James Watt

1784-8
The United States

The American Constitution
The aristocratic parliaments

The founding of *The Times* newspaper

The economic boom

Liberalism

Jeremy Bentham

Scottish folk traditions
Robert Burns

William Cowper

The Academy on Fine Arts

English caricature

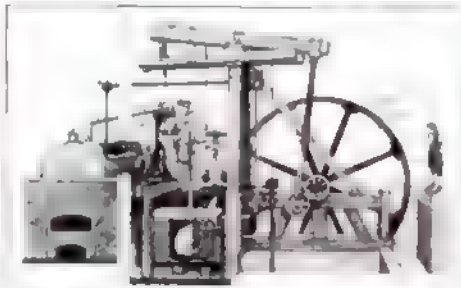
Thomas Rowlandson

Chlorine

The threshing machine
Andrew Meikle
Jacques Charles

Charles's law

The power loom
Edmund Cartwright



James Watt's rotary steam engine

1789-93
England
Louis XVI

The French Revolution

George Washington

Pitt
Until the execution of Louis XVI

In France

Edmund Burke

Tom Paine

A new tradition of candid biography
Boswell
Samuel Johnson

The Style Troubadour

Classicism in English architecture

Bank of England Stock Office

Domenico Cimarosa

James Hutton

Antoine Lavoisier

The power loom

1792-6
France was declared a republic
Louis XVI

The French overran Holland

Revolutionary ideas

The London Corresponding Society



French Revolution: the execution of the king

Equal opportunities for women
Mary Wollstonecraft

William Godwin

The Cult of Reason
Cult of the Supreme Being

William Blake

Painting in Revolutionary France

John Flaxman

Niccolò Paganini

Coal gas
William Murdoch

The cotton gin
Eli Whitney

The metric system

Scientific institutes

1796-1800
Treaty of Campo Formio
Napoleon

Horatio Nelson

Directory

Speenhamland
The Combination Acts

The English Evangelical Movement

Reverend Thomas Mathus

The Romantic movement

Wordsworth
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
The novels of Jean Paul

The success of Napoleon's Italian campaign

The Capitol, Richmond, Va

The violin

Vaccination

The nature of heat
Count Rumford

The battery
Count Volta

1808-12
Napoleon's empire reached its greatest extent

Paraguay and Venezuela

Napoleon married Marie Louise
1810
1810

Unemployed domestic weavers
Luddite riots 1811-12

1812-14
The Duke of Wellington
The monarchy was restored
The Congress of Vienna

Britain won the Cape of Good Hope

The expansion of small country banks

1814-17
Napoleon returned from Elba
Waterloo
The Holy Alliance
Prince Metternich
Ferdinand I

The Corn Laws

1817-20
The American and Canadian border
The first immigrants
A revolt in Naples
The British founded Singapore
Only Nepal, the Sikh and Sind states

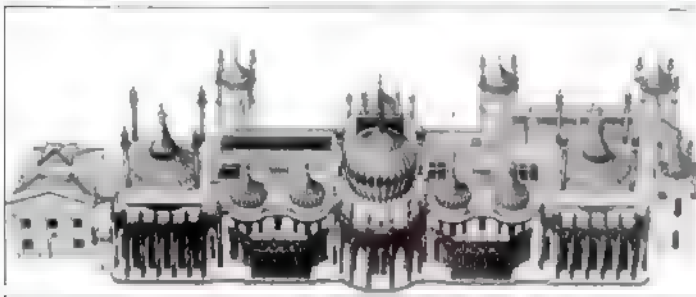
A Manchester reform meeting
Peterloo

1820-22
The nationalist Greek war
Spain lost Mexico and Peru
Opium trade
Huang Tung

The Cato Street conspiracy
The post-war slump

1822-25
A Spanish liberal revolt
The Monroe Doctrine
Britain surpassed other European countries
The Anglo-Burmese wars

Combination Acts
The post-war slump



The Brighton Pavilion by Nash



Lord Byron



The Peterloo massacre

Hegel's *Science of Logic*

The conservative tradition in France
Joseph de Maistre
Louis Bonald

The rising science of economics
David Ricardo

Jean Charles Simonde

Arthur Schopenhauer

Thomas Erskine

Friedrich Schleiermacher

The anti-union Combination Acts

Francis Place
Joseph Hume

Leopold Ranke

Madame de Staël
The works of Esaias Tegner

The English middle classes
Jane Austen

The English Romantic poet
Percy Bysshe Shelley

The first historical novel
Sir Walter Scott

Manzoni
Brothers Grimm

Grotesque themes

Ernst Hoffmann

The psychological analysis

Constant
Benjamin

The spirit of the Romantic movement
Lord Byron

Wilhelm Hazlitt

Alphonse Lamartine

A search for eternal perfection

John Keats

The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater

Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Peacock

The pastiches of Indian, Chinese and Egyptian styles

A quasi-religious order
Friedrich Overbeck
Franz Pforr

The work of Francisco de Goya

In Russia

In France
Theodore Géricault

German Neoclassical architecture

Karl Friedrich Schinkel

Neo-Renaissance architecture

Klenze
Leo von

In 1816 Dom João VI of Brazil

English Romantic portraiture

Thomas Law

Romantic tendencies in art

Eugene Delacroix

Orchestral concertos

A greater variety

Lieder
Schubert
Franz

Opera
Gioacchino Rossini
Carl von Weber

Conductors

Wig Spahr

The symphony

Beethoven

Joseph Gay-Lussac

Georges Cuvier

The safety lamp
Humphrey Davy

Jean Biot

The first geological map

William Smith

The single wire telegraph

Photography

Nicéphore Niépce

Electromagnetism was found
Hans Oersted

Thomas Seebeck

André Ampère

The electromagnet

William Sturgeon

Sadi Carnot

Amadeo Avogadro

Chemical symbols

Dark lines in the Sun's spectrum were identified

1825-1850 Liberalism and nationalism

Principal events

The spread of industrialism from England to north Europe brought the rise of a solid middle class advocating liberal and nationalist ideas, as well as a new urban radicalism focused by regular economic booms and slumps. In spite of attempts to suppress them, these ideas spread throughout Europe, culminating in the nationalist and radical revolts of 1848. At the time this was a failure but the ideas of 1848 would be realized later as Italy and

Germany achieved unification and the old empires collapsed. The United States expanded vigorously westwards her population and industry increasing, while European colonialism was most active in Asia. The impact of British culture was felt in India for the first time and the process of penetration of China began in earnest with the end of the Opium Wars which forced China to open her ports to foreign trade.

National events

The social problems that came with industrialization reached their peak in the 1840s manifesting themselves in the Chartist movement. Parliament

lary reform in 1832 recognized the new importance of the industrial towns and was followed by a series of attempts to regulate conditions of work.

1825-28

Decemberist revolt Nicholas I

Charles X

The British in India

The Javanese rebelled

1828-1830

Lord Bentinck

Turkey recognized Greece's independence

Uruguay won its independence

The Workingmen's Party

Charles X

1830-33

The French liberal opposition

Louis-Philippe

Nationalist risings

The French

The Young Italy

Giuseppe Mazzini

1833-5

Slavery was abolished in 1833

The German customs union

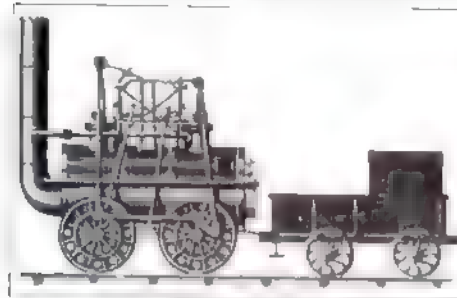
Regional opposition

Carlisle Wers

Don Carlos

Louis-Philippe

British trade with China



Stephenson's Locomotion, 1825



Simon Bolivar



Delacroix "1830 Revolution" "View of Mount Fuji" by Hokusai



Religion and philosophy

Several European thinkers, principally in France, advocated the application of the observational or "positive" methods used in the natural sciences to the study of social phenomena.

The growth of the industrial system stimulated new and radical thought. Saint Simon and after him, Comte, argued that industrial society should be governed by a new priesthood trained in the positivist method while the existing forms of social organization were criticized by

utopian thinkers who looked forward to ideal societies free from inequality and injustice.

Marx and Engels, who were influenced by French utopianism as well as German Idealism and British political economy, argued that in order to end the inequality and injustice of existing society there must be a working class revolution.

A number of Adventist sects prophesying the return of Christ emerged during these years, especially in the USA.

Literature

While Romanticism spread to Russia with Lermontov and Gogol, its breeding introversion began to break down in Western Europe and the political implications of its rebellion were explored. The Jung Deutch land group insisted on the political role of literature and in France the realistic depiction of the past or of contemporary society became important new

themes. The social and nationalist commitment of writers found expression in the revolutions of 1848, in which authors such as Hugo and Lamartine played an important role.

In England novelists explored social relationships. Dickens concentrated on the evil results of industrialization with a wealth of characterization equalled only by Balzac.

Art and architecture

Naturalism in painting - the devotion to truth to nature - received a special impetus from work in Britain where scientific advances and the Industrial Revolution affected art.

British landscapeists such as John Constable studied natural effects in a scientific manner rather than composing classical panoramas, and French artists emulated his innovations.

The interest in history and in different historical styles continued throughout Europe.

and America. A large number of paintings of historical scenes were produced but it is in architecture that the range of interest in different styles was clearest. Italian models remained a source for the style of secular public buildings but the Gothic revival received a new impetus.

England's new wealthy middle classes began to impose their taste on painting and architecture while rapid urbanization generated the need for new solutions in town planning.

Henri de Saint Simon

James Mill

Auguste Comte

James Fenimore Cooper

Alessandro Manzoni

Alfred de Musset

Alfred de Vigny

Alfred de Vigny

The American ornithologist

John James Audubon

Richard Parkes Bonington

Charles Barry

Charles Barry

Charles Barry

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François Guizot

James Mill

John Derby

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John Derby

John Derby

Mormonism

Modern Adventism

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

William Miller

The Oxford Movement

John Keble

John Newman

John Newman

John Newman

John Newman

John Newman

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Music

Romanticism evolved further in Europe, where composers came to consider music a kind of poetry that penetrated to the heart, ennobling the soul and stimulating the imagination. It

was at times extravagant and replete with epic works and cult figures, stimulating growth in orchestration techniques and producing such new forms as the symphonic poem.

Science and technology

The railway system which now grew up in Britain, providing cheap transport for labour and raw materials, proved a vital precondition for the expansion of any industrial society. The process of industrialization, however, brought more and more people into the cities and led to a severe worsening of the conditions of working people. In Bristol, England, the death rate doubled between 1831 and 1841, though advances in medicine and public health began to improve matters from 1840 onwards. The

discovery of sepsis was particularly important in lowering the child mortality rate.

In pure science the discovery of alternative geometries to that of Euclid prompted new enquiries into formerly accepted theories, clearing the way for Mach and Einstein.

The discovery of Brownian motion finally established the existence of unobservable particles, in this case molecules, an important step towards the eventual acceptance of atomic theory.

The first public steam railway

George Stephenson

Robert Brown

Brownian motion

Ohm's law

Georg Ohm

The polarimeter which

William Nicol

Embryology was founded

Karl Ernst

Organic chemistry

Friedrich Wohler

Non-Euclidean geometry

Nikolai Lobachevski

Screw threads

Joseph Whitworth

Principles of Geology

Charles Lyell

Electromagnetic induction

Michael Faraday

Karl Gauss

Charles Babbage

The Royal William

Western Brunel

Great K

1835-7
The Boers of South Africa
Great Trek

Upper and Lower
Canada
Victoria

Britain
Muhammad Shah

The abolition of slavery

A great railway building
boom



Charles Dickens

Probability theory

Adolphe Quetelet

Ralph Emerson

Transcendentalism

Heinrich Heine 1797-1856
Jung Deutschland

Giacomo Leopardi

American primitive painting
Edward Hicks

French romantic sculpture

François Rude

Robert Schumann

The electric telegraph
Charles Wheatstone
The Colt pistol

Robert Brown

1837-40
A working-class radical
Chartist movement

Opium Wars
British industrialists

Anti-Corn Law League
(Levellers)

The radical Chartist movement

The penny post



Brunel's Great Britain

The terms sociology
positivism
Auguste Comte

The prolific French novelist
Honoré de Balzac 1799-1850

The Hudson River School

Thomas Cole
Asher Durand
An increased range

Mikhail Glinka

The Morse code
Samuel Morse
Stella parvula
Friedrich Bessel

Vulcanization

Charles Goodyear
Theodor Schwann
Matthias Schleiden

1840-44
Natal
Upper and Lower Canada

The Straits Convention

Frederick William IV

The Treaty of Nanking

The Anti-Corn Law League
denies the Corn Laws and Bright

Ludwig Feuerbach

Søren Kierkegaard

Mikhail Lermontov

The Gothic Revival

Houses of Parliament

Political cartoons
George Cruikshank
Honoré Daumier

Vienna

Johann Strauss

Jean-Louis Agassiz

Anaesthesia
Crawford Long

The Great Britain

Artificial fertilizer

1844-5
The persecution of Christians

Sanitary reform

The Anglo-Sikh

James was arrested

Utopian socialism

Robert Peel



Giuseppe Garibaldi

The Dabir movement
Bahr

Ali Muhammad

Alexis de Tocqueville

The fantastical
Nikolai Gogol

Adam Mickiewicz

Joseph Turner

The Barbizon School

Jean-François Millet

John Ruskin

Brass bands

Nitroglycerine
Ascanio Sobrero
Neptune
Johann Galle

1845-8
A potato famine

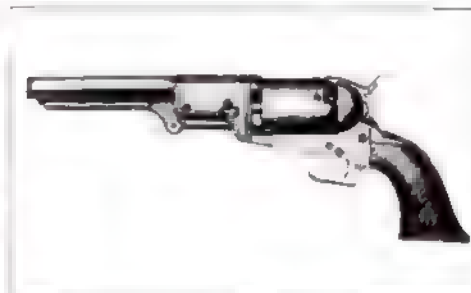
The US invaded Mexico

Liberal hopes
Landtag

Pope Pius IX

The Corn Laws

agricultural improvements



Colt Dragoon revolver, 1848

Pierre Proudhon

Blanc
Louis
Blanc

Powerful imagination
Brontë
sisters Emily

Lotte
Char

Photography

Ingres

Historical architecture

Renwick Jr
James

Franz List

The mechanical equivalent of
heat
Julius
von Mayer
James Joule
Hermann

Helmholtz

The rotary printing press

Richard Hoe

1846-50
Britain annexed the Punjab

An outburst of urban radicalism
Louis

Philippe

Metternich
Hungary

The gold rush in California

The Public Health Act

The Christadelphians

John Thomas
Karl Marx
Friedrich Engels

The English social novelist
Charles Dickens

W. M. Thackeray

The Pre-Raphaelite Brother-
hood

J. M. W. Turner

John Everett Millais

The symphonic poem

Aspirin
Ignaz Semmelweis

The St. Lawrence Seaway

Reinforced concrete

Joseph Moir
A telegraphic cable connection

1850-1875 Darwin and Marx

Principal events

The development of ruthlessly pragmatic political planning epitomized by the ministry of Bismarck in Prussia brought about the national unification of Italy and Germany, where the decline of the 1848 revolutions had failed. Industrial expansion went hand in hand with cynical foreign policies which, with the death of liberal ideals, contributed to the growth of international tensions. British imperial power was at its peak after the defeat of

the Indian mutiny. Britain's economic supremacy, backed up by military strength, made her unchallengeable throughout the world.

The victory of the North in the American Civil War ended slavery and prepared the way for American industrial and political expansion, while the European powers extended their domination in South East Asia and Japan set out to transform herself into a modern industrial society.

National events

The rising prosperity of the mid Victorian system based on a rapid expansion of population, industry and trade resulted in higher wages and

the birth of a strong labour movement. Electoral reform and governmental interests in social and economic planning changed the face of British politics.

1850-3

Napoleon III 1852-70

The rights of national minorities

California

The vastly destructive
Taiping Rebellion 1850-5

The English in India 1858-75

The Great Exhibition

1853-5

Russia's defeat

The New York-Chicago rail

The discovery by David Livingstone 1851-52
of the Victoria Falls

Europe

Camille Cavour

Lord Palmerston 1851-65

The Northcote-Trevelyan Report 1854

1855-8

After the Crimean War

The Indian Mutiny 1857-58

John Brown

China

Palmerston's first ministry

1858-60

By the Government of India Act 1858 B. A. 1858-60

Piedmont Italy

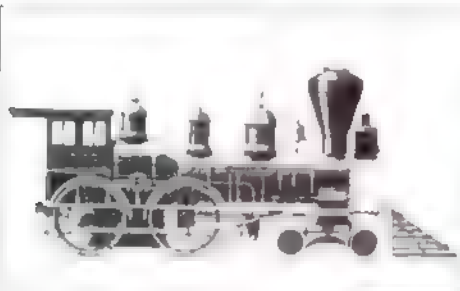
British troops ended fighting

The Suez Canal

1859-60 By the Treaty of 1859, 1860, 1861

William Gladstone 1809-1891

Black hop



Western and Atlantic Railroad, the General, 1865



Bessemer steel producing process



Indian Mutiny - massacre at Delhi

Religion and philosophy

The spread of industrialization provoked a major reassessment of moral, social and political thought. Many Christians campaigned to relieve the worst aspects of urban poverty and sociology developed tools to describe the changes in social relationships, while many political and moral philosophies grew up which rejected urbanization and capitalism, laying stress on personal withdrawal or social revolution. The latter was advocated in particular by

Karl Marx whose work provided a radical attack on capitalist economics and stated that the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie was an historical inevitability.

Darwin's theory of evolution proved as influential as the ideas of Marx, challenging many of the basic tenets of Christian belief and forcing the importance of scientific thought to the fore. Many attempts were made to apply his ideas to the political and cultural fields.

The Taiping Rebellion

Hung Hsu-Chuen

Frederick Denison Maurice

Christian Socialist movement

T. B. Macaulay

Henry Thoreau

Transcendentalism

Frederic Le Play

Hippolyte Taine

Charles Darwin 1809-1882

Literature

As the realist novel produced the powerful and candid tragedy of *Madame Bovary* by Flaubert, new literary styles were also emerging. In French poetry, Baudelaire's attempt to explore his inner self would lead to the symbolist movement to which reality beyond the poet's own imagination was irrelevant. In Russia, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy were writing and the

moral, psychological and political issues they explored recurred in the literature of the English Victorian novelists from Charles Dickens to George Eliot.

American literature reached maturity with the poetry of Whitman - a distinct contrast with contemporary European styles - and the strong prose of Melville's epic novel *Moby Dick*.

The Victorian Alfred Lord Tennyson 1809-1892

The American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne 1819-1864

Herman Melville

The fantastic and dream

1854 by Gérard de Nerval

Matthew Arnold

Browning

Robert

Walt Whitman

Modern poetry

Charles Baudelaire

Theophile Gautier

Gustave Flaubert

Adalbert Stifter

Ivan Gontcharov 1812-1892

Art and architecture

The reaction against academic precepts, which ruled the bulk of official painting in Europe, began in earnest and took the form of the assertion that the subject matter of every day life was worthy of art.

The Impressionists broke new ground with their revolutionary techniques for representing light and colour, best seen in the works of Monet, while Realist painters like Courbet stated that art must have a social and political purpose. In the

same period English art saw a distinct reaction against the aesthetics and values of industrial society with the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts movement.

Town planning became a priority in the European capitals and the use of cast iron revolutionized municipal architecture.

Trading contact with the East and the Meiji restoration in Japan brought an interpenetration of Eastern and Western art.

Realism

Gustave Courbet

Jean-François Millet

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood

John Ruskin 1818-1900

Prefabricated units of iron and glass

Joseph Paxton

Honoré Daumier

Baron Haussmann

The New Building of the Louvre

Landscapes by Jean Baptiste Camille Corot 1796-1875

The Arts and Crafts movement

William Morris 1834-1896 and Philip Webb

Music

Romantic ideas were reinforced in 1859 by Darwin's theory of evolution through the survival of the fittest, and confirmed the common view that man verges on perfection. The odd conclu-

sion that art, like life, evolves from lower forms to higher led to an increasing distinction between serious and popular music, a distinction that remains prevalent in the West even today.

Musical forms

Chamber

Late Romantic composers

Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner

Use of rubato

Grand opera called the Romantic opera

Giuseppe Verdi 1813-1901

Science and technology

Science and technology became more closely tied to the needs of industry in this period, especially in Germany where chemists produced dyes and explosives and in the United States where engineers enjoyed a high social status. The abolition of slavery in America and the rise of trade unionism in Europe both raised labour costs and so stimulated mechanization, while the Crimean War provided an incentive for the development of new and better kinds of steel. With a Darwin's theory of

evolution, backed by Mendel's researches into genetics, was the most popular scientific breakthrough, chemistry and astronomy both advanced dramatically with the development of spectroscopy in Germany and the application of the Doppler Effect. The former permitted many new elements to be discovered while the latter, through the measurement of red-shift, produced more accurate estimates of the size of the known universe.

Entropy

Rudolf Clausius 1822-1888

The sewing machine was

invented by Isaac Singer

Physiology was studied by

Claude Bernard

The rotation of the Earth was

discovered by Jean Foucault

Symbolic logic

George Boole

Agriculture

big

Justus von Liebig

The first synthetic plastic material

Mauve

Perkin

Steel

Henry Bessemer

The principles of molecular structure were discovered by Friedrich Kekulé von Stradonitz 1818-1896

The theory of evolution was

ward in 1859 by the

British naturalist Charles

Darwin 1809-1882 and Alfred

Wallace 1815-1913

The first oil well was

drilled in 1859 by the

American geologist Edwin

Derrick 1819-1880

Atomic weights and chemical

formulas were standardized by

the chemist Stanislao Cannizzaro 1818-1910

1860-3

Abraham Lincoln

The Confederate states

Giuseppe Garibaldi

Alexander II

French troops

The Companies Act

The first underground railway

1863-5

An allied Western expedition

Rome

The northern American states

Slavery

Karl Marx

Christianity

The demand for electoral reform

1865-8

After the defeat of Austria

American objections

The Dominion of Canada

The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary

Benjamin Disraeli

The Trades Union Congress

1868-70

Napoleon III

By 1870 the railway systems of

The victory of Meiji

Negro suffrage

Gladstone

1870-3

A revolutionary commune

Prussia's seizure of Alsace-Lorraine

Wilhelm I
An American attempt

The Education Act

Depression

1874-5

The conservative Third Republic

Britain

Suez Canal

French power

The revelation of corruption

The Public Health Act



Charles Darwin lampooned



Confederates in the American Civil War



Karl Marx



Wilhelm I of Prussia acclaimed German emperor

Ferdinand Lassalle

Ernest Renan

An impressionistic realist style

Edmond and Jules de Goncourt

The realist novel in Russia

The debate between Slavophiles and Westernizers

Ivan Turgenev

Count Leo Tolstoy

The Salon des Refusés

Pissarro

Cézanne

Edouard Manet

Gustave Doré

The opera Faust

William Siemens

Frederick Siemens

The open hearth process

The first underground railway

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology

A submarine telegraphic cable

Colloids

Thomas Graham

John Stuart Mill

Karl Marx

William Booth

Salvation Army

The Parnassians

Marie Leconte de Lisle

Paul Verlaine

Theophile Gautier

Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc

Japanese draughtsmanship

Manet's

Whistler's

Negro spirituals

Light opera

Jacques Offenbach

Johann Strauss

Dynamite

Nobel

Antiseptic surgery

Genetics

Gregor Mendel

Papal infallibility

The classic statement

J. S. Mill

The great novels of Fyodor Dostoevsky

The English novelist Charles Dickens

Mural painting

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes

Expos

Japanese prints

Expos

The effects of light

Monet

Claude

Wagner

César Franck

Johannes Brahms

The Periodic table

Dmitry Mendeleev

The typewriter

Christopher Sholes

The Challenger expedition

Intermolecular forces

Johannes van der Waals

Bakunin

Johann von Dollinger

George Eliot

The early French symbolist poets

Arthur Rimbaud

Paul Verlaine

The later Pre-Raphaelite style

Edward Burne-Jones

London's first garden suburb

Richard Norman Shaw

Monet

Auguste Renoir

Alfred Sisley

Jean Degas

Cézanne

Wagner

César Franck

Johannes Brahms

The Periodic table

Dmitry Mendeleev

The typewriter

Christopher Sholes

The Challenger expedition

Intermolecular forces

Johannes van der Waals

An upsurge of religious revivalism

D. L. Moody

Wilhelm Wundt

Johann von Dollinger

George Eliot

The early French symbolist poets

Arthur Rimbaud

Paul Verlaine

The later Pre-Raphaelite style

Edward Burne-Jones

London's first garden suburb

Richard Norman Shaw

Monet

Auguste Renoir

Alfred Sisley

Jean Degas

Cézanne

Wagner

César Franck

Johannes Brahms

The Periodic table

Dmitry Mendeleev

The typewriter

Christopher Sholes

The Challenger expedition

Intermolecular forces

Johannes van der Waals

1875-1900 The age of imperialism

Principal events

Domination of the world outside the Americas lay with a few European states. Among them Britain was still the greatest imperial and industrial power but Germany now increasingly challenged this position. The US also grew in strength and by 1900 overtook Britain in the production of basic industrial materials.

The emergence of a group of fixed alliances in Europe served to polarise foreign affairs and the Balkans. In particular

presented an inflammatory arena for international conflict.

Improvements in communications, however, and the quest for new bases of economic and political power shifted the focus of rivalries between the states to Africa and Oceania. Britain greatly extended her empire but the other European states the US and a newly modernized Japan also joined in the scramble. By 1900 a 1 Asia was in the hands of Europe and China was in threat to the West.

1875-8

Britain + other nations

The Slav nationalist forces

The Satauma rebellion

Legislation

Victoria

1878-80

After Russia's defeat of Turkey

Germany and Austria-Hungary

In Afghanistan

Chile

Charles Parnell

1880-3

British imperial expansion

Under Bismarck

the Three Emperors

Alliance with Russia and

The Irish problem

Textile output

1883-5

Britain + other nations

France + other nations

The Treaty of Berlin

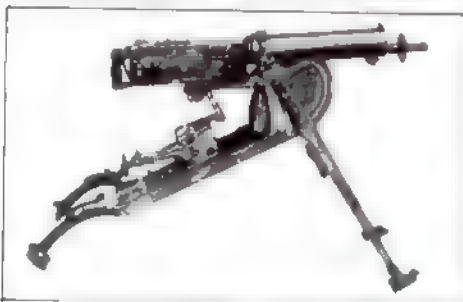
Eastern Rumania's union

Virtual universal male suffrage

National events

Britain's economic supremacy was challenged by other powers. The extended franchise gave a more popular ring to politics and saw the foundation of an

Independent Labour Party. 1893. The traditional parties changed the emphasis of their policies as imperialism and Ireland became the major political issues.



Maxim machine gun



Paris Exhibition 1889: the Machine Hall



Queen Victoria

Religion and philosophy

Growing interest in the attempt to link social theory to biological evolutionism gave rise to more subtle sociological and anthropological studies in the English-speaking world. Drawing on the experience of colonial administration, men such as Tylor, Spencer and Frazer developed the notion of a natural progression between "primitive" and "advanced" societies. Meanwhile in Vienna, Freud began to formulate profoundly influential ideas on the subcon-

scious and the nature of man. In philosophy the absolute idealism of Hegel found its first supporters in England with Bradley, while in the United States pragmatic thinkers such as William James argued that the truth of an idea depends on its social function. The ideology of anti-semitism grew up in the wake of heightened nationalist sentiment, while an evolutionary type of socialism grew more popular than its revolutionary counterpart.

Hinduism + other religions

Ramakrishna

The Theosophical Society

1875-1900 Helen Slavatsky

The Jehovah's Witnesses

Charles Russell

Christian Science

Eddy

Heinrich von Treitschke

A theory of social evolution

Edward Tylor

Lewis Morgan

Peter Kropotkin

The Fabian Society

The Zionist Movement

Literature

The pessimistic application of theories of evolution is found in Zola's naturalistic novels which stressed the limitations on men's actions stemming from his inherited characteristics and the environment and portrayed the most sordid aspects of French lower-class life. English literature exchanged the exuberance of Dickens for the critical mood of Hardy.

Nationalism still acted as a vital cultural stimulus, creating a school of national regeneration in Spain in reaction to the political weakness highlighted by the war with Cuba, and in Italy celebrating unification. In both, writers turned to their national classics for models. The first self-conscious Latin American school grew up asserting independence from European traditions.

English literature after 1875

Algernon Charles Swinburne

Gerard Manley Hopkins

Realism in the theatre

Henrik Ibsen

G. B. Shaw

Native American humour

Mark Twain

The meeting of the New World with the Old

Henry James

Naturalism in literature

Zola

Guy de Maupassant

Art and architecture

A self-conscious and revolutionary avant-garde emerged in European art at the end of the 19th century. In France Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne the major innovators of this time developed their different styles out of their Impressionist origins. The symbolists rejected the Impressionist vision turning instead to the past and to the exotic imagery of the later English Pre-Raphaelites in which Art Nouveau, an essentially decorative style and the

first non-historical style to win wide acceptance, also had roots. Beginning in Belgium and England Art Nouveau owed its original character to a semi-abstract use of natural forms and had far-reaching effects in architecture and the applied arts. Construction in metal became even more popular after the Paris exhibitions of 1878 and 1889 encouraged by the substitution of steel for iron, which also made possible the development of the skyscraper in the US.

A parallel to the Impressionist idea of forms dissolved in light

Auguste Rodin

Ballet girls: working girls

Edgar Degas

A Slav revival in Russia

Official painting in England

Alma Tadema

Frederick Leighton

A move from Impressionism

Cézanne

Neo-Impressionism

Pointillism was developed by Georges Seurat

1859-81 Paul Signac

1830-1870 Camille Pissarro

The Berlin Reichstag

the Victor Emmanuel II

Music

Romanticism began to decline as nationalism and impressionism became more important ideas in music. Meanwhile the future of American and European popular music was

formed in the United States into the increasing appreciation of the rhythmic genius of Negro folk musicians and an awareness of the potential of the newly developed gramophone.

National qualities

Smetana

Chabrier

Art songs

Henri Duparc

English light opera

W. S. Gilbert

Arthur Sullivan

The origins of jazz and blues

Science and technology

Germany now took the lead in the science-based industries as a result of the emphasis on science and technology in education and a political system that gave power to industry. She possessed a flourishing heavy industry, became the centre of early motor-car development and led the field in medicine, now a preventative as well as a curative science, with the discovery of antibodies and of new drugs. Koch's work on tuberculosis was the most important advance. As a result of these

technical discoveries combined with the widespread building of new hospitals, mortality rates dropped throughout western Europe. Other technological achievements that would alter society were the inventions of the telephone and phonograph. Classical physics failed to explain discoveries made in radioactivity and the problem posed by the Michelson-Morley experiment and entered a time of uncertainty that would only be resolved by Einstein's theory of relativity.

The telephone was invented

Alexander Bell

Bacteria were identified

Robert Koch

The phonograph was invented

Thomas Edison

Edison

Joseph Swan

First successful filament electric lamp

Piezoelectricity

Pierre Curie

The ether was proved

Albert Michelson

Edward Morley

Theory of relativity

The electric train

Cell division

Weather forecasting

Pasteur

H. C. Maxim

Maxim machine gun

The steam turbine

Charles Parsons

Motor transport

Karl Benz

Gottlieb Daimler

1885-1
The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. 1885
All American Indians were placed on reservations by 1881
The American Federation of Labor was set up
Germany signed a treaty

Britain, Italy and Austria-Hungary signed a treaty

1888-90
The partition of Africa created 14 artificial states
In Japan Emperor Meiji introduced a Western constitution
Georges Boulenger 1837-91 designed the first modern submarine
The US overtook Britain in naval power by 1890
The Social-Democratic Party was founded in Germany

1890-4
In Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm II became emperor
The European alliance blocs took shape: The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy in 1882 and the Dual Alliance of France and Russia in 1894
Brazil adopted a federal constitution in 1889
In the US the Populist Party

1894-6
In the victorious war
Sergei Witte 1839-1915 was Russian minister of finance and later industrial minister
The Dreyfus case 1894-9

1896-8
After the abortive Jameson raid
On the Nile
The Sudan was divided into Egypt and Sudan
France and the Congo Free State
Russia threatened China when it took Manchuria

1898-1900
In China 1898
Hundred Days of Reform
The Boxer Rebellion
Cuba and the Philippines
The Philippines

Conservatives and Liberal Unionists in the UK
New unionism in the UK

Intellectual socialist parties emerged in Europe by the 1890s
The Irish nationalists were active in the 1890s

The Independent Labour Party was founded 1891
Gladstone's Liberalism
Home Rule Bill

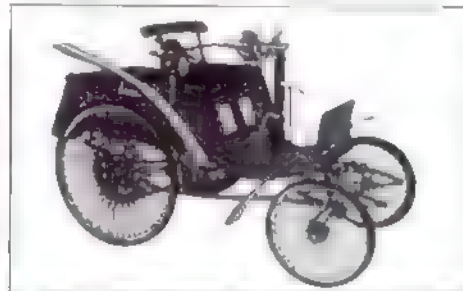
Joseph Chamberlain 1836-1914
The Land Act 1893 extended the right of purchase to small tenants

Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Year 1897
Chamberlain proposed a tariff reform

Britain was forced to withdraw from the Boer War 1899-1902
The Labour Representation Committee was founded



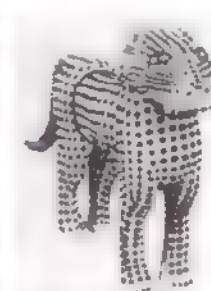
Bell at his telephone, 1892



Benz Velo motor car, 1896



Art nouveau: Horta interior



Leopard from Berlin



Sigmund Freud

Friedrich Nietzsche 1844-1900
Edouard Drumont 1826-1892
Ferdinand Tönnies 1818-1886

James Frazer 1854-1942
Theosophy 1875-1900
Verismo 1890-1900
Giovanni Verga 1840-1922

The Neoclassical school of economics was founded by Alfred Marshall
W. S. Jevons 1835-1882
Kang Yuwei 1858-1926

Herbert Spencer 1820-1903
The Land Act 1893 extended the right of purchase to small tenants
F. H. Bradley 1846-1924

Philosophical pragmatism was developed by William James 1890-1909
Ernst Durkheim 1858-1917

Sigmund Freud 1856-1939
The Greek poet Cavafy 1895-1962

Symbolist poetry
Stephane Mallarme 1842-1898
Maurice Maeterlinck 1860-1949
August Strindberg 1844-1912

Italian nationalist ideas
Giosue Carducci 1835-1907
Verismo 1890-1900
Giovanni Verga 1840-1922

Thomas Hardy 1830-1928
The English Decadent movement
E. J. K. Moysewicz 1860-1940

Knut Hamsun 1859-1952
The stories and poems of Rudyard Kipling 1865-1936
H. G. Wells 1866-1946

The high school Modernism
Ruben Dario 1869-1916
The Generation of '98 1898-1914
Miguel Unamuno 1891-1936

Russian realist drama
Anton Chekhov 1860-1904
The Greek poet Cavafy 1895-1962

Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890
Impressionist ideas were spread by Claude Monet 1840-1926
Edouard Manet 1832-1883
The New English Art Club 1885-1900

Symbolist art was developed by Paul Gauguin 1873-1903
The Eiffel Tower was built 1889-1900

Art Nouveau art movement
Aubrey Beardsley 1872-1894
Victor Horta 1859-1947
Gothic forms and wild extravagant art decoration 1890-1900
Antoni Gaudi 1852-1926
Sagrada Família 1886-1926

Syntheticism was developed by Pablo Picasso 1881-1973
Paul Gauguin 1873-1903
A large collection of Benetton art

The Vienna Secession 1897-1903
The English Vernacular style 1890-1900
The Chicago school of architecture 1890-1900

The sources of German Expressionism
Edward Munch 1863-1944
The Chicago school of architecture 1890-1900

Russian music
Peter Tchaikovsky 1810-1893
Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov 1844-1908

Symphonic traditions
Anton Bruckner 1824-1896
Gustav Mahler 1860-1911

National styles
Jean Sibelius 1865-1957
Isaac Albéniz 1860-1909

Claude Achille Debussy 1862-1918
The diesel engine was invented by Rudolf Diesel 1858-1913

The American John Sousa 1854-1932
The American John Sousa 1854-1932

Ragtime was developed by Scott Joplin 1868-1909

Aluminium could be produced economically by Charles Hall 1825-1900
Paul Heroult 1833-1900

The pneumatic tyre
John Dunlop 1766-1843
Photographic film
George Eastman 1854-1904

Diphtheria antitoxin was discovered by Paul Ehrlich 1859-1915

The diesel engine was invented by Rudolf Diesel 1858-1913
Lumiere 1846-1911
X-rays were discovered by Wilhelm Röntgen 1845-1923
Radioactivity was discovered by Antoine Becquerel 1852-1908

The theoretical basis for space travel was laid by Konstantin Tsiolkovsky 1857-1935
The electron was discovered by J. J. Thomson 1856-1940
The electron was discovered by J. J. Thomson 1856-1940

Viruses were discovered by Martinus Beijerinck 1851-1931
Radioactivity was discovered by Marie Curie 1867-1935
Ernest Rutherford 1871-1937
penetrates the atom
Aspirin
Bayer AG

1900-1925 Europe plunges into war

Principal events

World War I, arising from political and economic competition among the European Powers dominated the period. In it, Europe suffered great losses in men, power and economic strength while the United States and Japan won new political prestige. The need for organization on an unprecedented scale brought social and political upheaval in many countries. The old empires disappeared, leaving many new nationally based states, an embittered end.

National events

The progressive forces of the new liberalism, which stressed social reform, checked the Labour Party advance. But the Irish Question, constitutional

crises and wartime pressures split the party. The power of the Lords was much reduced and Labour inherited the second party role. 1923

1900-3

The US Steel Corporation

As France and Italy

Britain

Boer War

Japan

Manchuria

The United States

Panama

The Education Act

1903-5

The Entente Cordiale

Japan

In defeat Russia was convulsed

Intervention by Wilhelm II

Joseph Chamberlain

Free Trade

1906-8

The Powers

Tsarist rule

Russia and Japan reached agreement

Britain, France and Spain

An Anglo Russian Convention

Henry Campbell Bannerman

1908-10

Increasing Anglo-German competition

With Russian agreement

Nationalist unrest in Catalonia

The Powers

The former Boer republics

Union of South Africa

A constitutional crisis

Peoples Budget 1909



Wright Brother's flight

Religion and philosophy

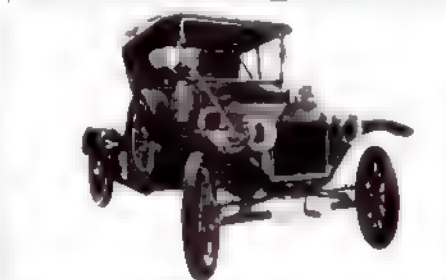
The philosophies of Bergson, Croce, Dilthey and Husserl stressing intuition and immediate sympathy as the basic method of understanding, contributed to the development of a concept of the human sciences distinct from the natural sciences.

Under their influence Max Weber investigated the motives as well as the causes of human action, notably the effect of religion on man's supposedly 'rational' economic behavior.

Literature

The need for new forms of self-expression able to encompass a growing awareness of the unconscious gave rise to many strong and individualistic movements in European literature.

The surrealists evolved out of the symbolists, and their attempt to 'trap' the subconscious in a spontaneous literary form broke down all restrictions of style. In the English speaking



Model T Ford

Russell and Wittgenstein, however, still took science and mathematics as the paradigm of knowledge in their work on the logical structure of language.

Psychoanalytic theory continued to explore the nature of the unconscious but two of Freud's colleagues, Jung and Jung, criticized his insistence on the sexual basis of neuroses.

The Russian Revolution accentuated the socialist split between violence and the peaceful battle for working class rights.

The Pentecostal Movement

Vilfredo Pareto

Max Weber

In France: Maurice Barres

Charles Maurras

The Celtic Literary Renaissance

Yeats 1865-1939 J. M. Synge 1871-1909 Sean O'Casey 1880-1967

James Joyce 1882-1942

W. B. Yeats

James Joyce

W. B. Yeats

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James Joyce



Suffragettes, 1911

Max Weber 1864-1920

In France: Maurice Barres

Charles Maurras

William Dilthey 1858-1928

The Modernist Movement

Impressionism

Revolution

Cubism

Die Brücke

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World War I: German skeleton in the trenches

Henri Bergson 1859-1941

William Dilthey 1858-1928

The Modernist Movement

Impressionism

Revolution

Cubism

Die Brücke

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Georges Sorel 1847-1922

William Dilthey 1858-1928

The Modernist Movement

Impressionism

Revolution

Cubism

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Art and architecture

Traditional forms and concepts of art were dramatically broken down between 1900 and 1925 as a variety of alternative aesthetic principles developed. In particular Cubism attempted to break away from the conventions of perspective that had ruled European art since the Renaissance.

While Dadaism and Russian Constructivism aimed to destroy the distinction between art and life. In architecture too, definitive new styles emerged in the US

and Europe with the publication of Frank Lloyd Wright's early designs and the establishment of the Bauhaus, both emphasizing asymmetry and plain surfaces.

The cinema transformed the whole scope of the visual arts, developing from the early popular experiments of 1890 to the politically motivated films of Eisenstein in Russia (where the Revolution stimulated artistic innovation in many fields), the dramas of Griffith and the popular comedies of Chaplin.

A reaction in architecture

Convalescent Home

man

Auguste Perret

The intimate painters Edouard Vuillard

Pierre Bonnard

Richard Strauss

Giacomo Puccini

Blues

New Orleans

Mass production

The third law of thermodynamics

Emil Fischer

The first helicopter

The cloud chamber

Charles Wilson

Cubism

Juan Gris

Delanay

Georges Braque

Pablo Picasso

Robert Fernand

Andre Derain

Maurice Vlaminck

Raoul Dufy

Henri Matisse

Edvard Munch

Noelde

The Italian Futurists

Emil

Die Brücke

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Die Brücke

The Fauvist period

Henri Matisse

Andre Derain

Maurice Vlaminck

Raoul Dufy

Edvard Munch

Noelde

The Italian Futurists

Emil

Die Brücke

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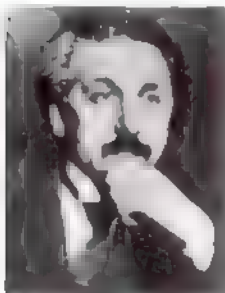
Die Brücke

1910-13
In Mexico: Porfirio Diaz

The Triple Entente powers

Germany's military
The German navy
A nationalist republic
Sail

Herbert Asquith 1851-1928
Parliament Act 1911
National Insurance Act 1911
National Insurance



Albert Einstein

Sophisticated physics (proposed)
Ernst Mach

Henri Poincaré 1854-1912
The last days of the Republic

Phenomenology

Edmund Husserl

The German Expressionists

George Heym

George Trakl

Guillaume Apollinaire 1898-1918

Analytical Cubism 1907-12
The Cubist movement
Synthetic Cubism

Juan Gris
The Blue Rider
The Blue Rider

Wassily Kandinsky
Paul Klee

The Ballets Russes: Sergei
Diaghilev
Igor Stravinsky's
Maurice Ravel's

Electrical superconductivity

Nuclear theory

Carl Rutherford

Vitamins

Continental drift

Cetophane

1913-15
Austria's Archduke

By 1915

Military operations
The German navy
The German navy
The German navy

Industrial disorder

Irish Home Rule

Irish Home Rule



World War I tank

Bertrand Russell 1872-1970

Freud's

A. N. Whitehead

Opposition to the war

Rosa Luxemburg

Frane Kafka 1883-1924

Erre Pound

Erre Pound

Erre Pound

Erre Pound

Russian Constructivism
Tatlin 1884-1930

The first long feature film
The first long feature film

Charlie Chaplin
The first long feature film

Stravinsky 1882-1971
The first long feature film

The proton was discovered

Neils Bohr 1879-1962

The Geiger counter

Atomic numbers

The life cycle of stars was discovered

Stainless steel

1915-18
Germany

The strain of war
The strain of war
The strain of war
The strain of war

The 1916 Easter Rebellion

David Lloyd

George



V. I. Lenin

V. I. Lenin

Freud's

Carl Jung

Alfred Adler

The 'literary revolution'

The English war poets

Rupert Brooke

Wilfred Owen

Robert Graves

Siegfried Sassoon

The Dadaist movement
Jean (Hans) Arp

Marcel Duchamp
The first long feature film

Charlie Chaplin
The first long feature film

Charles Ives
The first long feature film

The general theory of relativity

Tectors

World War I stimulated technological advance

The diesel engine

Synthetic rubber and of cellulose

Gas

1918-20
Britain, France and the US
defeated Germany
Versailles Treaty

Woodrow Wilson

Wilson's League of Nations
Wilson's League of Nations
Wilson's League of Nations
Wilson's League of Nations

Women over 30 gained the vote



Russian Revolution: street scene in Petrograd, 1917

The British anthropologist

Freud's

David Spengler

David Spengler

The poet Rabindranath Tagore

Mohammed Iqbal

Mohammed Iqbal

Mohammed Iqbal

Mohammed Iqbal

The de Stijl group
The de Stijl group

The Bauhaus school
The Bauhaus school

Walter Gropius
The Bauhaus school

Herman reached a peak of complexity
Herman reached a peak of complexity

The first transatlantic flight

Alcock and Brown

The first mass spectrograph

The first commercial aeroplane

The first transatlantic flight

1920-22
In Russia

Germany's military

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1922-5
Germany

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1925-50 From depression to recovery

Principal events

The legacy of mistrust and depression following World War I brought a worldwide economic crisis at the end of the 1920s. The stronger industrial powers survived with the aid of new economic and social policies but in Germany, where the obligation to pay war debts exacerbated the effects of national defeat, the Nazi regime took power whose militarist ambitions in Europe would help to precipitate World War II.

National events

Amidst economic depression, a national government was set up in 1931. It faced continuing social distress, imperial decay and major European commitments. After the upheaval of war, Labour's promise in 1945 of social transformation as outlined in the Beveridge report was realized.

In the USSR a policy of forced industrialization was pursued under Stalin, destroying many of the ideals of the Revolution, while the basis for a communist China was laid after a long civil war. India won her independence, but only as the cost of partition.

World War II left Europe shattered and weak and Germany divided, with the capitalist and socialist blocs locked in a continuing though ostensibly peaceful struggle for power.

1925-8

Chiang Kai-shek 1887-1975

Germany (1925-33) by Adolf Hitler

Germany (1933-45) by Adolf Hitler

Fascist rule in Italy (1922-43) by Benito Mussolini

Joseph Stalin 1879-1953

1928-30

The Kellogg-Briand Pact

The last allied forces met in 1929

Leon Trotsky 1879-1929

The Wall Street Crash 1929

Gandhi

1930-33

The Round Table Conference on India

The Hoover moratorium

Japan occupied Manchuria 1931

A republic was set up in Spain 1931

Ramsey MacDonald

1933-5

Japan

Adolf Hitler

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Stalin began a 'Great Purge' in 1936

Civil war in China between the Nationalists and the Communists



Gandhi in Calcutta, 1925



The Depression: soup kitchen in Chicago, 1930



Spanish Civil War poster



Victims of Hitler's concentration camps

Religion and philosophy

Political thought was dominated by conflict between the democratic ideal and its opponents on the left and right. Marxist political theory developed divergent trends as the Russian and Chinese revolutions took their course, but its influence in the West declined as supporters of liberalism rallied to oppose fascism, with its ideological roots in 19th century irrationalism. A new democratic philosophy sustained by Keynes' economic theories of consumer prosperity

became linked with attempts to control political violence on a worldwide scale, marked by the founding of the United Nations. The Christian Church came face to face with growing secularization in the industrialized countries and the need to find a new approach to the problems of an emergent Third World. Philosophy remained split between those primarily studying human consciousness, and those who used a scientific model to understand reality.

The American J. B. Watson

Hitler

Gobineau

Existentialism was developed

Martin Heidegger

The word apartheid

J. M. Keynes 1883-1946

Leon Trotsky 1879-1929

Gandhi

Literature

The insistent excavation of personal experience which had begun with the Romantics and reached a peak with the stream of consciousness writings of Proust and Joyce found a new exponent in Virginia Woolf and the more consciously Freudian Surrealists. Much European writing of the interwar period, however, reflected a need to grasp social issues of the time. Some

such as Camus, accepted the fact of social commitment while admitting the ultimate meaninglessness of existence. Others like Brecht developed new artistic forms to embody their political vision with a lesser emphasis on the individual. In the Third World too, where writers were inspired by the ideal of national independence, a new more confident literature emerged.

A major writer

Mikhail Sholokhov

The Bloomsbury Group

E. M. Forster

D. H. Lawrence

John Cowper Powys 1872-1962

Lowry 1905-51

A group of left-wing poets

Theatre of the Absurd

Luigi Pirandello

American writing

John Steinbeck

The Lost Generation

Fitzgerald

Ernest Hemingway

Gertrude Stein

Art and architecture

In Europe before World War II there was increasing integration between art forms. Furniture design, painting and architecture were developed by the de Stijl and Bauhaus groups. Formal developments in painting also affected architecture. By 1932 the new International Style had come into existence. The first Surrealist manifesto in 1924, with its emphasis on exploration of the unconscious, represented the culmination of the avant-garde movement in

art, which linked radical artistic and political ideas. Many of the artistic movements of the postwar period found expression in the cinema, but the depression caused the collapse of the film industries of many European countries and introduced a period of Hollywood supremacy based on large studio organizations, which had the effect of suppressing much individual talent, and leading to the development of styles suited to a mass market.

Expressionist techniques

Chaim Soutine 1891-1931

Chagall

Expressionist cinema

Fritz Lang 1890-1980

Surrealism

Salvador Dalí

Rene Magritte 1898-1967

Giorgio de Chirico 1892-1968

Miro 1893-1983

The International Style

Le Corbusier

George Rouseau

George Rouseau

In Germany anti-Nazi artistic expressions

Otto Dix 1891-1969

George Grosz 1895-1959

Oskar Kokoschka 1895-1980

Music

Serious music split into several mutually exclusive schools, most of which could attract few listeners or performers. In spite of the spread of the radio and gramophone, however, these

did help to broaden the audience for popular music, which in various jazz forms and musicals, flourished widely.

An English school

Frederick Delius 1862-1934

Gustav Holst 1874-1934

Vaughan Williams 1872-1958

Louis Armstrong

Duke Ellington 1899-1974

John Legie Baird

Ionization

Varela

Edgard Varese

The Neoclassic movement

Stravinsky

Sergei Prokofiev 1891-1953

Paul Hindemith 1895-1962

Science and technology

Economic depression and war hindered some areas of science while advancing others. In the West steelmaking, engineering and agricultural production fell during the thirties, but falling prices stimulated consumer industries and aviation. Radio, the car industry and artificial fibres continued to develop. The USSR too was industrializing fast.

In Britain important work was done in astronomy exploring the implications of Einstein's theories to produce conflicting concepts of the origin of the universe.

Modern sound recording

Liquid fuel rockets were developed

The big bang theory

Abbe Lemaitre

Wave mechanics

The Heisenberg uncertainty principle

John Legie Baird

The anti-bacterial activity of Penicillium

Alexander Fleming

The distance of galaxies

Edwin Hubble

The cyclotron

Wallace Carothers

Radio astronomy

Deuterium

The first nuclear reaction

Neutrons were discovered

Sky scraper building in the USA

The first radio-telescope was proposed by Frank B. Rowley

Curie 1867-1934

Robert Watson Watt

The radar

The meson

1935-7

The government reforms

Mussolini invaded Abyssinia

Hitler

Rome-Berlin axis
A right wing coup

The Japanese

Edward VIII

A tariff war and a naval race

1937-40

Germany annexed Austria

Spanish threats

Spanish threats

Spanish war
Francisco Franco

Germany took France
Japan

Neville Chamberlain

1944-45
March 19
1945

1940-43

Germany

In June 1941 Germany invaded Russia

Japanese aggression

Pearl Harbor

Hitler

British troops

Winston Churchill

1943-5

In 1943 Russia stopped the Germans

Guerrilla action

The invasion of Normandy

The Allies

With conscription

Labour

1945-7

America dropped two atomic bombs

The United Nations

The Truman doctrine

Britain granted independence to India

The Chinese communists

Clement Attlee

1947-50

The USSR

Zionists

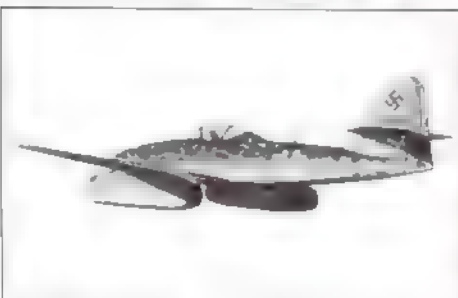
Indonesia

Mao Tse Tung

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

The socialist coup

The National Health Service



Messerschmitt 262



Women munitions workers



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta



Nuclear bomb test

The Vienna Circle

Moritz Schlick
Rudolf Carnap

Pope Pius XI

Mao Tse Tung

Mao Tse Tung

Phenomenology

Maurice Merleau-Ponty

Jean-Paul Sartre

Oxford

Karl Popper

T. Adorno
M. Horkheimer
Frankfurt School of Sociology

Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Martin Buber

The World Council of Churches
The welfare state

Spanish folk traditions

Federico Garcia Lorca
Thomas Mann

A sense of cultural collapse
Robert Musil

Ben Nicholson

Frank Lloyd Wright

Falling Water

Experimental epic theatre

Bertolt Brecht
Many foreign writers
George Orwell

Important English novelists
Graham Greene
Aldous Huxley
Evelyn Waugh

Pablo Picasso's finest paintings

Hollywood

The Malak Sisters

Tanaka Junichiro

Serious native American drama
Eugene O'Neill
Tennessee Williams

Arthur Miller

American artists

Edward Hopper

Hollywood cinema

Orson Welles

John Ford

Salvatore Quasimodo

The negritude movement

Leopold Senghor
Latin American literature

Jorge Luis Borges

Official war artists
Graham Sutherland
John Piper

Mies van der Rohe

In Deaths and Entrances

Dylan Thomas

Russia's history from 1900-30

Boris Pasternak
Italy's Cesare Pavese
Alberto Moravia

Emaciated single figures

Albert Giacometti

Henry

Italian neo-realist cinema

Jean-Paul Sartre

Simone de Beauvoir

Albert Camus
The Absurd

Abstract Expressionism

Jackson Pollock

Willem de Kooning

Mark Rothko

Le Corbusier

Musical theatre

George Gershwin

The first television service

New industries

The citric acid cycle

Serial music

Alban Berg
Anton Webern

The Graf Zeppelin

The Volkswagen Beetle

Nuclear fission

Einstein told the US president
atomic bomb

Food dehydration

Glen Miller

Plutonium

The first jet-powered aircraft

Frank Whittle
The first nuclear reactor

Penicillin

V2 rocket bomb

The swing era

Benny Goodman

Large diameter pipelines

DNA

The kidney machine

IBM

ODT

Be-bop

Charlie Parker

The first nuclear bombs

Britain's first atomic power station
The sound barrier

Missiles

Radio and gramophone

A Jaguar sports car

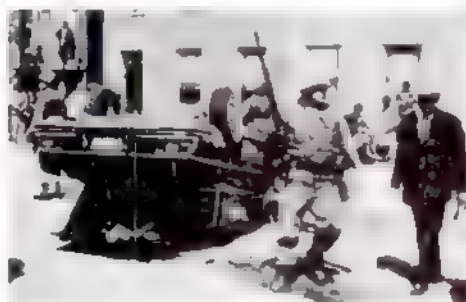
The steady state theory

H. Bondi and T. Gold
The transistor

A United States step rocket

The World Health Organization

1960-3 South Africa The Russians After Jayhn F. Kennedy Rights Movement Algeria Harold Macmillan Labour	1963-5 The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty After Kennedy's assassination Lyndon B. Johnson Britain Kenya	1965-8 The Chinese Cultural Revolution Growing American military activity China's victory Slovenia's independence Israel's intervention in the Six Days War France's intervention in the Six Days War	1968-70 Student revolt in France Soviet troops Richard Nixon Tanzania and Zambia	1970-4 US invaded Cambodia Biafra's surrender China joined the UN Bangladesh US President Nixon Palestinian guerrillas Chile's President Allende US troops withdrew from the Nixon administration	1974-82 World energy crisis Portuguese colonies Turkey Chinese leader The Shah of Iran
	Following Tory leadership disputes	Under Harold Wilson	The Labour government Immigration	Britain's first referendum Northern	Britain's first referendum Under Harold Wilson



Riots in Washington at the death of Martin Luther King



Ho Chi Minh



Apollo astronaut



Bangladesh famine victims



Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia

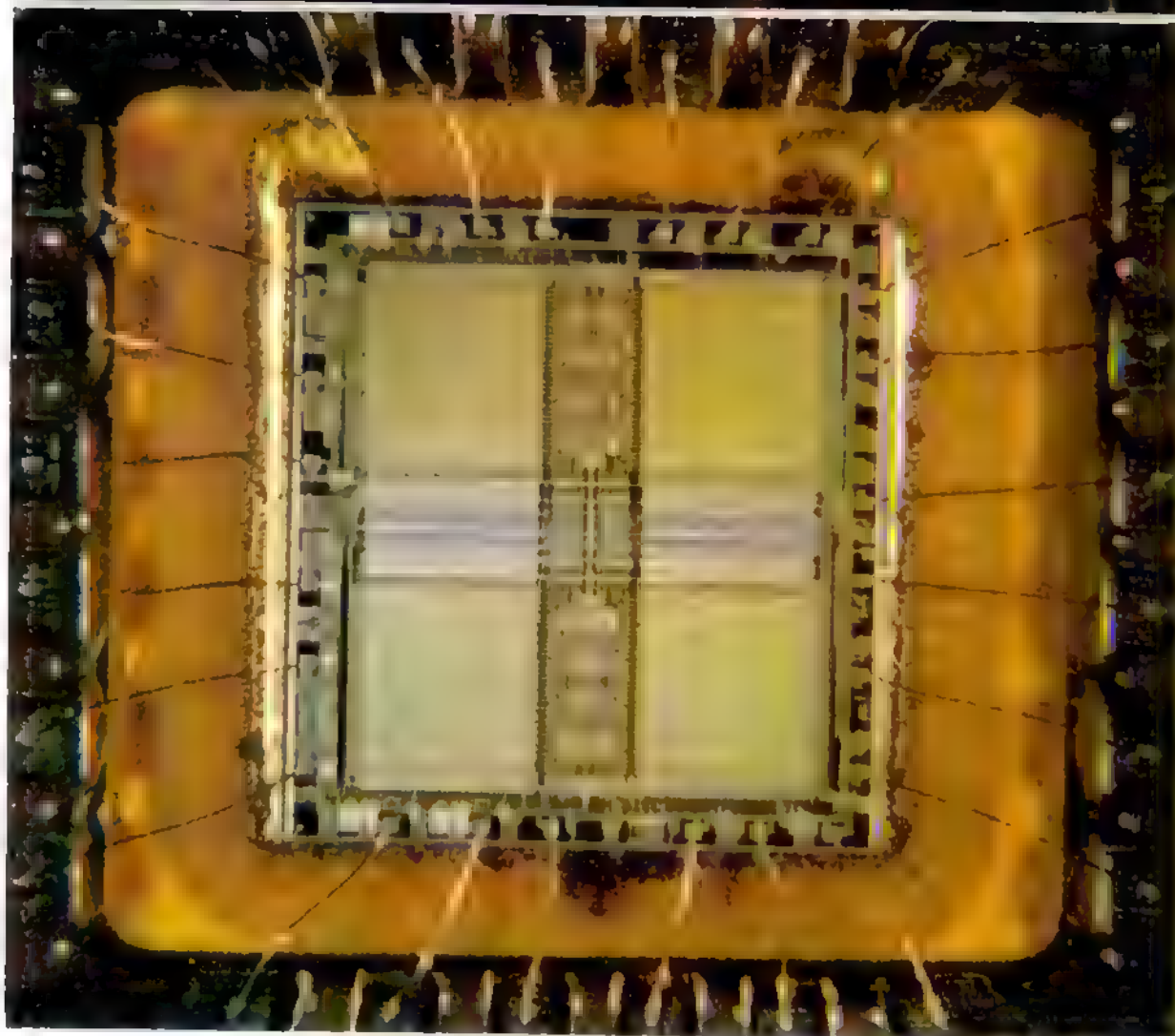
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The damaging effects of Chinus Achebe and the work of Wole Soyinka 934 V. S. Naipaul 1937 wrote poverty in the world with	Postwar German society with Heinrich Böll 19 The American novel with Norman Mailer 93	South American literature with Gabriel Garcia Marquez 93 Mexico's dual heritage Octavio Paz	Carlos Fuentes 929 Criticism of the Soviet regime with Alexander Solzhenitsyn 19 The Japanese postwar generation with Yukio Mishima 9	Science fiction 929 with Joseph Heller 19 Carlos Castaneda 929 Joseph Heller 19	English drama 929 with William Golding 19 William Golding 19
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Distorted human forms 910 Francis Bacon 910 A move towards formalism in the drama and use of curved Eero Saarinen 910 Japanese architecture 910 with Tenge	Op art with Victor Vasarely Pop-art in America with Roy Lichtenstein with Andy Warhol The Chinese sculpture 910	The "Happening" 910 Realism Lucian Freud David Hockney 937	Land Art 910 Arte Povera A politically committed documentary style with Tony Garnett 910 and Kenneth Loach	An exhibition 910 The Hong Kong film industry with Francis Bacon's 910	Conceptual art Francis Bacon's 910 An art sale 910
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Graphic notation of symbols by sound became in the 1960s	Simplicity and space with Terry Riley	The tape recorder Beatles	Post musicians Bob Dylan 9	Jamaican music 910 Disco 910	Rock music 910 Disco 910
The bathyscope Trieste The laser 910 for precision Tissue with Yuri Gagarin 1968 Telstar the first communication	Syncom Radiation at a wavelength The development of integrated circuits with Yuri Gagarin 1968 Telstar the first communication	Plate tectonics Mariner 4 1968 The first heart transplant with Yuri Gagarin 1968 Research into plant genetics with Yuri Gagarin 1968 Revolution in energy with Yuri Gagarin 1968 The Rance estuary power station 1968	DDT was banned 1968 The first Moon landing 1968 Invisible light astronomy with Yuri Gagarin 1968 meteorology 1968	Earth resources satellites Gene warfare was banned with Yuri Gagarin 1968 Feet over limited fuel supplies with Yuri Gagarin 1968 Micro-computers	The US British scientists The world's first test-tube baby

Starting new
technology in the
classroom
can be a
challenge.
But with
the right
tools and
resources,
it can be
a rewarding
experience.



9 Man & Society



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The study of man

The "discovery" of primitive or tribal peoples has occurred repeatedly. Ancient societies, such as those of the Greeks, Romans and Chinese [1], "discovered" them in conquering the less developed societies on their frontiers. But tribal customs and institutions were of less interest to them than the military or administrative problems and any judgments were ethnocentric, that is, made in the light of their own cultural values.

For the emergent group of anthropologists of the nineteenth century the ways of life of people whose appearance was strange and who practised unfamiliar customs became subjects of scientific investigation. Initially the objective was to use facts concerning simple cultures to determine the broad outlines of human history. This gave way to the goal of modern anthropology – the description and explanation of differences and similarities in human culture.

European expansion

The geographical explorations of the Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, Dutch and others, begun in the late fifteenth cen-

lury, generated a flood of knowledge concerning the diverse ways of life of non-Western and "uncivilized" societies. Navigators, explorers [Key, 3, 6], traders, fur trappers, soldiers and missionaries all contributed their observations. Much of the information that accumulated was incidental to other purposes: the pursuit of trade routes, of possible missionary settlements, of lands for conquest and colonization, not to mention El Dorados, fountains of youth and the hypothetical Southern Continent. Particularly important in the pre-anthropological era were the observations of trained naturalists and scientists [7] who, while they seldom penetrated the inner workings of native life offered accounts that were far richer in detail and more objective in perspective than the typically superficial travellers' tales [2].

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the growing knowledge of primitive societies in Africa, the Pacific and Asia paralleled the course of European imperialism as much of the non-Western world was partitioned into the colonial domains of a few European countries. Knowledge of the life-styles of

subject peoples was sought and applied by the administrators of the newly founded colonies in varying degrees. Some felt they could proceed just as effectively in ignorance of the complexities of native custom. To them natives were natives, all destined for conversion to 'civilization' and Christianity and a cheap labour supply for the mines and plantations owned by Europeans.

The science of anthropology

By the 1860s knowledge of mankind's diverse cultural manifestations was sufficiently detailed to call forth an organized scientific enterprise—anthropology—to bring some order to the mass of detail. What meaning could be assigned to such strange customs as a man's taking to his hammock during his wife's pregnancy, uttering an oath when a companion sneezed, or referring to his wife's sister as "my wife"? If tribes in different parts of the world practised the same custom did this prove there was an historical link or was it an independent development? These were among the questions posed by the first anthropologists. Some

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 The Chinese of Han times (206 BC–AD 220) knew of many less developed societies on their borders. Their view of these "barbarians" was expressed in the way they rendered their names. People held in high esteem were honoured by having their names written in combination with the radical form of the character *ren*, meaning human being [A]. The names of people on par with the emperor, or held in low esteem, were combined with *chuan*, meaning dog [B]. Peoples whose cultures differed greatly and whose customs were repellent had affixed to their names a form of the character *chong* or insect [C].



the Iroquois was ethnographic, but most other amassed data on primitive life consisted of scattered observations coloured by a variety of European viewpoints. While careful comparison could extract meaning from such facts it was clear that anthropologists must henceforth collect their own data if understanding of primitive cultures were to advance further.

Ethnography, the long-term analysis

The method of ethnography is as simple to describe as it is exacting to apply. It calls for intensive, long-term study of native cultures through the medium of the native language and through the participation, as far as possible, in native life in order to gain an understanding of the culture from the point of view of its own members. This method of intensive ethnography was pioneered by the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) in his study of the Trobriand Islanders in the early 1920s. Our present understanding of primitive man rests upon the many hundreds of ethnographies carried out since then in all parts of the world.

toldt, 1769–1859 whose work is an example of the contributions of trained observers during the pre-anthropological era. Between 1799 and 1804, with his French colleague the botanist Arme Bon-

pland (1773-1858). Humboldt traveled thousands of kilometres on foot on horseback and by canoe in Central and South America. He collected scientific data on previously unknown tribes

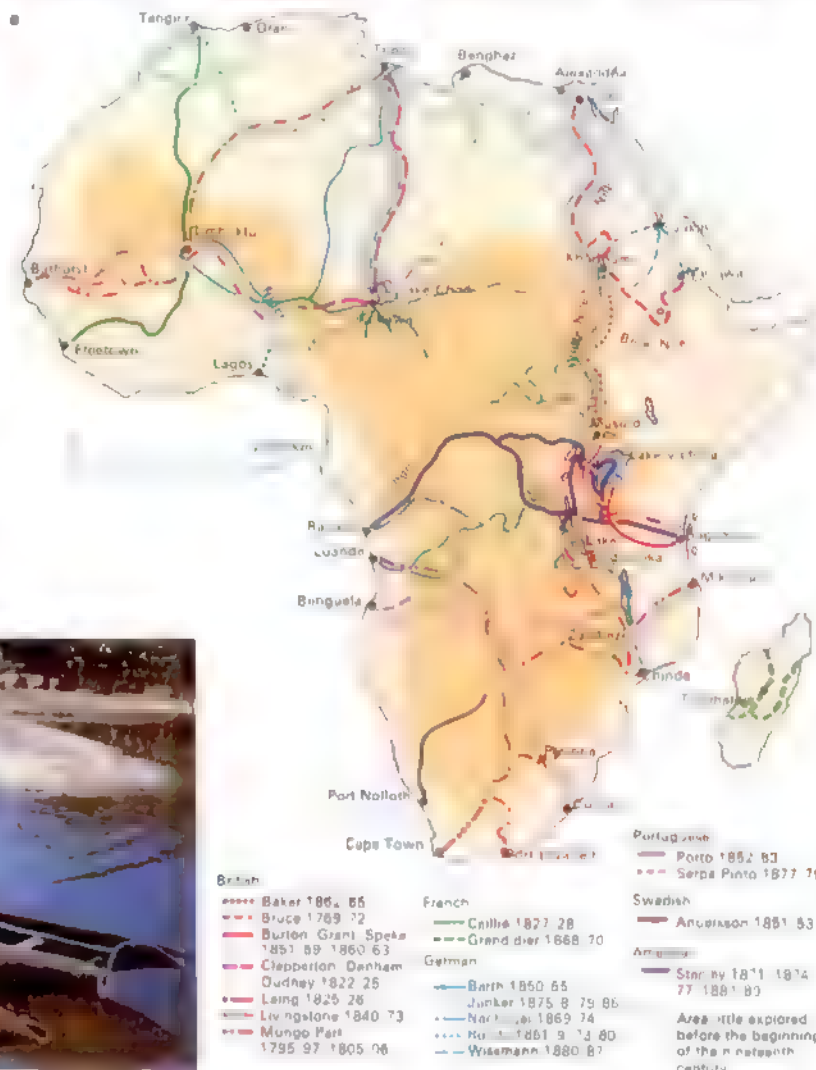


that could be dis-
mantled for easy
portage and partly
on foot. During
his first journey
on assignment to the
New York Herald

1871-2), he found David Livingstone (1813-73) living by Lake Tanganyika. His later trips included a trans-Africa expedition in 1874-7.

The second, 1857-8, they found Lake Tanganyika. For most explorers survival and public acclaim for some important "first" such as finding the source of the Zambesi and opening up territory for

colonization was most important. By the time the trained anthropologists arrived many primitive cultures had already been destroyed through the shattering impact of European civilization.



ways, marriage (3), which universally legitimizes offspring and creates affinal (in-law) relationships, the family which is the basic economic unit, a division of labour based on sex and age reciprocity, the sharing of food and other commodities, and the notion of territory, including concepts of property.

The classical evolutionists thought of early man as mating promiscuously, only later evolving rules governing marriage. If we examine mating patterns among monkeys and apes, it appears that our human precursors might have lived in "promiscuous herds." Whatever the mating behaviour of subhuman primates, it does not correspond to the human pattern in which all or many of the most accessible females are off limit because they are thought of as "mothers," "daughters" or "sisters." A male gibbon threatened by the sexual competition of his male offspring, drives the latter away. But for human father to do the same would spell disaster: an adolescent human male would be unlikely to survive on his own. Sexual competition is a highly disruptive force

which, if permitted free expression among family members, would destroy the family as a unit for survival. The threat of conflict over both women and resources among different groups was equally serious. Marital alliance through exogamy could at least mitigate it.

The simplest form of alliance is that of groups of men exchanging sisters generation after generation. In more complicated systems, one group does not give wives to the same group as it receives wives from, a larger number of groups is required for exchange, thus a larger alliance system is upheld (2).

Social origins

Human social origins are thus found in the origins of these basic and interrelated institutions. Many forces helped to account for their emergency including the prolonged dependency period of human children, developments such as tool-using, which long antedated the first human societies, and basic needs of social life such as sharing food, providing for offence and defence, and transmitting technical and social knowledge from one generation to the next.

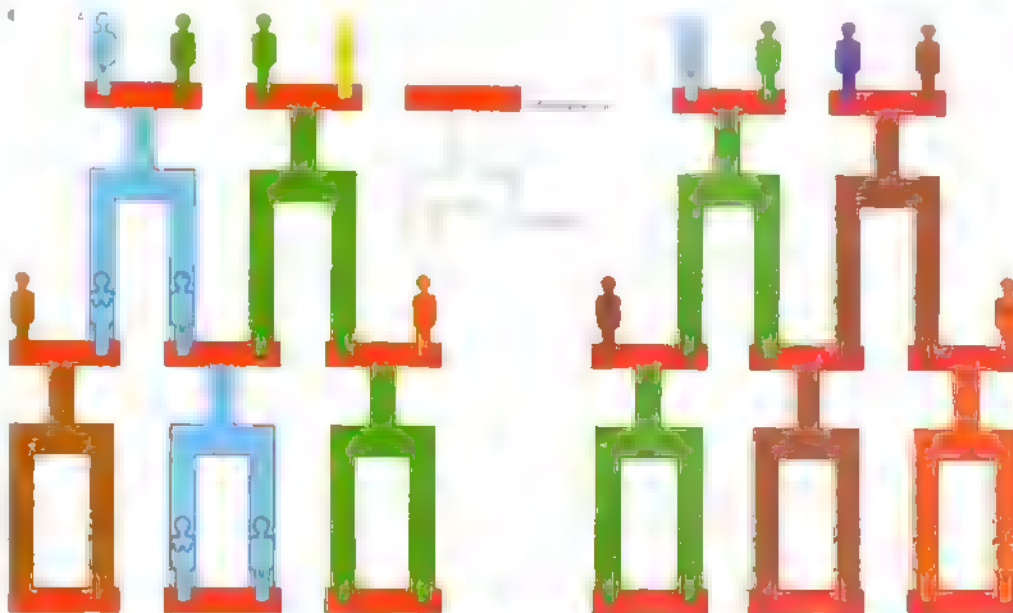


Speculating about which of the great apes is most likely to be the ancestor of man.

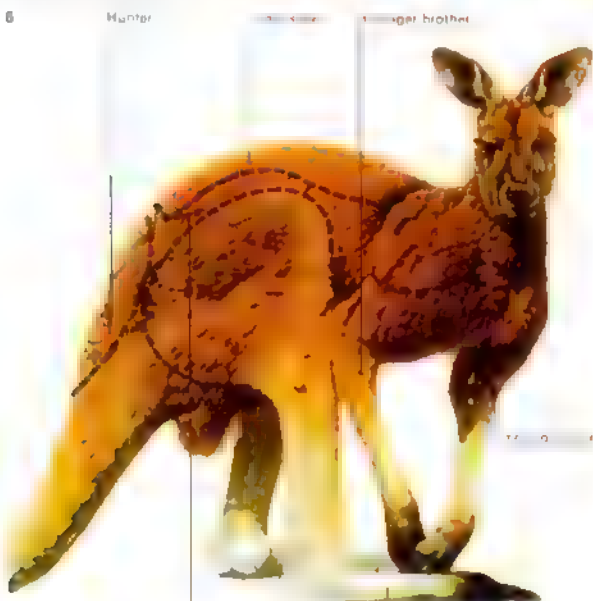
ancestors might have intriguing guesses.

gibbon. This shows a child playing with an orang utan.

4 Rules of descent were probably early social inventions. Descent traced from a common ancestor through the males (called patrilineal) A; or through females (matrilineal) B; places each person into one of a number of groups membership of which gives the individual many of his or her most important rights and responsibilities. People do not marry anyone belonging to the same descent group. In the patrilineal system inheritance and succession pass through the man. A husband has sexual and economic rights over a woman and her children. Here a blue lineage man marries a green lineage woman. Their children belong



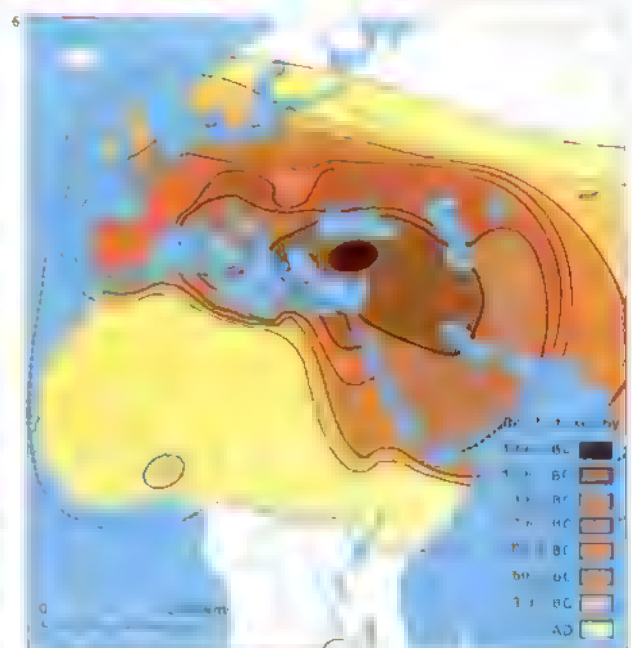
to the blue lineage in a matrilineal descent system, membership of the group is inherited through the mother, but this does not imply a matriarchy or rule by women. The maternal line is usually the key figure. J. J. Bachofen believed that matrilineal societies represented a simpler stage of social development that predated the emergence of patrilineal societies because he reasoned only identity could be determined with any certainty. Later anthropologists rejected this. Patrilineal and matrilineal descent are alternative organizing principles. Patrilineality is common but both are found in non-industrial societies.



1 Mother joey of thylacine skin to her parents.

5 Australian Aboriginal customs show that real rights and duties are associated with kinship ties. A hunter who kills a kangaroo is obliged to give particular portions of the animal to specified relatives. It is prescribed that runs governing the system of kinship are the same as the system of kinship.

6 Diffusion through borrowing or by cultures expanding into new areas. The spread of iron working from the ancient Near East made the available. These gave the peoples who possessed them advantages over their neighbours. The resulting invasions brought many social changes.



Stages of social evolution

History is a record of past events or our interpretation of those events. But history alone will not enable us to understand the past. We need also to study social evolution: how societies change their organization.

Types of human society

The historian's arrangement of events into periods or ages does not necessarily coincide with a classification of societies into stages of social evolution. A division of European history into ancient, medieval and modern periods, for instance, would not correspond to the stages of its social evolution. While ancient Europe, or that part of it under Roman rule, exemplified the stage of archaic state-organized society, the succeeding medieval societies were merely smaller and more rudimentary versions of the same stage. Modern European societies, however, beginning with the emergence of industrial capitalism, exemplify an emergent general type, that of the industrial nation-state. Different stages of social evolution are really based on distinctive features of organization rather than on time periods, regions or

specific events. Hence, evolutionary stages are not marked off by, nor identified with, specific technologies. Pastoral nomads, for example, may belong to small tribes or to centrally organized chiefdoms [2]. Nor do societies follow an invariable straight line through a set pattern of stages [7].

The evolutionary process does not follow any preordained path, rather it is opportunistic, with societies adapting in response to the challenges of their environments, including both their physical settings and their relationships to neighbouring societies [5]. Occasionally, however, adaptation to an environment has led to a "higher" form of organization, one in which a society is organized in a more complex fashion than its predecessor. This happened, for example, in northern Europe when a new kind of society formed as a result of the Industrial Revolution, or in the ancient Near East when agriculture first appeared. Thus, while evolution is, in the main, a process of diversification as societies adapt to different environments – producing variations on the same organizational themes – there have been

changes involving new organization.

The purpose of distinguishing between stages or types of societies is to locate these major changes in the course of social evolution (Key) and to isolate their causes. It is precisely here, however, that anthropologists have often disagreed. One such disagreement concerns the Neolithic period. Since the researches of the British archaeologist V. Gordon Childe (1892–1957), it has been held that the Neolithic Revolution constituted an evolutionary social transformation.

The advent of the Neolithic period when agriculture began did involve major changes. Through domestication of various plants and animals (the technical breakthrough underlying agriculture) man's relationship to his environment was radically altered. In addition, agriculture permitted an increase in human population, perhaps a 20-fold increase over average population levels of the cultures of foragers and hunters. Yet Neolithic societies, though often larger and more sedentary than their predecessors, did not necessarily display any new means of organization. They remained egalitarian

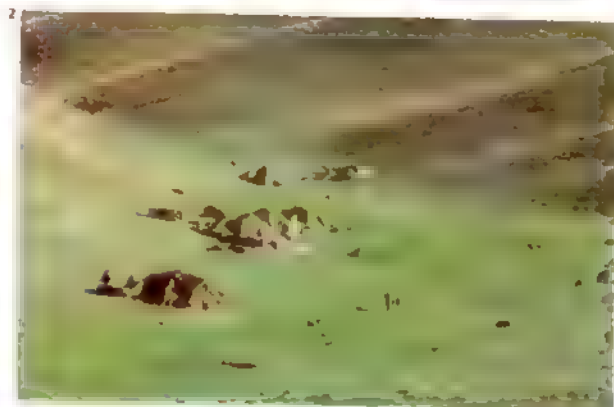
CONNECTIONS

See also

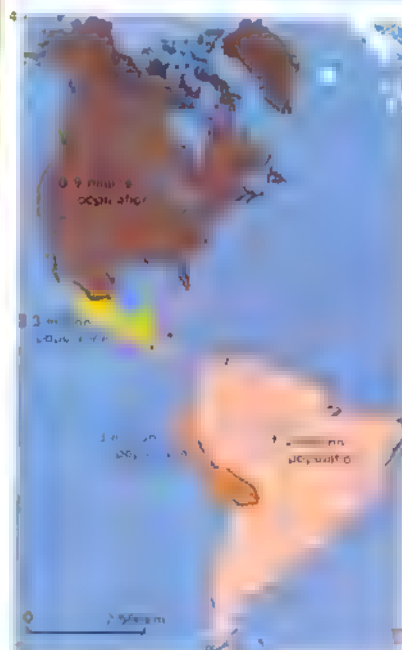


1 Hunting-gathering or fishing peoples such as the Bushmen (A) of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa or the Eskimos (B) of Greenland, are among the last remnants of the simplest and earliest form of social organization. The harsh environments that they live in are unsuitable for the growth of more complex tribes or chiefdoms because they are unable to support a large or settled population.

2 Nomadic pastoralists, such as these in Afghanistan, once inhabited the great African-Asian belt of desert and steppe subsisting on their herds but also raiding oases and agricultural communities. Many herding societies, such as the Tuareg of North Africa and the Mongols of Asia, were organized as chiefdoms whose mobility could make them effective militarily. The Mongols, for instance, conquered a vast empire.



3 Shifting horticulture, in which gardens are annually or frequently moved to newly cleared plots, was probably man's earliest system of cultivation. It survives in tropical areas of Africa, Asia, the Pacific and the Americas. While sometimes regarded as wasteful of land, it has served as the productive basis of societies ranging in complexity from the tribal Jivaro of South America to the ancient Maya civilization of Yucatan and Guatemala.



4 Relative densities of population in the New World at the time of the Spanish conquest give a clear indication of the significant role played in population growth by the existence of a state-organized form of society. In the areas that were dominated by the Aztec and Inca empires in Central and South America, the population density was much greater than in the bigger areas of North America and east of the Andes in South America. This difference reflects the superior economic system made possible by state organization. The figures are estimates of total populations of each area at the time of the European discovery of the Americas in 1500.

kin based societies, indistinguishable in any basic way from pre-agricultural societies of hunting-gathering and fishing peoples

Chiefdom societies

In time, however, and in certain localities, Neolithic technology and economy did give rise to more advanced or complex societies based on a chiefdom or hierarchy. What distinguished chiefdoms from the preceding tribal, egalitarian societies, was a measure of institutional centralization. The critical development was the emergence of hereditary chieftainship in place of the rather ephemeral leadership of tribal societies (indeed, chieftainship has been compared in its importance with the development of the central nervous system in biological evolution). Chiefdoms were larger, more complex and more firmly integrated than tribal societies. For the first time, persons, families and larger subgroupings became differentiated in political power, command over resources and role in economic life.

Chiefdom societies had the potential for expansion and increasing centralization

Presumably, such societies were the immediate precursors of the first state-organized societies in ancient Mesopotamia and other areas. Such states continued the line of evolutionary advance initiated by chiefdoms by substituting for ruling families a government or ruling group with a monopoly of coercive force. This development of a powerful means of integrating diverse groups, allowing population growth [4] and centralization, initiated a new stage and led to the disappearance of many simpler societies.

The nation state

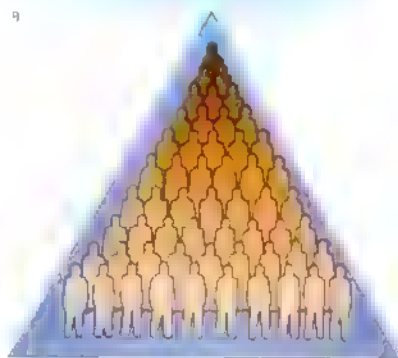
In terms of evolution, therefore, during most of human history societies were of one type: small-scale egalitarian societies integrated by ties of kinship and marriage and by tribal leaders who, in most societies, were scarcely distinguished from their fellow tribesmen. In favoured environments, and particularly after the invention of agriculture, chiefdom societies developed, some of them evolving further into true states. Later, nation states emerged in western Europe to become the universal and dominant social organization.

KEY

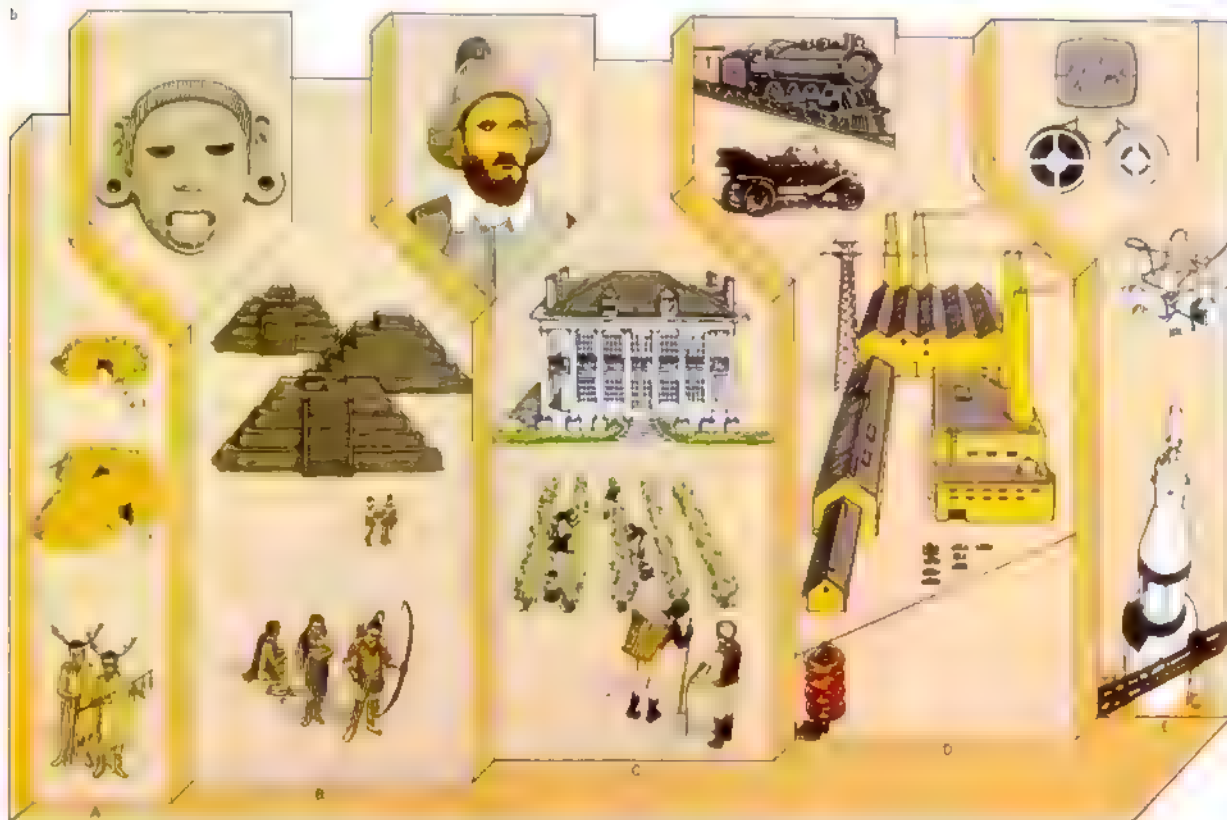
A



B



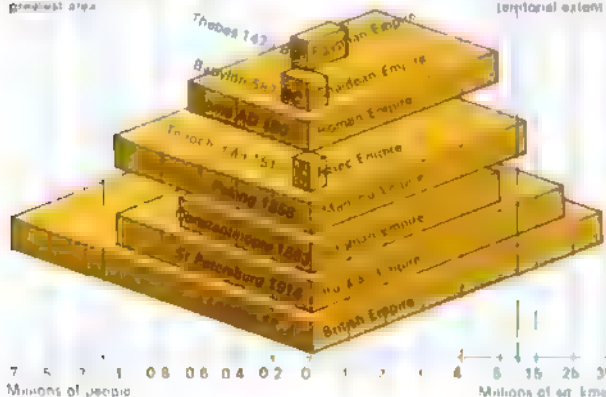
The change from egalitarian, kin based societies [A] to hierarchical chiefdoms [B] was an advance in social evolution of the greatest significance. By improving and so enormously extending social cohesion, it encouraged population expansion by making possible its effective organization. The social mechanisms of egalitarian societies are not strong enough to hold in check the conflicting needs of large numbers of people. Egalitarian societies are therefore limited to areas of kinship influence, whereas chiefdoms and state societies have definite physical boundaries and a sovereign government set above the population.



6 The cultural evolution of any particular society is usually the result of outside invasions by societies with higher stages of development. Consistent growth within the society is seldom as important. By at least 1,000 years ago in the southeastern United States, the region south of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River, tribal Indian societies [A] gave way to more complex chiefdoms owing, in part, to cultural influences from Mexico [B]. European colonialists then erected the slave-based agrarian society of the old South [C]. Beaten by the industrial North during the Civil War, the South was not transformed into an industrial urban society until after World War II [D]. In the 1960s the South provided sites for launching America into the space age [E] and so became a part of what may develop into a post industrial electronic society.

6 Approximate population of capital city at the fall of the empire's greatest area

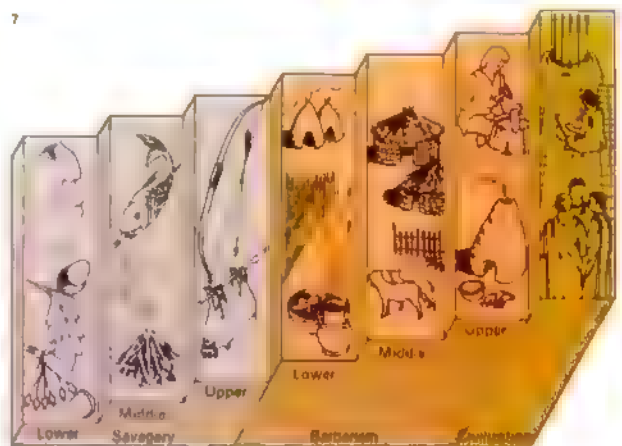
Approximate area of the empire at its greatest territorial extent



8 Effective central control plays an important role in controlling the size of an empire. This, in turn, is reflected in the size of the imperial capital.

7 "Ethical periods" or stages listed by Lewis H. Morgan in Ancient Society (1877) were based on technological criteria, implying that all societies progressed through each stage. This idea of unilinear evolution is no longer accepted and stages are now based on social criteria.

7



Simplest human societies

Much of human history is the history of primitive cultures. As recently as five centuries ago, on the eve of European expansion, such cultures were spread over a large part of the world - in Africa, northern Eurasia, Australasia, the Pacific Islands and most of the Americas [1]. Our knowledge of man's way of life during most of his existence is derived principally from the "modern representatives of primitive cultures".

If anthropologists refer to the simplest cultural adaptations as primitive, this is not an attempt to disparage them. Rather "primitive" refers to cultures that are simple technologically, small in population, based on kinship ties, egalitarian and still remaining unspecialized institutionally.

Family units in early cultures

Primitive technologies are directed primarily to securing food by collecting wild foods, fishing, horticulture or herding. Men and women normally perform different tasks, but each family has the required skills, tools and resources although some tasks involve the co-operation of people from many families.

Primitive cultures are small, averaging only a few hundred members. A lower limit of two to three dozen people is set by the requirements or advantages of co-operation in economic activities, sharing of food and caring for the sick. An upper limit is determined by food supply but also by the fact that this way of organizing people cannot cope with more than several hundred people without great stress and strain. Primitive communities that grow too large to function in a peaceful way often split in two.

As is often observed, primitive cultures are family cultures [Key]. The so-called nuclear family of parents and children is often part of a larger unit, the extended or three-generation family. Beyond the family, social relationships are still centred on kinship. Indeed, the society as a whole is often conceived as a body of kin. Prominent as a focus of ceremonial life are individual "life crises" or rites of passage: birth, puberty, marriage and death.

Primitive cultures are not lacking in social distinctions: men have more favoured social positions than women, older people have an

advantage over their juniors; the successful hunter or industrious cultivator is accorded prestige. But primitive societies are egalitarian in that there are as many positions of prestige as there are people with the characteristics needed to fill them.

Multiple roles within kinship groups

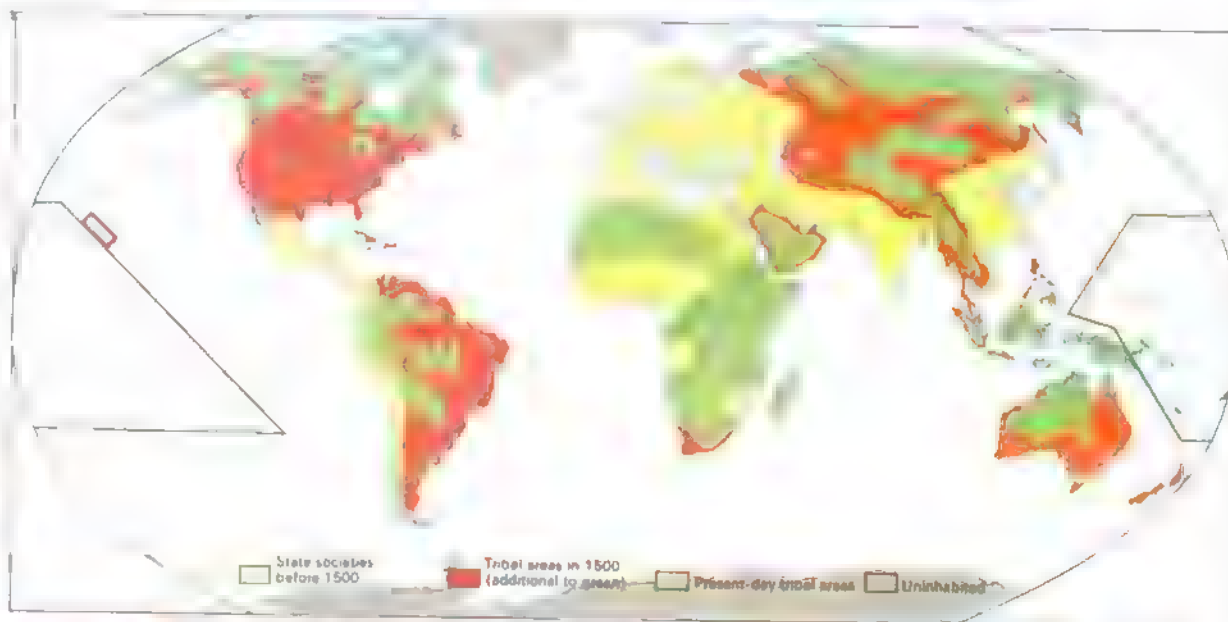
The family-based character of primitive societies is the key to the simple way they are organized. For the family is not only at the centre of economic life, but is also a member of larger groups of kin. It has a social, political, economic and ritual role to play.

While it is correct to think of primitive cultures as institutions lacking special purpose, all cultures are more or less specialized in the way they adapt to the environment in order to survive. Specialization of some sort is the invariable outcome of adaptation to specific challenges or opportunities. Primitive cultures are distinguished by their dependence on a narrow range of resources, or even upon a single resource. The acorn, for example, was vital to Californian Indians, as were the ubiquitous reindeer to Siberian

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 Tribal cultures reigned supreme in the world of 5,000 years ago. They were challenged by the emergence and spread of the ancient civilizations which converted tribal people into ethnic groups within a more complex social organization. This process took place when the Romans conquered and Romanized the tribes of Britain, for example. The contraction of the tribal world was greatly accelerated by Western exploration and colonization, particularly during the past two centuries. Tribal peoples now comprise much less than 1% of world population. The map compares their settlement today with areas of tribal culture in 1500.



2 A "snowmobile" revolution beginning in the 1960s, has already had a significant impact on the way of life of Arctic peoples, including both North American Eskimos and the Laplanders. The range and speed of the snowmobile allow the Eskimos to reach their hunting grounds more quickly and so permit compact settlements and more frequent visiting among people still living in widely scattered groups. Under the impact of Western materialism, the distinction between 'rich' (snowmobile owners) and 'poor' (dog sled people) has become important. Such a distinction between rich and poor is seldom made and of little significance in tribal cultures.



3 The Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest practised flood-water farming, and growing crops of the Amerindian complex - maize, beans and squash. They developed an elaborate ceremonial life in which the needs of agriculture and the harshness of their desert habitat were central themes. Although long a part of the Spanish Empire, the Pueblos have retained much of their traditional culture in modern times. Seen here is a Taos Indian from New Mexico in the United States. In spite of the need for a degree of centralized organization to make their type of farming successful, the Pueblos never developed a hierarchical structure or chiefdom.

hunters and pastoralists

Specialization may prove to be limiting when environmental change decrees the need for social change. A frequent cause of change is the advent of new relationships with neighbouring societies. Change of this kind occurred on a wide scale following the development of agriculture. Agricultural societies, more populous and powerful than most hunting-and-gathering societies, became dominant over a large part of the world because their new skills permitted more effective use of many environments. As a result hunting-and-gathering peoples were confined to "marginal" areas such as deserts, tundra, the arctic wastes and other habitats unsuited for or unwanted by primitive agriculturists. For most of human history, of course, wild food was man's only means of subsistence and allowed him to survive, if not always thrive, in almost every known habitat.

The impact of the Europeans

The rapid expansion of Western culture in the sixteenth century posed a challenge that primitive cultures could not meet. If their ter-

ritories were wanted for settlement by Europeans they were pushed aside, exterminated by a combination of introduced diseases and force of arms. Surviving remnants were finally confined to tribal reserves on marginal lands. Exploitation of other foreign territories was achieved partly through native populations recruited, initially by forcible means, to supply labour for European plantations, farms and mines. Primitive societies harnessed to European economic enterprises were doubly penalized by losing territories and resources as well as many of the active men who were drawn off as wage earners [9].

European trade had far-reaching effects even upon societies that had no contact with Europeans. For example, the fur trade in North America led to a significant increase in Indian warfare as some societies formed tribal confederacies to strengthen their position in the trade. Modification of primitive cultures elsewhere has been rapid during the past century and although many new nations have recent experience of them, these cultures have virtually passed out of existence.

KEY



Social organization in the simplest cultures is centred on the family, such as this Zulu group. Tribes,

societies never more than a few hundred strong, are closely bound together by marriage. Leader-

ship is not in the hands of any one person for all activities, but is taken by the most talented in each field.



4 Andean Indians, the remnants of the Inca Empire, still live on the floating reed islands that they build on Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, much as they did at the time of the Spanish conquest in 1533.



5 Argentinian gauchos are descended from nomadic Indians who began hunting on horseback after the Spaniards introduced horses. Their way of life resembled that of the North American Plains Indians.

6 Australia was colonized by hunter and gatherer people at least 30,000 years ago. Bands of a few dozen people had contact with others during their annual wandering across the arid continent. Seasonal abundances of food in certain localities enabled groups numbering in the hundreds to assemble for ceremonial activities such as the dance for which these Aborigines have liberally painted their bodies.



7 Aborigines today frequently live in poverty on the fringes of Australian society, both in urban areas and in the outback. In spite of an official policy of assimilation, Aborigines numbered about 300,000 when the white settlement of Australia began during the eighteenth century but only a few thousand, mainly in dry inland areas, still carry on a semi-traditional way of life based on the tribal culture of their ancestors.



8 The Nilotic peoples, of the Upper Nile basin of the southern Sudan, are cattle-raising pastoralists whose way of life is ruled by the wet and dry seasons. During the rains they leave their flooded pastures for nearby high ground where they grow food

crops, such as millet and beans, until the floods subside leaving fresh pasture. Members of the Eastern Sudanic group of East African languages, quite distinct from their southern neighbours the Bantu, the Nilotic peoples include the Dinka, the Nuer and the Shilluk.



9 A Zulu working as a rickshaw boy in Durban illustrates one of the ways in which rural Bantu have been drawn into South African urban life, as white settlement has pushed their tribes into the poorer marginal lands. Descended from tribal

groups that expanded from a probable base in the Cameroons over 2000 years ago, the Bantu spread their language, agr. culture and iron tools over much of Africa south of the Sahara and developed chiefdoms that in turn evolved into primitive states.

Prestate societies

Primitive man has been pictured as both an individualist and a rigid conformist – a “slave to custom”. These characterizations, however, are not completely opposed. In a society lacking a formal legal system backed by state power, people must adhere strictly to rules of custom lest the conflict of individual interests leads to violence and anarchy.

In modern society, the state can be seen either as simply providing security for people and their possessions or as an instrument for constraining individual freedoms. Whatever the viewpoint, it is difficult to conceive of an orderly social life in the absence of a supreme political authority, yet primitive or prestate societies lack such an authority. To understand their organization is to appreciate what the British anthropologist Mary Douglas has called the “miracle of social order in the absence of radio police cars”.

The egalitarian or tribal society

Every organization is a system of integrated parts. In these terms, prestate societies exhibit two kinds of organization, which differ in size, the nature of their parts and in

the means of bringing them together.

The first type, the tribal egalitarian society, is built on a segmental plan. The segments – such as families, lineages [1] and clans [2] – are unspecialized, basically equal and linked together by relationships of kinship, marriage and descent [Key, 3]. Within the segments the head of a family household wields authority over women and children in the domestic sphere, lineage elders have a greater say than junior members in family affairs, and yet no leader or group coordinates the activities or relationships of one segment with another.

Men and women in their respective spheres of work engage in the same pursuits and hence each family is involved in the same round of economic activities [4]. People have a common style of housing, dress and personal adornment. They use the same kind of tools, eat the same foods, observe similar rituals and worship the same gods. The cultural sameness of a number of such social segments helps to produce a social unity based on likeness or what the French sociologist and anthropologist Emile Durk-

heim (1858–1917) termed “mechanical solidarity”. The weakness of this system, however, is that it is not really integrated because the social segments are so self-sufficient. The loss of one or more segments does not impair or destroy the society.

Segmental societies are not wholly without leaders, but the tribal leader generally lacks the ability to give commands or, if he has this ability, it is limited by context and duration; he may, for example, exercise it only during a hunt, a war party or a ceremony. Because the tribal leader's influence does not extend beyond his own social segment – perhaps a kin group or hamlet – leaders of other segments could be his rivals.

Hierarchical society and the family

The second type of prestate organization, the chiefdom or hierarchical society, achieves a measure of “organic solidarity”, because specialized parts depend on each other. The same kinds of segments are present, but they differ in rank or status and in their political function and economic role. Some families and groups rank as chiefs and others as com-

CONNECTIONS

See also

Lineage of kinship
The study of marriage
Kinship
Kinship

Lineage of kinship

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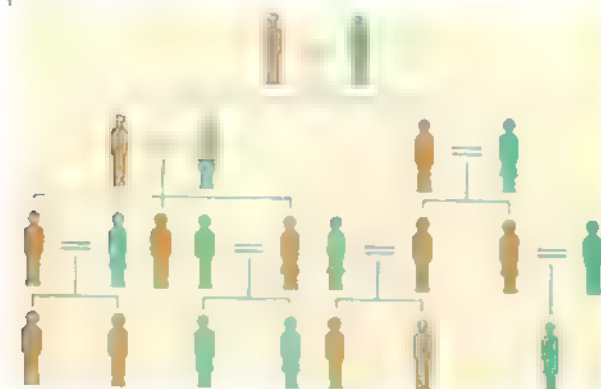
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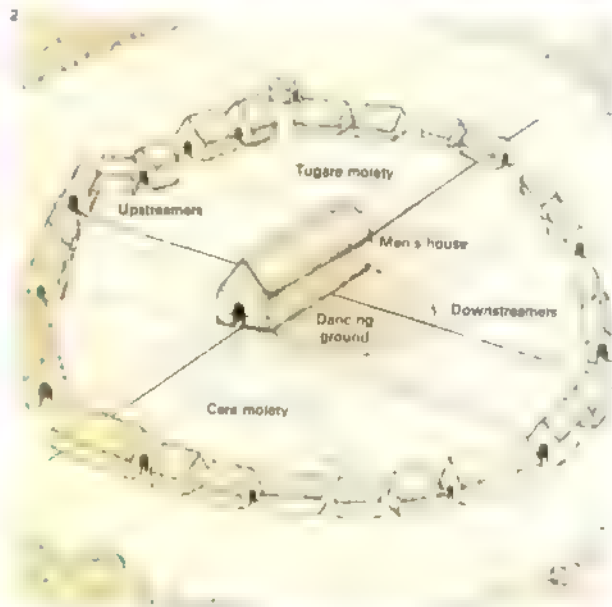
2 In a Bororo village in central Brazil the men's house and dancing ground is surrounded by a circle of smaller huts for women and their husbands. The unmarried men sleep in the men's house. A line running east-west divides the circle of huts into two halves or moieties: the Cera (north) and the Tugare (south). The huts are arranged in clans. Those on the east side of the circle are called upstream and those on the west downstream following the direction of a nearby river. Each person belongs to the same divisions: clan and moiety – as his mother and must marry a woman of the same class but opposite half or moiety of the village.



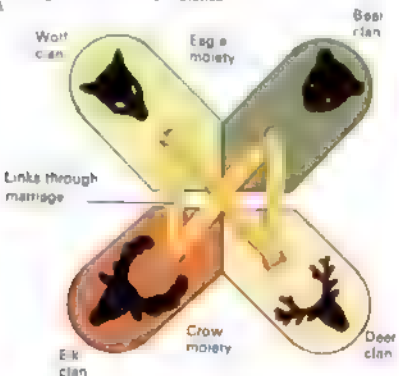
1 Lineages are descent groups. Membership is determined by descent from a common ancestor through lines of either males (patriline) or females (matriline). They are a common type of social group in prestate

societies. Since lineages are exogamous – mates must be acquired from other groups – a society must be composed of more than one lineage. Some prestate societies consist of a number of inter-

related lineages illustrated here are the interconnections between two lineages, brown and green, in a patrilineal society where the children of a marriage belong automatically to the father's lineage.



2 Village divided into 2 moieties



3 Tribal societies consist of various kinds of social segments interrelated through kinship marriage traditions of common descent exchange and perhaps a division of labour in ceremony. In this example, the tribal village contains

four clans: Wolf, Eagle, Bear and Deer. Lineage is a system of actual blood ties. A clan is more of a cultural grouping with a common interest such as

war or religion, that cuts across lineage providing other than family ties for its members. The Wolf and Bear clan people have a tradition of common descent and since they regard themselves as too closely related to marry, they must ob-

tain their spouses from either of the paired clans (Elk and Deer) of the Crow moiety. As local groups of clans people increase in population, they break up and some of their members go off to colonize a new village (B). In time

they are joined here by segments of other split lineages. The clan and moiety organization is thus duplicated in the new settlement (C). Through growth and break up, members of the four clans are distributed over the tribal territory.

Marriage is between men and women of opposite moieties, whether of the same or different villages (D). Inter moiety marriage and cross cutting kinship are the ties that unify the tribe. A Wolf clan member has fellow clansmen and

men of a brother clan in other villages. From these people he can expect hospitality, protection and assistance in time of need. In addition he is a relative of Elk and Deer clan people, who have married his clan sisters.

Origins of civilization

Civilization is often viewed as a complex of elements that include writing, government, law, cities, monumental architecture and art, metallurgy, science, craft specialization, commerce and large-scale warfare. The problem of the origin of civilization would therefore appear to demand the study of the origins of these various elements

Examining the evidence

Scholars have tended to focus on just one or another of these as being critical. Examples are metallurgy by which the earliest Old World civilizations are classified as "Bronze Age"; writing, as suggested by the distinction between literate (civilized) and nonliterate (primitive) societies, and cities, as indicated by the fact that the appearance of civilization has been described by some authorities as the urban revolution

From a comparative viewpoint, however, neither metallurgy nor writing nor urbanism can serve as a defining criterion of civilization. Metalworking preceded the development of civilized societies in some areas while in others, such as the Americas, it never

attained great technological importance. Writing was a feature of some early states such as Sumer but ancient Peruvian civilization lacked a writing system and the role of writing in Central America and the Indus valley has not been fully determined. Nor was urbanism an inevitable part of the earliest civilizations. In early Egypt and Central America ceremonial centres appeared rather than cities and they were probably characteristic of the first phase of development in Mesopotamia and India as well

There is growing agreement that political organization was the active element in the formation of civilization. This organization – the state – was a powerful new means of regulating the affairs of large and complex societies. It was the state that built cities, pyramids [7], temples and irrigation systems, organized commerce, carried on wars of conquest, subsidized craftsmen, provided for the discovery, extraction and smelting of metals, and made use of scribes to keep records

Ancient or modern, the political state involves a governing group that monopolizes the legitimate right to use force. The relation-

ship of the state to society, however, has long been debated. The issue is probably best resolved by examining the original state organized societies. States did not spring directly from a tribal milieu. Rather, they resulted from the evolution of hierarchical societies that already had hereditary chiefs, class divisions and central direction of economic life. In such societies chiefs did not possess a monopoly of the right to use force – they were not yet kings

Theories of states

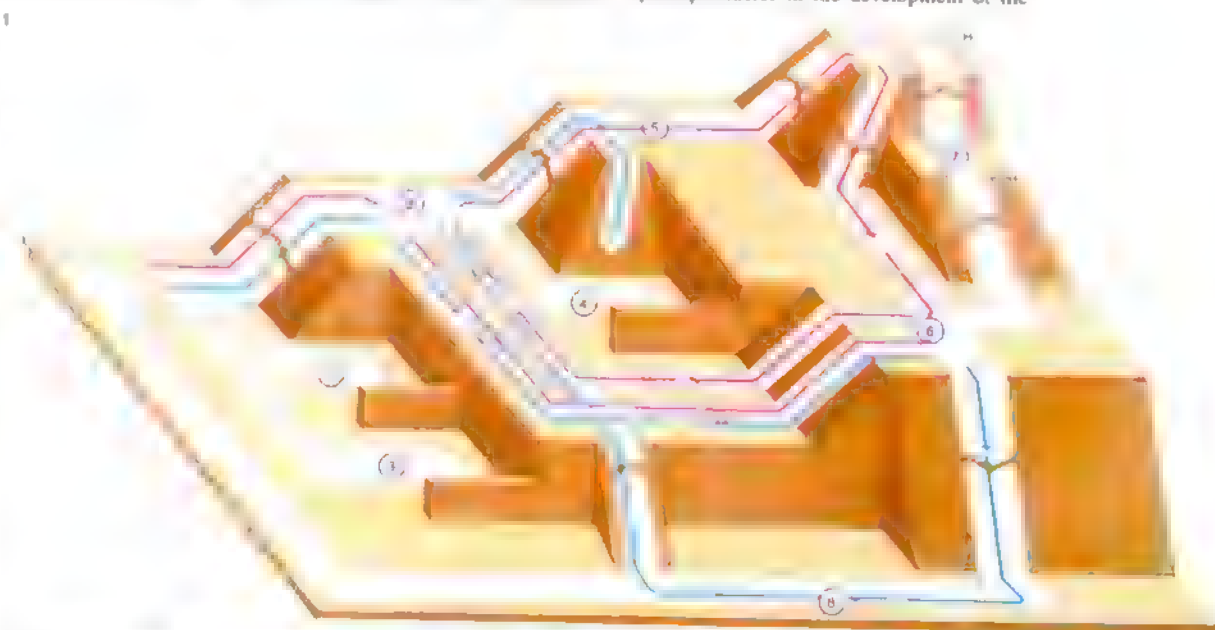
A number of theories exist that seek to isolate the key factors in the emergence of the state. The conquest theory, one of the earliest, attributes state formation to the conquest of one society by another, the conquering group forming the governing class [8]. Historically, however, either the conquering group or both the conquerors and the conquered were already complex societies. In other words, this explains the formation of secondary states rather than original ones

The cross-roads theory takes trade as the principal factor in the development of the

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 The transition from a simple, egalitarian society (E) to a complex hierarchical one (H) is the key to the origin of the state. In theory, the type of environment favouring this transition is a circumscribed area with agricultural potential. With egalitarian societies as a starting point, the numbered areas represent various intermediate or final phases of development suggested by the history of societies. Most egalitarian societies reached a dead end in areas 1, 3, 4 or 7. The blue pathway shows the development of tribal societies of Highland New Guinea, which reached area 4 via population growth, intensified production and warfare. In different circumstances egalitarian societies reaching areas 2, 5 or 6, might emerge as hierarchical societies. This is shown by the red path, which relates to certain island chiefdoms of Polynesia.



Potential for agricultural development not realized
2 Intensified agricultural production leads to population growth
3 Surplus production used to sustain social, ceremonial and artistic activity
4 Population stabilizes at higher level
5 Residual agricultural

population increases
6 Agriculture intensifies and new population increase
7 Agriculture intensifies by new methods, requiring formation of hierarchy
8 Agriculture intensified but no new organizational means required

2 Karl Wittfogel, German-born historian and anthropologist, has presented the most systematic version of the theory relating the origins of civilization to irrigation. In his view, the first civilizations were bureaucratic and despotic in response to the requirements of constructing and maintaining large-scale hydraulic works. Criticisms of this theory include the fact that the extent of despotism in ancient societies is exaggerated



3 Ancient Chinese civilization, in common with other early civilized societies, was irrigation based. Irrigation agriculture, by permitting two or perhaps three crops a year, produced the surplus food needed to support the non-agricultural classes. Moreover, it has been argued that the first centralized state bureaucracies developed to mobilize and co-ordinate the masses of labourers required to build and maintain large-scale irrigation and flood control systems. But, as with the development of Mesopotamia and Mesopotamia, archaeologists have found no clear evidence of large-scale hydraulic works associated with the early civilizations

state. At the intersection of major trade routes, communities of traders developed who were drawn from diverse societies. Because they lacked a common culture and common social institutions these internally different communities needed an authority – the state – to regulate their affairs. But since long-distance trade was carried on only by established state societies, the theory presupposes the existence of the very institution it is trying to explain.

The hydraulic theory [2] of origins is based on a correlation between certain forms of government and arid or semi-arid river valleys. In the valleys of the Yellow River of China, the Indus, the Tigris-Euphrates, the Nile and coastal Peru, irrigation and flood control had to be carried out on a large scale. Thus an organization was required to supervise and supply mass labour. This organization was the state.

While there is no doubt about the importance of irrigation in the early civilizations, hydraulic works may have depended upon rather than caused, state formation, for it appears that large irrigation systems could

have resulted from the linking together of smaller systems whose construction was well within the capabilities of tribal communities.

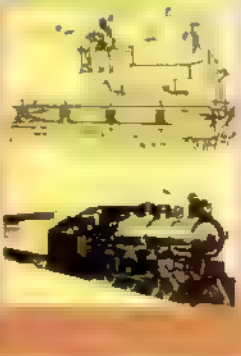
The circumscription theory

The circumscription theory [1] combines a number of factors – agricultural development, growth of population and conflict – to account for the origin of the state. The distinctive feature of the theory is its insistence that areas bounded by geographical barriers such as deserts, mountains or seas – or areas in which resources were concentrated – were favourable for political evolution. In such areas agricultural production permitted an increase in population [4], which in turn led to intensification of production and a further increase in numbers. Eventually population pressure led to competition for resources in the form of economic warfare. The vanquished chose to submit to the victors and thus the major evolutionary step was taken, the formation of multi-village organizations or chiefdoms. Further warfare led to the formation of states and their ultimate expansion into empires.

4 The British archaeologist V. Gordon Childe (1892–1957) viewed the origin of civilized society as the automatic outcome of agriculture, which permitted the production of a surplus and hence a division of society into food producers and non food producers. His 'surplus theory' did not explain why tribal agricultural societies did not develop further or what made the cultivators give up their surpluses.

on of society into food producers and non food producers. His 'surplus theory' did not explain why tribal agricultural societies did not develop further or what made the cultivators give up their surpluses.

5



5 The energy theory of cultural development held by American anthropologist Leslie White (1900–1975) states that societies evolve as the energy harnessed and put to work increases. At the bottom of the

scale is human energy, then that of domesticated animals, then wind and water power, then fossil fuels such as oil and coal, and then atomic energy. State-organized societies can realize this potential.



6 Julian Steward (1902–72) an American anthropologist drew attention to the parallels in development of the early civilizations of Mexico, Peru, Mesopotamia, Egypt, China and the Indus valley. Steward

proposed that similar factors primarily environmental – were at work and that comparison between the six areas would reveal uniform causes of the origins of civilization.

7 The sizes of ancient monuments do not indicate the kind of organization required to build them, since their construction could have been achieved with different combinations of time and labour – small labour forces working over two or three generations or large labour forces working over a shorter period. The Egyptian pyramids were built by large numbers of men and the construction periods overlapped one another. This and the fact that the large pyramids were built during the early phase of Egyptian civilization, suggests that pyramid building was an important factor in consolidating the new state's control over labour and revenue.



8 War of conquest, as depicted in this scene from the tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen (r. 1361–1352 BC), aimed at capturing territory, population and resources. Some theorists have argued that conquest was a primary factor in the formation of societies with formal government and social classes. However, the earliest civilized societies had small populations and territories and were apparently peaceful, so it is doubtful they were born in warfare.



KEY



The power to organize and direct the work of society is an important advance

towards the establishment of a state society. These village chiefs in Samoa wield much

more power than the leaders of egalitarian tribes whose powers are not institutionalized.

Ancient states and empires

Civilizations are often judged by their technological inventiveness and in that light ancient civilizations are apt to appear unimpressive, even stagnant. However, the civilizations of the past were based on the greatest innovation of all - the organization of a political state. The political ideologies, social institutions and means of organization evolved by these civilizations include democratic and totalitarian forms of government, bureaucracy, class and caste systems, cities [7] and municipal government, professional armies [4], the census [6], taxation, writing, science [2], codified laws [5] and law courts, police, money [8], "world" religions and priesthoods. Indeed, modern technological civilization has added little radically new to the inventory of the socio-political institutions produced by ancient states.

The development of early states and empires

The first ancient states, some of them taking the form of city states, such as Sumer and Akkad, comprised relatively small populations and territories. They were theocratic in character, the business of government being

largely controlled by a powerful priesthood [3]. The gradual emergence of civil rulers whose power was based on the leadership of armies and the command of resources to feed, arm and equip them, led to military expansion. The first empires, such as the Assyrian, Hittite, Egyptian and Persian, were individual states that were joined together by conquest.

Ancient empires tended, however, to be weakly integrated. Conquest, imperial administration and a thin overlay of imperial culture did not erase deeply ingrained ethnic and regional divisions. Furthermore, the political organization of these empires tended to reinforce this inbuilt bias against centralized government. Beyond a core area surrounding the seat of central government were subject territories ruled by provincial governors who, in command of local revenue systems and armies, might even be able to defy the authority of the central ruler. Outside the provinces, imperial authority trailed off into uncertain border areas of unconquered territories that were often inhabited by tribal nomads.

These forces of disintegration eventually led to parts of an empire either breaking away, challenging the centre, or simply fragmenting to the point where the whole empire was vulnerable to conquest by neighbouring states or tribal nomads.

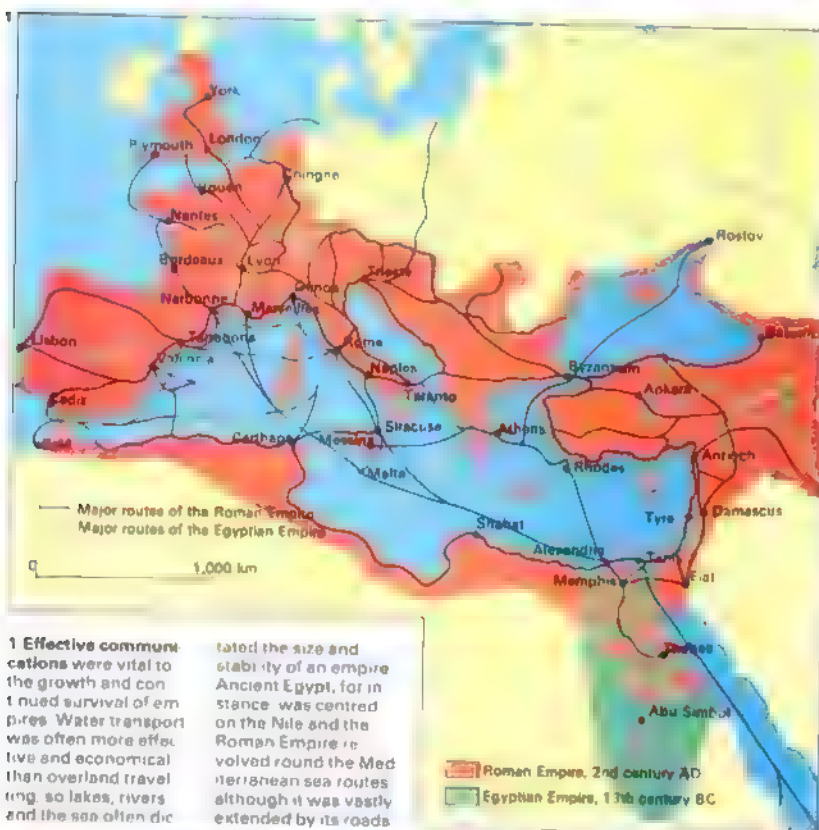
In addition to developing a central bureaucracy, ancient rulers devised a number of partial solutions to the problem of "creeping decentralization". These included rotation of provincial officials, alliances through marriage between the royal family and families of provincial governors, the keeping of hostages as pledges for an official's loyalty, systems of inspection, auditing and spying, concessions to merchants, cities, the priesthood or other special groups in return for political support, and the development of roads, canals, messenger systems and shipping to facilitate administrative communications [1].

The way of life of the peasants

Written histories of ancient civilizations tend to focus on the activities of kings and emperors, priests and philosophers, artisans

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Effective communications were vital to the growth and continued survival of empires. Water transport was often more effective and economical than overland travelling, so lakes, rivers and the sea often dic-

tated the size and stability of an empire. Ancient Egypt, for instance, was centred on the Nile and the Roman Empire revolved round the Mediterranean sea routes, although it was vastly extended by its roads.

— Roman Empire, 2nd century AD
— Egyptian Empire, 17th century BC

2 Early scientists such as the astronomer and geographer Ptolemy (c. AD 90-168) were encouraged by the state because much of their work was useful to the central government in planning and administration. The ancient Egyptians' discovery of the solar year's 365-day cycle resulted from their observations of Sirius and the time intervals between the annual floods of the Nile. The Egyptians' primary concern was to measure the flood water level annually. From this, land inundation could be estimated and thus grain production and government revenue predicted.



4 The cultural diversity and territorial extent of ancient empires meant that professional armies were as necessary for maintaining internal order as they were for the purposes of defence and external conquest. The Roman Empire was particularly successful at integrating the subjects of its diverse territories and client kingdoms. As well as instilling a sense of collective identity in their soldiers, the Romans were also adept at using their armies for the control of strategic resources and the improvement of communications. Cohesiveness and mobility were the results of this policy and made the Roman army a formidable policing and fighting instrument throughout the Roman Empire.



3 The role of the priest was important in ancient civilizations, with priest-kings acting as mediators between man and gods. Such theocracies were very efficient: the populace was bound with a minimum of coercion to a round of religious duties and rituals that benefited both individual and society. Civil obedience and service to the state were thus assured. Here Aztec priests conduct a ritual sacrifice. Captives were often victims.



and city dwellers. However, most of the people of past civilizations were peasant farmers whose lives might be only slightly affected by long-term political developments but whose surplus production was the basis of the achievements of the non-agricultural specialists. In return for such benefits as state-organized irrigation and flood-control systems, military defence and perhaps government relief in time of famine, the peasant committed a large part of his land and labour to the support of others [9]. In addition, he or his sons might be conscripted into the army.

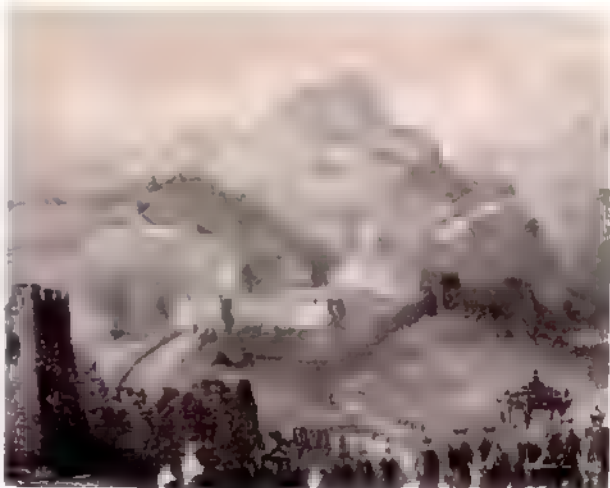
The peasant's way of life, as far as material standards and much of his daily routine were concerned, did not differ greatly from that of the agricultural tribesman who preceded him. Yet the peasant was a creation of the ancient state. With permanent fields, irrigation and animal-drawn ploughs, he worked in a more advanced agricultural system requiring more disciplined labour. Unlike the tribesman, he produced some food and goods for sale in local markets and purchased in turn exotic goods and

specialized services. Through resident officials and priests, and by his contributions of labour and part of his crops to state revenue he was linked to a political and economic system far larger than his village community. And he shared, in some degree, in the "high culture produced in the urban centres by the priesthood, philosophers and writers.

The citizen enters the social order

The peasant, however, remained a subject with little involvement or interest in the larger forces that helped shape his life. He was both expendable and politically impotent, as was his unskilled compatriot in the city. But in the cities, and among the higher social strata, there emerged another new type of man, the citizen. The citizen was a person with legal rights and capacities defined in relation to the government. Although ancient law was generally more concerned with protecting the power of the state than safeguarding the rights of citizens, the latter enjoyed a measure of protection because of the simplicity and comparatively small scale of ancient bureaucracies.

KEY



The Great Wall of China was finished in 214 BC by the emperor Shih Huang Ti (259-210 BC), the first

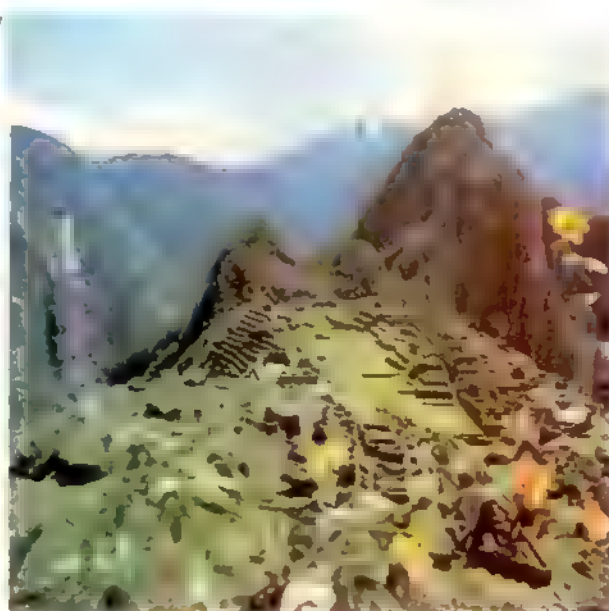
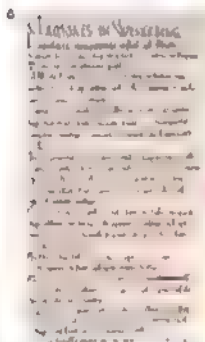
monarch of a united China under the Ch'in Dynasty. The wall, 2,400 km (1,500 miles) long and 9 m (30 ft) high with

watchtowers at regular intervals protected China's northern boundary against the raids of nomadic tribes.

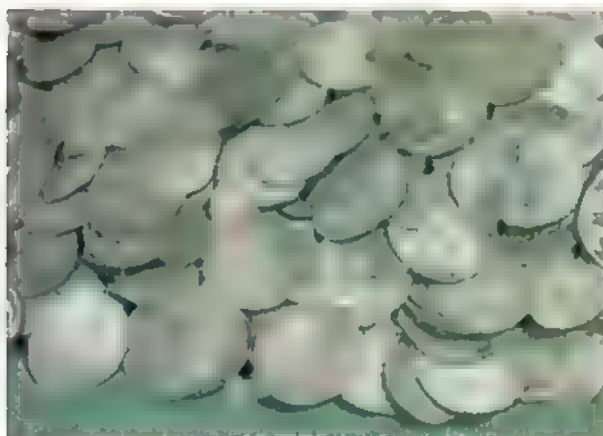


5 Codification of law was one result of the invention of writing. The most complete ancient law code is that of Hammurabi of Babylon, which was devised in the eighteenth century BC.

6 The census was an important feature of ancient states. It determined government collection of revenue (usually taken in the form of labour or agricultural produce). The Domesday survey of 1086, shown here, ordered by William I, was England's first census.



7 The cities of ancient civilizations were generally different in function as well as character from modern cities. Most were small, as even the so-called city states had predominantly rural populations. In early Egyptian and Central American societies, most contributions seem to have been ceremonial centres with smaller settlements of officials, priests and craftsmen. Since ancient societies were agrarian, then cities could seldom become manufacturing, commercial and fiscal centres of any size. Ancient cities such as Machu Picchu, the Inca city shown here, were primarily political and administrative centres.



8 Coins, such as these from Byzantium, were a helpful medium for taxation and trade. The Lydians were the first to use coins, in the 7th century BC.

9 This Egyptian wall painting of slaves and food being brought to the pharaoh reflects the fact that in ancient societies power was a source of wealth, not

the other way about. Power and class were determined by political affiliation. Broadly, the population was divided into the governing class

the ruler, the royal family, state officials, landed aristocrats, priests, the military and merchants – and their dependants, who were mostly peasants.

Structure of societies

Sociology is the study of the way in which relationships between people are organized [Key] The organization of social relationships produces social structures that range from the small group, such as the family through larger groups, such as the peasant community or industrial corporation to national states and empires. The social structures of societies are characterized by mechanisms that integrate their members but they usually contain social divisions, conflicts of interest and inequalities of power. Social structures have characteristics that are independent of their members, but their workings must be understood in terms of the way these members experience them.

Understanding sociology

Although sociological theories and the results of sociological research are often complex and sophisticated, the basic principles of sociology are easily understood. This is because everyone who is aware of his membership of a human society is, in a sense, a sociologist. In order to cope with everyday social life we must all have some under-

standing of the structure of our society, our social position within it, its rules, social divisions and hierarchies, and the way that other people will interpret social situations in which we are involved. It follows that sociology is as old as human society. Its emergence in Western Europe in the nineteenth century as a distinct academic discipline can be seen as a facet of the increasingly complex division of labour in developing Western capitalist society.

The pioneer work of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) showed that explanations of social behaviour were to be found within the nature of society itself. Uniformities in the behaviour of individuals, together with constant variations in behaviour between societies, may be seen as products of the structure of societies rather than of the specific natures of their members.

Durkheim chose a highly individual act – suicide – and showed how variations in suicide rates between societies could be explained socially in terms of the strength of the societies' social bonds. It is the society of which a person is a member, together with

the social groupings within that society to which he is attached, that determine most of his behaviour. His religious and political beliefs, his moral values, the type of house he lives in, the way it is furnished, the type of food he likes and the way he eats it, the clothes he wears – these are all products of the influence of society [1].

Social rules and social roles

Society influences and controls its members through their acceptance of its social rules (norms) and their occupancy of preordained social positions (roles) together with their willingness to act as expected in these positions. While some societies are more repressive than others, people are generally unaware of the extent to which their actions are socially controlled. In conforming to social rules and acting out the roles assigned to them they usually believe they are exercising freedom of choice.

The rules of society to which the individual member is required to conform include not only codified laws and written rules of organizations, but also a multitude of

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The individual is presented by sociologists, at one extreme as wholly determined by the society in which he lives. He is pressured to conform to social norms through the variety of social institutions and organizations to which he is attached, such as the family, the education system, the workplace, the Church, or even the local sporting organization. This is an extreme characterisation and represents only one side of his relationships.



2 While people are born into society, and both the norms of society and the roles into which they must fit are there before them, it is also true that social structures are initially created and continually changed by people's actions. Protest and other forms of social movement may bring about changes in social norms (eg campaigns for abortion law reform and homosexual law reform) and changes in social roles (eg campaigns to change the role of women in society).



3 Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) claimed that industrialization and urbanization brought about major changes in social relationships. He depicted the trend as being away from personal, communal (*Gemeinschaft*) relationships characteristic of the pre-industrial rural community towards impersonal, formal, bureaucratic (*Gesellschaft*) relationships. *Gemeinschaft* relationships are based on shared values and sentiments. *Gesellschaft* ones are based on self-interest.



4 Uniformities in social behaviour usually imply the presence of social norms. Norms are known to be present only when sanctions ranging from social disapproval to more severe forms are applied to deviants. Often we become aware of social norms only when someone breaks them. In the cartoon all are aware that the central character has broken a norm by wearing the wrong clothes and they are applying their sanction by laughing at him.

unwritten rules regulating minute details of social interactions. These include knowing when to speak, how to address people (Sir Mr Smith or Joe), when to laugh, when to stand up or sit down and when to leave.

The process of socialization

Through the process of becoming social beings (socialization) people learn the norms of their society and those of the diverse social groups in which they may participate during their lives: the family, the school, the factory, the shop floor, the sports club, the professional organization and so on.

People learn, through socialization, to accept social rules as their own standards of right and proper behaviour, so that they may be controlled as much through their own moral sense and avoidance of guilt feelings as by an external coercive force. But external pressures to conform to norms are also present in the form of sanctions applied to deviants, which may range from legal penalties of death or imprisonment and loss of job or position, to the social disapproval of one's fellows [4]. The severity of sanctions gener-

ally depends on how far common sentiments are offended by non-conformity.

People know their place in society through the variety of social roles that they occupy. Each person typically plays many roles in his daily life: his work, his family, his community and other social activities. Old roles are continually lost and new ones taken on. Social roles are not so much descriptions of what people generally do in the positions they occupy, but rather what they are expected to do. While these expectations may include the performance of tasks, they are mainly requirements of behaviour in the social relationships that acting out the role involves. Some roles, such as that of husband, may involve a relationship with only one other person. Others, such as those of waiter [7] or social worker, may require relationships with several types of people. Role expectations are expectations of behaviour towards other people, but they come from the norms of society rather than from the opinions and desires of the participants. The structure of societies may be seen as based on organized sets of roles.

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Auguste Comte
1798-1857 saw sociology as a science. He would discover the laws of society, he believed, in the same way as the laws of the natural sciences. He believed that the study of society should be based on the same scientific methods as the natural sciences. He believed that the study of society should be based on the same scientific methods as the natural sciences.



5 Different roles
The man in the top hat is the role of a gentleman. The woman in the dress is the role of a lady. The small dog is the role of a pet.

Formation of these different roles may be explained by the fact that the man is a gentleman, the woman is a lady, and the dog is a pet.

able to observe the performance of a particular role.

right to observe the performance of a particular role.

6 Georg Simmel

Georg Simmel was a German sociologist and philosopher. He is known for his work on the sociology of culture and the sociology of social interaction. He was a member of the Frankfurt School and was influenced by the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.



7 While the individual usually plays a variety of different roles, the social structure is determined by the roles that are played by the individuals in the society.

Conflict, power and social inequality

The mechanisms by which society integrates and controls its members are never completely successful. All societies have deviants and criminals, and nearly all are subject at times in their histories to serious forms of social disorder, revolts and revolutions. Sociologists have shown that such occurrences are not just the result of failure of the social structure. Instead they believe that conflict and social division are inevitable in all social structures. Societies are unequal in their distribution of power, and of material and social rewards, and it is these inequalities that generate social divisions and conflicts of interest. If uncontrolled they may produce extreme forms of social strife.

The exercise of power

In all societies some social groups are able to exercise power over others [Key, 8]. Their power may result from their control over means of coercion - military or police forces or control over material resources and social rewards. The German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) showed that the ability of groups to maintain their power depended

on their success in persuading those subject to it that they had authority, in other words that their exercise of power was legitimate. Acceptance of the existing power structure by the population may be based on tradition as in the case of a traditional monarchy [1], rational laws, as in a constitutional parliamentary system, or personal loyalty to a leader, as in the case of Benito Mussolini [2] or Adolf Hitler.

When the exercise of power is accepted as being legitimate it usually complies with prevailing social norms. A result of this is that the norms of society tend, in varying degrees, to serve the interests of powerful groups rather than the common interests of all. For example, in societies where the powerful groups are owners of private property, the norms tend to emphasize respect for private property. The exercise of power always tends to generate resistance on the part of the powerless, who challenge its legitimacy. However, just as people may be unaware of the extent to which their actions are controlled by the forces of society so they may not notice the power that others exercise over

them. They may have been socialized to want to act in ways that are in the interests of the powerful. Where the exercise of power is based on control over material resources and the means of production, as in nineteenth-century Western Europe, it is exercised by a dominant social class. Where power is based on control of the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the state, as in several contemporary African states, then that power lies in the hands of a ruling élite.

Social class structure

Social classes are groups of people sharing common social and economic interests. Where these interests are recognized, class consciousness develops, which may be the basis for social strife in forms ranging from strikes to full-scale revolutionary movements. Political parties often draw support on the basis of class membership, although parties may also be based on religious, regional, tribal or ethnic divisions. In nineteenth-century capitalist societies, the chief social class division was between property owners and the workers without property whom they

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1 The power of the Shah of Iran is seen as legitimate because it is exercised in accordance with tradition. Such rulers are now rare as the impact of modernization and development promotes values that undermine the acceptability of traditional authority. This has happened in Egypt and Ethiopia.



2 Charismatic leaders, such as Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), are seen as legitimate by their followers by virtue of the extraordinary personal qualities - their magnetism - which they are believed to possess. Such leaders often break with both established tradition and codified laws.



3 The policeman on traffic duty exercises rational legal authority power that is seen as legitimate because it is in accordance with rational laws. His authority is vested in the office not in his person and its scope is strictly defined by law. The authority of elected parliamentary governments is also rational legal.

4 Tanks in the street, as here in Prague in 1968, show the exercise of power based solely on violence. If the power holders lack legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects, they must rely on coercion. All forms of political domination use force to some degree, although they may try to achieve legitimacy.



employed. In modern advanced capitalist societies, this division has now been overshadowed by that between professionally qualified and managerial workers (often known as the middle class) and manual workers (the working class).

Social classes must be considered in relation to the historical development of each society, but there is some evidence that the dominance in advanced capitalist societies of the middle classes is spreading to a number of developing countries. The class structure may often be the key to the distribution of power, but social class membership can also help determine expectations. In societies where in theory there is equality of education, for example, educational opportunities for middle-class children have been shown to be better than for working-class children.

Ruling elites and their power

Ruling elites are groups that actually control the instruments of power. They may act either in the general interest, or simply in their own interests. If their power is not sustained by a dominant class, then it is main-

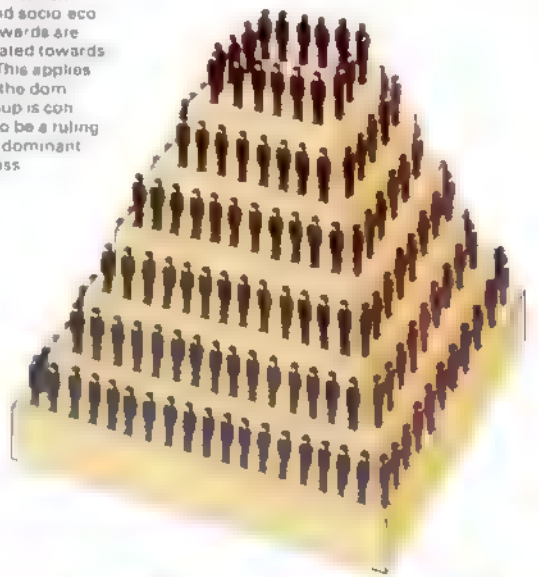
tained by control of the police, armed forces and propaganda. The state bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and the military regimes of several Latin American countries are examples of such ruling élites, although some of these may be allied to particular social class interests.

The American sociologist C. Wright Mills (1916–62) argued that in the United States in the 1950s, power in matters of national importance rested in the hands of leading businessmen, top politicians and soldiers.

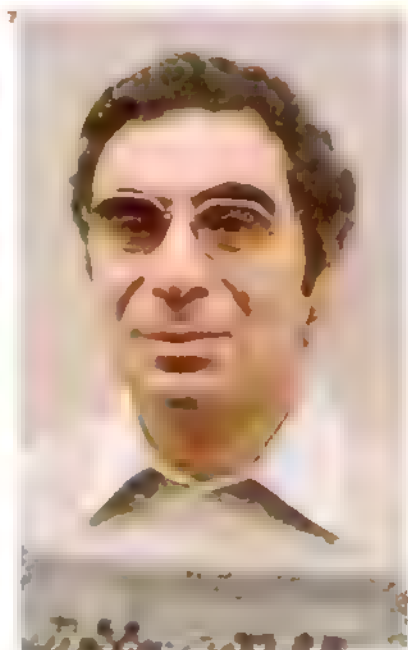
Power is often exercised by ruling élites in a democracy through their ability to choose the issues on which the majority may vote. If a new urban transport system is proposed, for example, information and debate on the advisability of having a system at all and the effects that it will have on the area may not be much in evidence. What will usually be presented are several alternative technological schemes. The élite, often businessmen or trade unions, have already made the most important decision, perhaps to their own advantage, and the majority are presented with a choice only on secondary issues.

KEY

Society can be represented as a human pyramid in which power and socio-economic rewards are concentrated towards the top. This applies whether the dominant group is considered to be a ruling élite or a dominant social class.



5 The Indian caste system is a unique form of social stratification representing the most extreme type of social hierarchy. People are born into caste membership and are segregated from members of high castes to come into contact with low castes such as those people collecting dung (involves ritual pollution). Although in modern India the caste system is not officially recognized, many features remain entrenched.



7 The British sociologist Basil Bernstein (1924–) has studied how people's use of language is related to the social class. He has distinguished the use of a simple 'public language' from a more complex or 'formal' language.

8 A person's position in society largely determines not only his level of material and social rewards but also the power he has over others and the extent to which others have power over him. A member of a dominant group, in this case an employer, will have direct power over his employees. He also exerts more influence over local and national politics, the operation of the law and the mass media.

6 Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923) the Italian engineer, economist and sociologist, argued that people's actions are often based on sentiments rather than on rational thought. Political élites, he believed, maintain their power by manipulation and coercion requiring appeals to sentiment rather than to rational interests. Elites, he claimed, are liable to be overthrown unless they are also prepared to use force.



The individual in society

Classes and groups in society are not concrete entities: they exist only insofar as they are accepted as real by the individuals of which they are composed. Social structures cannot therefore be fully understood without examining their meaning for the participants.

Defining social situations

There are no objective definitions of a social situation independent of people's perception of them, rather people will act according to the way in which they define that situation. Different people may well define the same situation differently [4] as an extreme example, whether or not the authorities open fire on an angry crowd will depend on whether they define the situation as a riot. The way people choose to define social situations is not a matter of personal whim but depends largely on social influences.

People may define situations by unconsciously imagining how other people who are significant in their lives would define them. These significant influences constitute the individual's reference groups. A person's reference groups may include his family, his

neighbours, the people he works with, and his Church, political party, age group, social class and sex. He takes his moral standards from his reference groups and through them is influenced by social norms.

Reference groups also provide an individual with a basis for evaluating his social position. Although they are not actual social groups, but constructions in the mind of the individual using them, it is through them that the individual is subject to the influences of society. If, for example, a doctor's reference group is the medical profession it is his idea of his profession rather than the actual behaviour of its members that influences his professional actions.

The social self

The eminent American sociologist and social psychologist G. H. Mead (1863-1931) showed how the individual's very conception of himself, and of how he appears to others, is a product of social interaction [1]. In his work Mead stressed the constant tension in social life between the assertion of individuality and the pressures of social conformity. He

distinguished two components of self, the 'me' and the 'I'. The 'me' (the social component) is the impression we think we make on other people whose opinion matters to us. We gather these impressions by putting ourselves in the place of these others. The individual's reference groups are therefore important for the development of the 'me'. The 'I' (the individual component) consists of the actual response of the individual to the attitude of others. It is the creative element of self, spontaneous, uncertain and never fully predictable. People's actions are never fully socially determined.

Social roles are laid down by the norms of society, but this does not mean that people cannot express their individuality in the roles they play. The various devices that people use to express themselves and convey impressions of themselves have been explored by the American sociologist Erving Goffman (1922-) in a number of studies. He has shown that it is normal for people to distance themselves from the roles they are playing, so conveying to others that their real selves are not wholly involved in

1 The different impressions of a girl that are held by her employer, her mother, her boyfriend and herself are portrayed here (left to right). These views all correspond to the different roles she plays: employee, daughter, girlfriend. These various impressions are not seen by others merely as a player of a particular role but as a whole person. The impression the girl has of her self drives a part

from her idea of the impressions that others have of her, and of her action in social encounters with those others. It is therefore a mistake to think of the individual as having a 'true self' that is independent of the impressions that others have. At the same time

the individual's self-image is no more mechanical reflection of others' impressions. This girl can for example consciously influence these impressions. This may be done not only through choice of

speech and action in social situations but also through the clothes she wears, her hairstyle, body posture, facial expressions and gestures. Sometimes people try to convey to others impressions of themselves that they do not themselves believe in. This may take

the form of presenting an idealized version of the self that the individual believes he falls short of, like the teacher who tries

to convey to others impressions of themselves that they do not themselves believe in. This may take the form of presenting an idealized version of the self that the individual believes he falls short of, like the teacher who tries

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social surveys, questionnaires and statistical techniques of analysis. These surveys were characterized by a rigorously scientific approach in the technical sense. During this time it was the common stance of sociologists that they were disinterested scientists and that it was not for them to make policy recommendations or moral judgments on the societies they were studying. Since the end of the 1950s theory and research have been brought closer together. Sociologists have been less inclined to emulate the natural sciences in a narrow technical sense and have paid more attention to understanding people's experiences and the meaning of their lives.

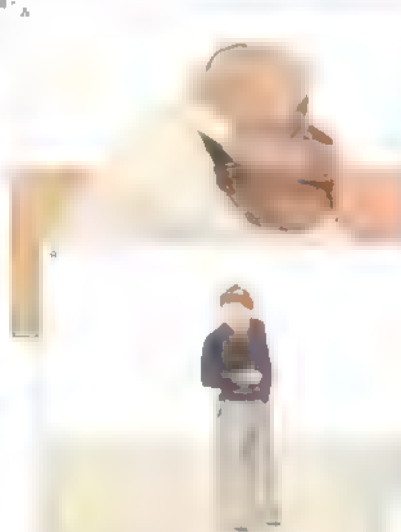
In many major universities the establishment of sociology dates only from the 1940s, although much work of lasting importance had been carried out before then. The 1940s and 1950s were dominated by two types of American sociology. One of these was rather abstract theorizing in attempts to develop models applicable to all societies, the other was the large-scale collection of information about various aspects of social life through

Sociologists today are less prone to proclaim themselves disinterested academics and more willing to advocate policies and to criticize societies. In this they come closer to their founding fathers, whose aim was to produce better societies. By revealing the oppressive elements of social structures, sociologists hope to liberate man from them; once people know the social results of their actions, they have the chance to avoid them.

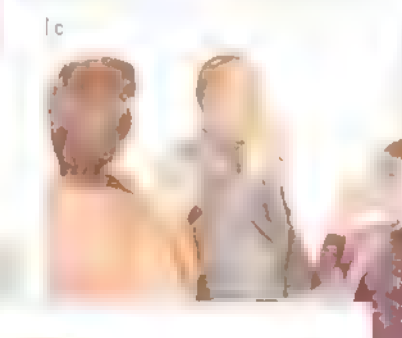


1899-1959, philosopher and sociologist, he lived in the importance of the common sense beliefs of the mundane world. He used this reality as the point from which to begin determining society.

3 The self is not a fixed entity. The images we have of ourselves are continually being modified according to our expectations and experiences in social encounters. As in this cartoon sequence:



4 Different people may have different views of the same social situation in which they are involved. In part at least these different perspectives are the result of their different reference



(c)



A theme of much sociological thought is the tension between the social and individual aspects of man. Man is a product of society.

but society itself
is produced by men's
actions. Men repre-
sented by the card
board cut out figure
lets up the room
that society provides

for him. But at the same time he continually asserts his individual identity in the various roles that he is called upon to play.

Prejudice and group intolerance

Prejudice is a preconceived opinion, usually unfavourable, about a category of people or about individuals thought to belong in that category. It is likely to lead to discrimination treating differently people who belong to particular social, ethnic or religious groups.

Aspects of prejudice

Prejudice has several different interlocking causes, but a major influence is the sharing of preconceived opinions by a group. People learn the prejudices of their parents, teachers and friends, and often take it for granted that their judgments are right. This sharing of opinions is one of the leading features of human cultures and because there are patterns of prejudice associated with different societies, but changing in the course of history, it is helpful first to distinguish the cultural aspect of prejudice.

While prejudice may be widely shared within a group, it is manifested in the speech and actions of individuals and has to be understood in relation to their personalities and to their positions in society. The word prejudice is frequently used to designate an

attitude that is emotional and rigid. When someone tries to demonstrate to a person who is prejudiced about something that his opinion is false, the prejudiced person is apt to cling to his preconceived opinion and to twist the new evidence to make it fit. Prejudiced people are likely to behave differently from unprejudiced people in discriminating against members of a particular group, especially when they see them as economic or social threats.

Ethnocentrism and racialism

Under the heading of cultural prejudice it is important to separate feelings of superiority based on pride in cultural and social achievements and those based on supposed inherent genetically fixed characteristics. The latter type of prejudice can be called racialism and is characterized by the feeling that members of some group are sub-human [Key: 3].

In every known society people tend to prefer those of "their own kind" as friends, workmates and relatives. They tend to see international affairs from the standpoint of their own society or nation and to put a lower

value on the people and customs of other societies. This inclination to prefer peoples and things with which they identify themselves is called by sociologists "ethnocentrism" and necessarily implies a bias against those seen as different [4]. Ethnocentrism has been a constant factor in world history. But international contacts diminish it by making individuals of different groups aware of their common heritage.

Within a single society such feelings of preference and suspicion are reinforced by the way that people of like background tend to congregate together both for company and for protection in the demarcated residential zones that are a feature of towns and cities.

The history of prejudice shows no simple pattern. Although prejudice and discrimination have been evident in most societies, by and large in the ancient world the motivation was ethnocentric rather than racist in type. This can be said even of the Hindu caste system that reflects the cultural split between the ancient, conquered Dravidian peoples and the invading Aryans. The kingdoms that are now Rwanda and Burundi in central

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1 Few animals act as aggressively towards members of their own species as man does. And even when they do fight over territory or mates for example they have an automatic cut off point in response to a submission signal. Man has similar submission signals, such as avoiding eye contact and hanging the head, but seems to be able to ignore them. This is made easier by the development of long range weapons.

2 The fighting between young supporters of football teams in Britain suggests that these games are also often ceremonies in which opposing supporters stimulate each other to more violent expression. As members of groups emotionally committed to different sides people are capable of extreme behaviour. Parallels can be drawn with the feuding based on religion in Northern Ireland.



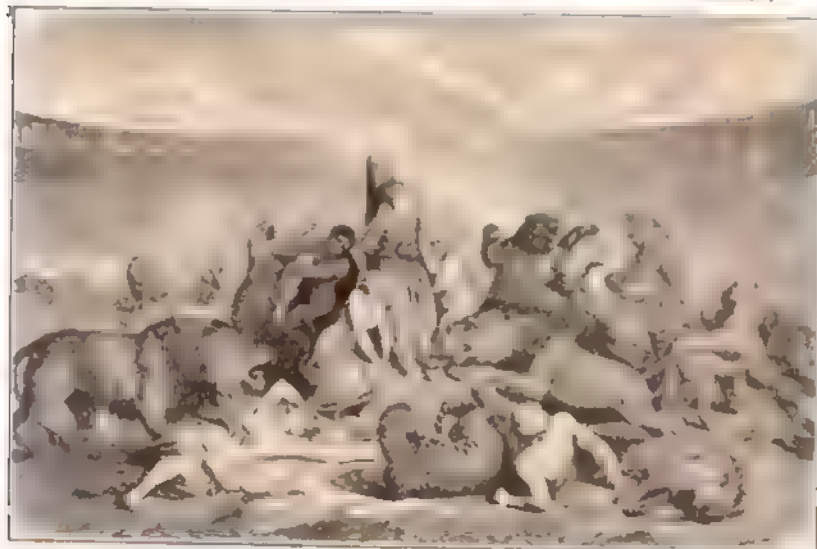
3 The government of ancient Rome had an effective way to divert popular anger when things went wrong.

If the Tiber floods or the Nile fails to flood, if the sky is darkened, if the earth trembles, if

famine, war or plague occurs" then immediately one should went up "The Christians to the lions! The Christians made a convenient scapegoat, just as did Jews in Nazi Germany.

4 Chinese ethnocentrism was evident in 1793 when Emperor Ch'ien Lung instructed the British envoy to tell King George

III that he saw no reason to open diplomatic relations. "Even if your envoys were to acquire the rudiments of our civilization you could not possibly transmit our manners and customs to your alien soil we possess a



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civilization you could not possibly transmit our manners and customs to your alien soil we possess a

Africa formed a sharp contrast. Here the pre-eminence of the Tutsi (who made up only 15 per cent of the population) over the Hutu (80 per cent) and the pygmy Twa (two per cent) was based largely on the Tutsi's physical characteristics.

One possible explanation for the lack of racism in ancient societies is that they were much smaller and those who travelled did so in small groups, so contact was limited.

Slavery and prejudice

Colonization and the African slave trade across the Atlantic created a new set of relations between people and stimulated the growth of a new kind of prejudice. The chattel slavery of the New World [5] (in which the legal status of slaves resembled that of domestic animals and non-human property) was different from the personal slavery of ancient Rome and medieval Spain (in which the law accorded a slave a human status, the right to marry and some protection against abuse). To understand this difference, it is necessary to consider the demand for labour. In the New World, land was abun-

dant. If a landowner imported a free white worker to labour on his estate, the workman was inclined to go off and establish his own farm. So the landowner found it best to bind labourers to indentures whereby they promised to work for him for seven years in order to pay off the cost of their passage. The move to outright slavery was an easy one to make. Europeans had for centuries regarded blackness unfavourably but when it became associated with slavery and, indeed, guilt about white maltreatment of blacks, it received a new emotional charge.

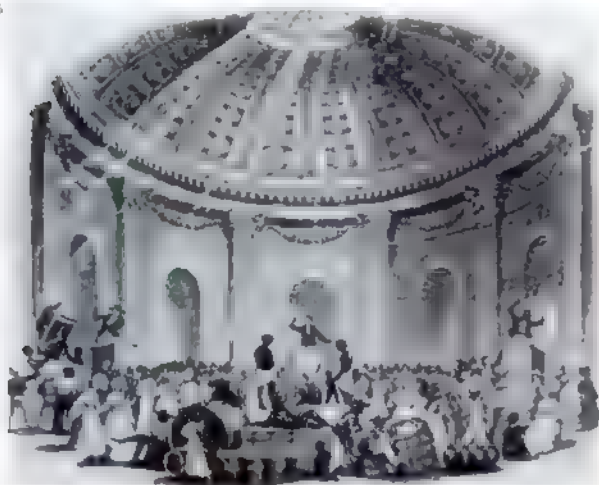
When, in the nineteenth century, scientists speculated about classifying mankind into types, just like flowers and fish, they were quick to describe Negroes as a distinct and inferior racial type. Up to the end of the nineteenth century the understanding of man's physical nature was confused and these early speculations about race were easily built up into pseudo-scientific theories of race. In later generations these have been used to justify people's prejudices and to serve their interest in keeping certain peoples beneath them in a separate category.



A Jewish youth is forced by the Nazis to parade through

the streets of Nuremberg carrying a placard that reads

"I shamed a Christian maiden" - a signal for discrimination



Slave families were often broken up when a slaveholder died and his estate was divided. In law slaves

were treated like farm animals and other possessions, as shown by this picture of a sale in the Rotunda

New Orleans, where household effects are being auctioned at each side and the slaves in the centre

British rule over India came to an end in 1947 and the sub-continent was divided into India and Pakistan. Both Muslims

and Hindus were attacked in areas in which they were minorities. This picture shows Muslims crowded on to the

roof and hanging on to the sides of a train in an attempt to escape from New Delhi to Pakistan. Shortly before a

similar train had been attacked by Sikhs and estimates at the time were that 1,200 refugees were killed and 400 injured



7 An episode in one of the popular Fu Manchu films shows a diabolical looking Oriental carrying off an innocent looking Western heroine. Hollywood films of the 1920s and 30s developed popular stereotypes of black people as stupid and subservient and of yellow people as insatiable and violently dangerous

8 An anti-American parade through the streets of Peking was a protest against US involvement in the Vietnam war. Uncle Sam is being pulled through the streets on a barrow. Government's use psychological warfare techniques not only against the enemy, but also often to persuade their own citizens to hate people on the other side



Prejudice and personal choice

The frequently heard accusation that men are prejudiced against women provides an insight into the nature of prejudice in society. Obviously the accusation cannot be taken at its face value: it could scarcely be alleged that most men are against the existence of women. But many men are prejudiced against the upsetting of traditional roles by the claims of women to social equality [1]. Society has developed stereotyped notions of "femininity" and has attributed such qualities to women as weakness, mildness and passivity. These are then presented as being "natural" when in fact they are culturally determined insofar as they exist at all.

Social roles and prejudice

Prejudice thus often occurs in connection with particular social roles and expectations. When blacks are at the bottom of the social scale, some whites wish to keep them there because they get emotional satisfaction from the belief that someone is beneath them, or because they obtain an economic advantage from the restraint upon competition from blacks, or because they have come to regard

this as a natural state of affairs. Racial prejudice rises to the surface when members of the subordinated category appear to challenge the social pattern.

One way of examining patterns of prejudice is to measure degrees of social distance. In the traditional Hindu caste system social distance was translated into physical distance [2]. Europeans saw themselves as occupying the highest positions in India prior to independence in 1947, but Brahmins saw them differently. If they had to call on Europeans they would do so as early in the day as possible so that they could cleanse themselves and eat in a state of ritual purity.

Even when not expressed in linear terms the requirement of social distance can be very obtrusive. In some racially mixed societies whites display much more reluctance to accept blacks in certain relationships than in others. Marriage is a close relationship where resistance to prejudice is highest [3]. Accepting someone as a fellow-worker is easier because it is a much more distant relationship.

People's theoretical attitudes, however,

often do not correspond to their actual behaviour. A survey in New York showed that of those white people who objected to black shop assistants, one in four did not even notice when he or she was served by a black assistant. When interviewed, the others said they did not mind black assistants in the department in which they had just been served (whether it was clothing or food) although they might not like it elsewhere. This underlines the irrationality of prejudice.

Attitudes and customs

People tend to accept the customs of their community and to adopt the attitudes that justify those customs. Attitudes and customs influence one another.

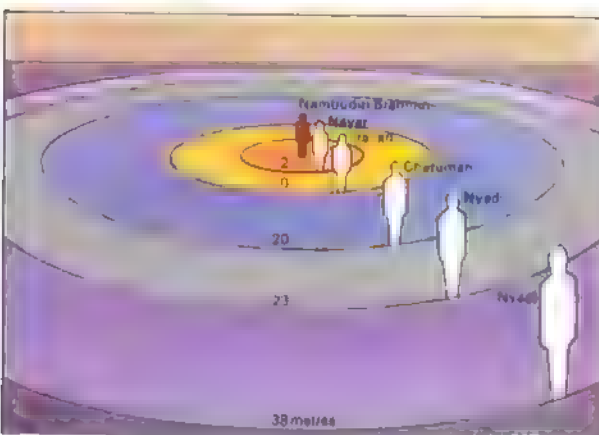
A classic study that points to this conclusion was reported in 1934 by a white American sociologist who with his wife and a Chinese couple took a trip in the western United States. Together they stopped at 184 restaurants and 66 hotels and were refused service only once. After returning to his university the sociologist sent questionnaires to the places he had visited, enquiring of each

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1 The fight to achieve rights for women centred first on the struggle for the vote. In the USA women first obtained the vote locally in 1840 and in the primary elections for the presidency. One by one state constitutions were amended and by 1918 women had acquired equal suffrage with men in 15 states. The Constitution was finally changed in 1920. The right to vote in national elections was given to women in New Zealand in 1893, Australia in 1902, Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913, the USSR in 1917, the UK in 1918 and China in 1947. There are still some 25 countries where voting is not considered to be the business of women.



2 A study of Hindu caste in southern India published in 1947 states that a Nayar 7.5 km (4.7 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 9.5 km (5.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 11.5 km (7.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 13.5 km (8.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 15.5 km (9.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 17.5 km (10.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 19.5 km (12.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 21.5 km (13.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 23.5 km (14.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 25.5 km (15.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 27.5 km (17.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 29.5 km (18.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 31.5 km (19.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 33.5 km (20.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 35.5 km (22.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 37.5 km (23.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 39.5 km (24.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 41.5 km (25.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 43.5 km (27.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 45.5 km (28.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 47.5 km (29.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 49.5 km (30.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 51.5 km (32.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 53.5 km (33.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 55.5 km (34.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 57.5 km (35.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 59.5 km (37.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 61.5 km (38.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 63.5 km (39.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 65.5 km (40.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 67.5 km (42.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 69.5 km (43.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 71.5 km (44.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 73.5 km (45.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 75.5 km (47.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 77.5 km (48.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 79.5 km (49.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 81.5 km (50.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 83.5 km (52.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 85.5 km (53.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 87.5 km (54.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 89.5 km (55.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 91.5 km (57.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 93.5 km (58.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 95.5 km (59.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 97.5 km (60.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 99.5 km (62.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 101.5 km (63.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 103.5 km (64.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 105.5 km (65.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 107.5 km (67.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 109.5 km (68.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 111.5 km (69.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 113.5 km (70.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 115.5 km (72.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 117.5 km (73.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 119.5 km (74.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 121.5 km (75.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 123.5 km (77.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 125.5 km (78.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 127.5 km (79.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 129.5 km (80.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 131.5 km (82.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 133.5 km (83.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 135.5 km (84.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 137.5 km (85.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 139.5 km (87.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 141.5 km (88.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 143.5 km (89.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 145.5 km (90.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 147.5 km (92.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 149.5 km (93.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 151.5 km (94.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 153.5 km (95.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 155.5 km (97.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 157.5 km (98.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 159.5 km (99.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 161.5 km (100.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 163.5 km (102.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 165.5 km (103.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 167.5 km (104.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 169.5 km (105.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 171.5 km (107.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 173.5 km (108.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 175.5 km (109.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 177.5 km (110.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 179.5 km (112.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 181.5 km (113.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 183.5 km (114.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 185.5 km (115.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 187.5 km (117.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 189.5 km (118.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 191.5 km (119.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 193.5 km (120.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 195.5 km (122.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 197.5 km (123.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 199.5 km (124.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 201.5 km (125.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 203.5 km (127.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 205.5 km (128.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 207.5 km (129.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 209.5 km (130.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 211.5 km (132.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 213.5 km (133.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 215.5 km (134.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 217.5 km (135.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 219.5 km (137.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 221.5 km (138.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 223.5 km (139.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 225.5 km (140.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 227.5 km (142.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 229.5 km (143.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 231.5 km (144.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 233.5 km (145.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 235.5 km (147.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 237.5 km (148.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 239.5 km (149.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 241.5 km (150.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 243.5 km (152.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 245.5 km (153.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 247.5 km (154.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 249.5 km (155.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 251.5 km (157.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 253.5 km (158.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 255.5 km (159.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 257.5 km (160.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 259.5 km (162.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 261.5 km (163.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 263.5 km (164.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 265.5 km (165.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 267.5 km (167.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 269.5 km (168.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 271.5 km (169.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 273.5 km (170.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 275.5 km (172.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 277.5 km (173.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 279.5 km (174.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 281.5 km (175.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 283.5 km (177.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 285.5 km (178.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 287.5 km (179.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 289.5 km (180.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 291.5 km (182.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 293.5 km (183.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 295.5 km (184.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 297.5 km (185.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 299.5 km (187.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 301.5 km (188.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 303.5 km (189.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 305.5 km (190.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 307.5 km (192.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 309.5 km (193.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 311.5 km (194.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 313.5 km (195.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 315.5 km (197.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 317.5 km (198.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 319.5 km (199.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 321.5 km (200.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 323.5 km (202.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 325.5 km (203.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 327.5 km (204.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 329.5 km (205.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 331.5 km (207.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 333.5 km (208.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 335.5 km (209.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 337.5 km (210.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 339.5 km (212.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 341.5 km (213.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 343.5 km (214.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 345.5 km (215.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 347.5 km (217.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 349.5 km (218.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 351.5 km (219.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 353.5 km (220.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 355.5 km (222.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 357.5 km (223.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 359.5 km (224.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 361.5 km (225.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 363.5 km (227.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 365.5 km (228.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 367.5 km (229.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 369.5 km (230.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 371.5 km (232.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 373.5 km (233.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 375.5 km (234.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 377.5 km (235.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 379.5 km (237.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 381.5 km (238.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 383.5 km (239.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 385.5 km (240.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 387.5 km (242.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 389.5 km (243.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 391.5 km (244.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 393.5 km (245.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 395.5 km (247.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 397.5 km (248.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 399.5 km (249.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 401.5 km (250.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 403.5 km (252.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 405.5 km (253.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 407.5 km (254.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 409.5 km (255.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 411.5 km (257.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 413.5 km (258.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 415.5 km (259.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 417.5 km (260.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 419.5 km (262.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 421.5 km (263.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 423.5 km (264.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 425.5 km (265.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 427.5 km (267.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 429.5 km (268.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 431.5 km (269.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 433.5 km (270.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 435.5 km (272.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 437.5 km (273.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 439.5 km (274.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 441.5 km (275.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 443.5 km (277.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 445.5 km (278.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 447.5 km (279.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 449.5 km (280.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 451.5 km (282.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 453.5 km (283.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 455.5 km (284.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 457.5 km (285.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 459.5 km (287.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 461.5 km (288.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 463.5 km (289.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 465.5 km (290.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 467.5 km (292.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 469.5 km (293.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 471.5 km (294.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 473.5 km (295.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 475.5 km (297.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 477.5 km (298.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 479.5 km (299.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 481.5 km (300.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 483.5 km (302.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 485.5 km (303.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 487.5 km (304.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 489.5 km (305.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 491.5 km (307.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 493.5 km (308.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 495.5 km (309.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 497.5 km (310.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 499.5 km (312.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 501.5 km (313.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 503.5 km (314.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 505.5 km (315.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 507.5 km (317.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 509.5 km (318.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 511.5 km (319.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 513.5 km (320.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 515.5 km (322.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 517.5 km (323.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 519.5 km (324.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 521.5 km (325.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 523.5 km (327.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 525.5 km (328.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 527.5 km (329.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 529.5 km (330.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 531.5 km (332.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 533.5 km (333.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 535.5 km (334.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 537.5 km (335.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 539.5 km (337.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 541.5 km (338.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 543.5 km (339.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 545.5 km (340.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 547.5 km (342.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 549.5 km (343.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 551.5 km (344.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 553.5 km (345.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 555.5 km (347.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 557.5 km (348.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 559.5 km (349.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 561.5 km (350.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 563.5 km (352.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 565.5 km (353.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 567.5 km (354.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 569.5 km (355.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 571.5 km (357.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 573.5 km (358.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 575.5 km (359.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 577.5 km (360.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 579.5 km (362.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 581.5 km (363.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 583.5 km (364.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 585.5 km (365.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 587.5 km (367.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 589.5 km (368.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 591.5 km (369.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 593.5 km (370.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 595.5 km (372.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 597.5 km (373.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 599.5 km (374.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 601.5 km (375.9 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 603.5 km (377.1 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 605.5 km (378.4 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 607.5 km (379.6 mi) from a Nayar Brahmin, a Nayar 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proprietor if he would accept someone of the Chinese race as a guest in his establishment. Ninety-two per cent said they would not.

Other studies at children's camps have shown that when schoolboys are arranged in rival teams the competition evokes prejudice but when they are in co-operative relationships prejudice is reduced [7]. People overcome their suspicions of one another when they have a common goal to work for as, for example, in times of war and crisis. To an important extent, therefore, prejudice is a product of social organization.

Psychological origins of prejudice

Prejudice is often expressed in irrational behaviour that has a psychological origin. Research has shown that the people who express the strongest prejudices are hostile towards all strange groups that they consider socially inferior. They express hostility even towards fictitious groups. One of the great contributions of the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) was the interpretation of the dynamics of personality, which enables the student to understand why some people

need to display prejudice in order to make up for their own deficiencies. They show in extreme form a tendency present in everyone, namely an inclination to relieve frustrations by displacing them. Like the ancient Jews, who loaded their sins on to a scapegoat and drove it out into the wilderness, people often have a psychological need to find a scapegoat. Complex and conventional societies impose many restrictions on their members, who consequently seek some occasion to release their emotional energy.

Prejudice can maintain itself because people often have little personal acquaintance with those they use as scapegoats. Beliefs that are oversimplified in content and unresponsive to the objective facts are called stereotypes. People who believe that all blacks are strongly sexed, all Jews are grasping, all Englishmen are snobbish select the evidence to suit themselves. They avoid situations in which they might be forced to recognize their error. Their attitudes influence the way they participate in society and so the personal and social aspects of prejudice reinforce each other.

4 This diagram summarizes the answers given by white people in 20 cities in the USA in 1951 when asked about relations with black Americans. What people say in such circumstances is influenced by local customs and as these change so do attitudes. It may therefore be easier to reduce prejudice by introducing laws against discrimination than by promoting educational campaigns.

In large cities social acceptability is greater but more superficial.

In large cities social acceptability is greater but more superficial.

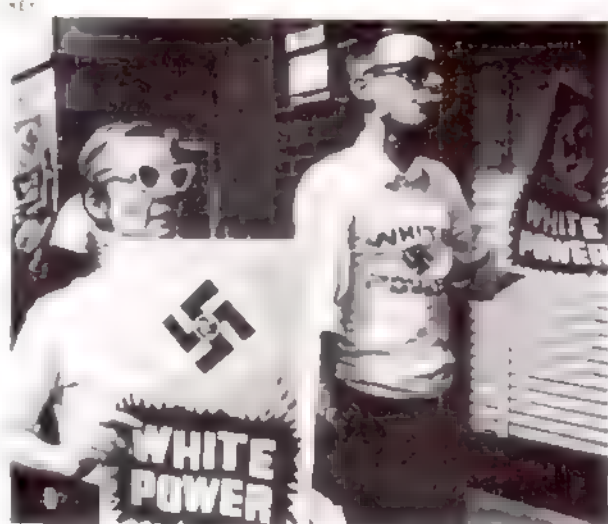
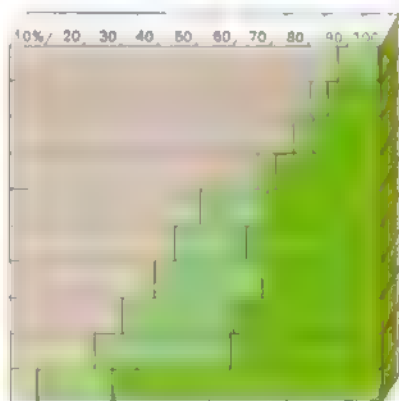
5 Segregation in schools in the USA has been one of the most powerful factors encouraging racial prejudice. Since 1954 cities have been expected to change the boundaries of their schools by taking groups across town to other schools.

By taking groups across town to other schools, the Supreme Court has evoked antagonism. The Supreme Court has evoked antagonism by taking groups across town to other schools.

6 The struggle to control Jim Crow in the city of Mississippi in 1961 was a landmark in the struggle to control Jim Crow in the city of Mississippi in 1961.

4 Should blacks

- Try on clothes in white department store?
- Sit in same part of bus as whites?
- Use same public rest rooms as whites?
- Sit among whites in movies?
- Occupy hospital bed beside a white?
- Use same swimming pool?
- Be served in white restaurant?
- Belong to white Protestant Churches?
- Stay in white hotels?
- Use white barber shop?



The members of this white nationalist group have been seen in the streets of London.

symbol for their beliefs. This race movement is a form of extreme nationalism.

a priority of the war. As such it would probably appeal mainly to aggressive extremists.

VICTIMS OF FORCED BUSING AWAKE!

BUSING WILL TURN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS INTO A SAVAGE JUNGLE

BUSING BRUTALIZES PRODUCTIVE, CIVILIZED STUDENTS WITH A WAVE OF

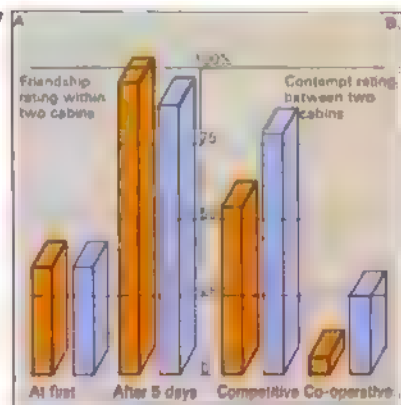
- CRIME
- EXTORTION
- RAPE
- CANNIBALISM

FORCED BUSING HAS LED TO A SHOCKING INCREASE IN INTERRACIAL SEX

The rate of forced busing

FORCED BUSING WILL RESULT IN A RACE OF MULATTOES

ALL FORCED BUSED TO SCHOOL



7 Several experiments with groups of boys in summer camps have shown that although initially suspicious of each other (A) after only five days they had become friends. Two other groups (B) remained suspicious with contempt. After competitive co-operation, the groups had become friends. Such contempt led dramatic ally

Fundamental political ideas

Political thought considers the nature and the validity of government. The perennial questions asked by political thinkers are: What purpose does government serve? Why and by what right do some men rule over others? Under what conditions and to what extent should one obey the state? To what degree should political opposition be tolerated?

The method of political thought ranges from generalizations and maxims derived from history to philosophical and theological analysis. It is wider than political science in that it has a strong ethical content – a concern not only with studying different forms of government but also with the kind of government that is best and the way in which it can be achieved. Above all, it is concerned with the question of political legitimacy and of the circumstances under which a person should obey the state or defy it [Key]

The Greek concern with justice

The Greeks believed that the city state of the Athenian type [1] arose from a quest for justice that their previous anarchic or tribal arrangements could not satisfy. Plato (c

427–347 BC) in his *Republic* contrasts the view that justice is the rule of the strong over the weak (which being “natural” must therefore be right) with the rival Greek view that justice is the majority of the weak collectively imposing their rule upon the strong. He saw justice as a universal concept that consists of the right relationship of the individual parts to the harmony of the whole. Those he considered fit to rule were an intellectual élite, able to penetrate the nature of truth and reality. Such a view was far from the Athenian practice of democratic election which appeared to Plato and to Aristotle [2] as the rule of ignorance, likely to lead to strife.

The Roman concept of sovereignty

Roman thought was less speculative and more practical. The major theoretical contribution was the notion of *impenum*, or sovereign authority. When the yoke of the first alien Etruscan kings was thrown off, the Roman people declared that they alone had the right to rule themselves. Although the concept of sovereignty’s residing in the people was not always followed in practice,

Rome prided itself on a balanced class system whereby patricians (the Roman aristocracy) had preponderant power and authority in the Senate and plebeians (the common people) had their own assembly and officers (called tribunes) as a necessary balance [3]. The Romans saw politics in terms of practical interests that needed protection. The Roman citizens’ keen sense of legal rights developed into an elaborate legal system that included principles of law still used today.

Modern political thought has been haunted by the memory of the decline from the “golden age” of the Roman Republic to the decadence of imperial autocracy (rule by one man) backed by military might. This memory has added a strain of pessimism to the distinctively modern political idea, inherited from the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment, that human reason makes political progress inevitable.

Political order during feudal times was based on a political hierarchy of kings, vassals and serfs and a Church hierarchy of pope, bishops and priests. Inequality within these orders was generally accepted as the neces-

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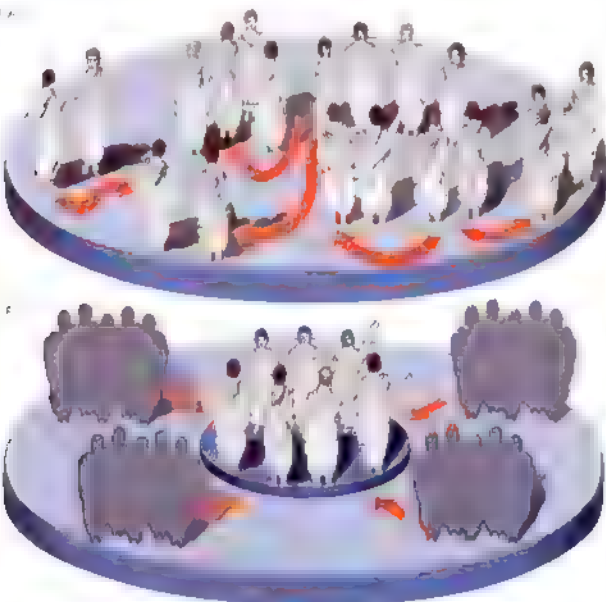
Simulate

1 The Greek political heritage is dominated by the idea of democracy exemplified by the Athenian state (A), a fluid and flexible system which embodied the principle that citizens should rule and be ruled in turn (arrows, by means of annual election to governmental office). But the philosopher Plato distrusted democracy and preferred the more autocratic system of another Greek state, Sparta, with subordination of many tribes to one (B). Cohesion of the governing élite in Sparta resulted in an inflexible system but Plato disapproved of the extreme libertarian constitution of Athens, believing it could lead to disorder and tyranny.

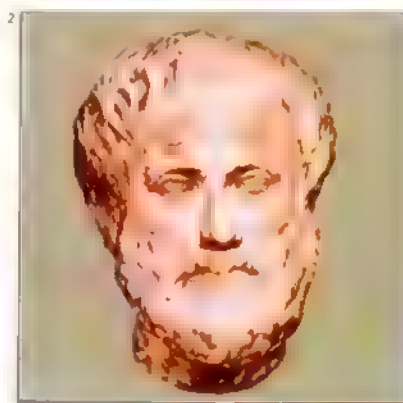
2 Aristotle (384–322 BC) disliked extreme Athenian democracy and held that justice meant giving virtue its due by electing the best to office. The best constitution lay somewhere between oligarchy (rule by the few) and democracy (rule by the many). Extremes of either kind were unjust and led to conflict. A liberalist Aristotle advocated a balanced constitution and a strong middle class.

3 Attempts to base political order on a hierarchy have met with varying success. The Roman republican system (A) involved a class balance within a unified sovereign system. The two main classes, patricians and plebeians, co-operated in the activity of government. Believing in the dignity of leadership, the Romans gave patricians an influential role in the Senate with safeguards for the plebeians. A fundamental conflict was thus contained in a stable system. The medieval system (B) involved a conflict between two separate hierarchies, spiritual and temporal, whose powers could not easily be separated. Disputes arose concerning the extent and limits of each.

4 The issue of sovereignty came to a head at the beginning of the modern era when men questioned the ambivalence of the medieval theory that power came from God and was at the same time based on popular consent from below. Kings such as Louis XIV of France claimed that as power came from God, kings were responsible to God alone, not to their people. This theory of Divine Right (A) began to lose popular support when disordered, grew over the autocratic mismanagement of public affairs. Opponents revived the Roman theory that sovereignty resides in the people and that governments must therefore hold themselves responsible to the people from whom their power to govern is derived (B).

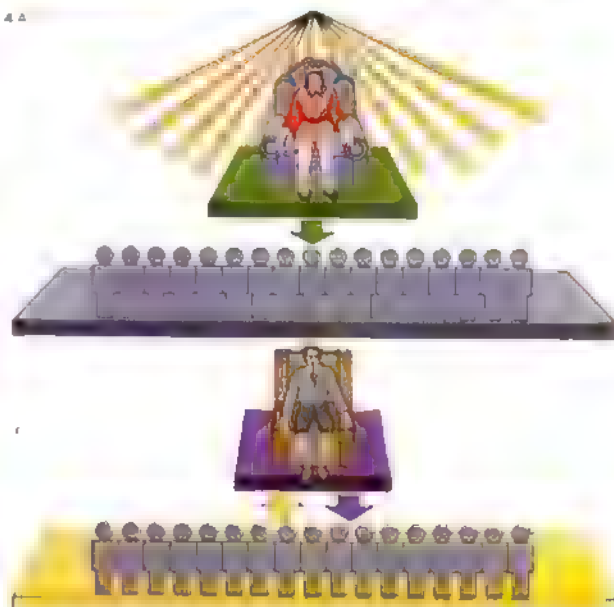
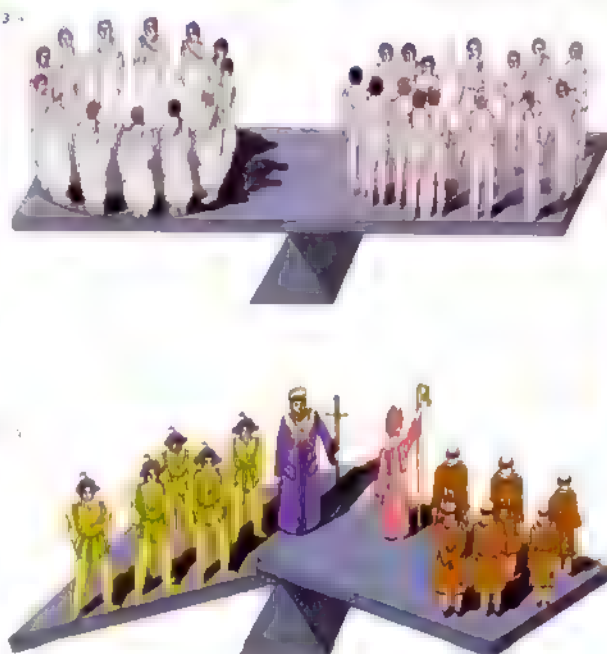


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sary hierarchical order of God. Chaos would result from any blasphemous attempt to challenge it. Monarchy based on election, acclaim or hereditary right was considered the best form of government as it was thought most likely to preserve unity, a prized ideal in an age of constant strife [7].

Government by consent

As nation states gradually claimed independence from the Church, kings also tried to claim sovereignty over their people by asserting that they were responsible to God alone for the affairs of the realm [4]. A protracted struggle over this point led finally to an acceptance that governing authority derived from the people and had to be exercised with their consent [6]. As feudal theory was replaced by an assumption of the natural equality of individuals, modern political thought became more secular and rational.

Despite a stress on individual rights, property owners were long considered to have the sole right to decide the general affairs of the whole community. The question soon emerged as to how men could be free

and equal if they were ruled by others. In the view of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) the individual could be free only if he actively participated in formulating the laws by which he was governed. Socialist thought in the nineteenth century began to question the belief that the rich had a right to govern the poor and that the rights of individuals should be put before the welfare of the state as a whole. To Karl Marx (1818-83) all systems seemed class dictatorships based on exploitation. He believed political freedom was meaningful only if the economic system prevented some men from controlling others.

Marx's dictum "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" also moved away from the concept that political justice is based on absolute equality. A generally optimistic theory of evolutionary progress in the 20th century has assumed that injustice will disappear eventually but there is no consensus on whether this will come by revolutionary conflict or by peaceful reform in an "open" society [9]. Despite this the "political" nature of political thought remains a perennial challenge.



Guerrilla warfare aimed at the overthrow of an established political order raises fundamental issues of political thought.

When do men have a right or duty to rebel against a government? Is revolution essential for progress and does it involve unnecessary

violence and chaos? How can freedom and order be balanced and what is the origin and nature of legitimate governing authority?



5 The violence of the French Revolution brought a reaction against Locke's rational theories which had been used by the 18th-century Enlightenment to attack the rational basis of Church and state. Conservative thinkers such as Edmund Burke (1729-97) and Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) concluded that society was based not on rationalism but on custom, prejudice and tradition which preserved necessary harmony and mutual class respect. Religion was the bulwark of civilization. They believed that excessive social criticism resulted in a disturbance of society's equilibrium. This led to violence and ended with the guillotine.



6 The return of Juan Perón to Argentina in 1973 illustrates the idea that popular support (in this case for an exiled strongman) is the basis of political power. The answerability of government to the people was established by the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) who put more stress than Hobbes on man's natural rights and asserted that if a government set up to protect these rights betrayed its trust it could legitimately be removed, if necessary by revolution. Many of Locke's ideas were enshrined in the American Constitution under which men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.



8 Leviathan, written in 1651 by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) depicts the state as combining the wills of all men into one sovereign body with a single head to guide it.

Hobbes approved of autocracy but not one based on Divine Right. He thought men were too quarrelsome and self-centred to conduct their own affairs. To avoid constant strife and miserable insecurity

they must rationally agree to a social contract with a powerful coercive authority to make laws and keep the peace. Social freedom could thereby be maintained at the expense of political freedom.

7 Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) was the most original political theorist of Renaissance Italy, advocating ruthless measures to maintain authority. Popularly misjudged as the incarnation of evil, he in fact admired the civic patriotism and

the sense of duty of the Roman Republic. Yet in circumstances of corrupt politics leaders were justified in doing what was necessary to uphold the strength and unity of their kingdom, even if it was contrary to private conscience.



9 Freedom of political thought and expression exemplified by the soap-box orators at Speakers' Corner in London is the idea of modern liberalism. Its most influential political theorist was John Stuart Mill (1806-73) who held that while

harmful actions should be curbed, no opinions should be as an open society led to the emergence of truth. With Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) Mill believed government should be based on the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Political science

The science of politics seeks to acquire knowledge of the nature of politics and to reach general conclusions about it. Whereas historians often concentrate on particular events, political scientists work on the assumption that political phenomena have certain general causes and consequences. The theories of political scientists are usually statements about the connection between two or more aspects of politics. The statement that representative democracy is the most stable form of government is, for example, a theory whose truth a political scientist might try to refute or prove by comparing societies that are representative democracies with those that have different governmental systems.

Development of political science

Politicians (those who practise politics) seek to promote or balance sectional interests in finding solutions to political problems. Political scientists (students of politics), on the other hand, try to establish and analyse what the problems are, rather than attempting to solve them. But the knowledge gained by

political scientists may well have practical implications for those who rule. Equally, greater insight into the nature of politics by all the members of a society may enable all to participate in political decisions [Key].

The focus of interest among students has changed since political science was established as an independent discipline in universities at the beginning of this century. The various approaches to and conceptions of politics that exist today have been influenced by this development.

Initially, political scientists concentrated mainly on the study of constitutional problems. (A constitution is made up of basic laws and rules – written or unwritten – according to which other laws are made and a state is governed.) The assumption was that political life was carried on in accordance with a society's constitution. Typically, the political scientist was interested in such questions as: How can the constitution guarantee civil rights? Is a two-chamber parliament better than a one-chamber parliament? Thus the subject of study was the various state institutions (the legislature, the executive, the

judiciary) and the laws regulating the relations between them [2]. This kind of political science, especially in Britain, was closely connected with organized politics. It was directed to those who framed the laws and gave them effect, the politicians, the civil servants and the judiciary – rather than to the people in general.

Constitutional problems [1] are still of considerable interest to political scientists but they are now only one branch of a wider study. The realization that political science should cover a broader field than constitutional questions first appeared in the writings of American political scientists who began to study other political fields in the 1920s.

A broader approach to political science

The mere study of state institutions is inadequate to political understanding because it throws little light on the way political decisions are taken or on attempts to influence these decisions by such pressure groups as trade unions, employer organizations and political parties. Second, because political science aims at producing generalizations

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See also



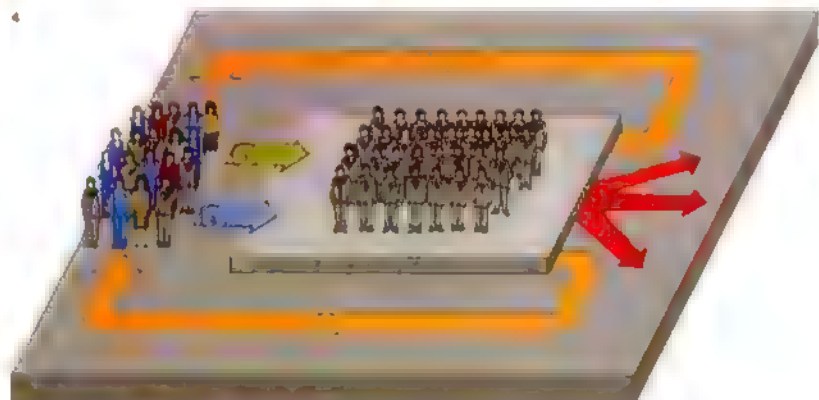
1 Devising new political systems is a difficult art, as British political experts found in Africa during the period of decolonization. Arrangements were made for 12 states to start out as did Kenya on Independence Day with two party democratic political systems. Only two of these states still have such a system. This high failure rate was the result of the British seeing their own constitution as a model for the new states despite considerable social and economic differences. It was soon realized that the problems involved in creating a new state went beyond those of working out a constitution



2 Early political scientists focused on the relationships between the major institutions of the state: the executive (A), judiciary (B) and legislature (C). In doing so they reflected the dominant ideas

and preoccupations of the time. In the 18th and 19th centuries it was believed that man was a rational creature whose behaviour could be changed by altering laws. Consequently reform efforts, both

in the USA and Europe, centred on a fight for written constitutions that could protect basic human rights. The emphasis was on ideal systems, not merely on description and explanation of politics



3 In modern political science, politics is often viewed as the resolution of a conflict between the inherent forces of violence and revolution in society [1] and the existing institutions: government, law and bureaucracy [2]. By means of consensus

and compromise, or the use of power and force, a balance is achieved. The point along the spectrum at which this happens [3] governs the character of the state – increasingly disorganized or increasingly institutionalized

4 A political system [1] can be seen as a machine that has to produce a certain number of goods that is: decisions and actions [2]. The demands [3] made on the system are raw material the machine must process. Political support for the

system [4] is the fuel that powers the machine. Thus a political system needs a certain amount of support to cope with demands. A feedback mechanism [5] ensures that if the right decisions are made future support will follow

about politics in all kinds of societies, including those that do not have the American or European kind of state institutions, a framework of analysis is needed that can be applied to various political systems.

Another general approach to political problems is systems analysis [4]. In this kind of analysis politics is defined not in terms of what goes on in specific institutions, but in terms of all behaviour connected with decisions that affect most members of society. Instead of talking about parliament, the cabinet and so on, systems analysts talk about the political system - by which they mean all the political interactions in a society. Their main interest is in how political systems persist under changing circumstances, how, for instance, a system will adapt to a situation in which certain groups inside or outside a society make greater demands than the existing system can immediately satisfy.

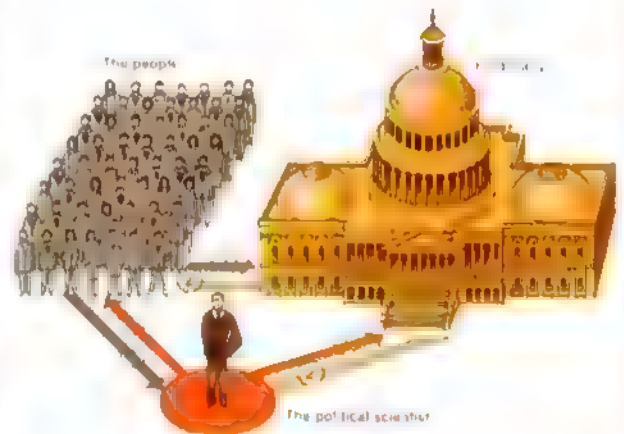
Sectional interests and practical politics

Many political scientists, rather than concerning themselves with the stability of any political system, view politics as dealing basi-

cally with struggles for power [3]. The powers of trade unions [6] can, for example, be studied in relation to the various political parties, as can the powers of trade union leaders in relation to the ordinary members [7]. Such studies examine not only who takes part in decisions but also the consequences of the decisions taken and whose interests are being taken care of. In Western industrial societies political scientists are at variance in their views or theories about power relations. Some contend that their societies consist of a range of groups whose powers balance each other, whereas others hold the view that specific elites or classes rule society [5].

Another important branch of political science is concerned with the motives behind political policies and the effect of these policies and of other factors on electoral support for particular politicians or parties. The analysis of voting trends and statistics is called psephology. Political scientists are often able to throw revealing light on the methods, performance and future prospects of candidates for political offices, and on the reasons behind electoral victories or defeats.

K13



Problems studied by the political scientist (1) are considerably influenced by what the rest of society regards as important and relevant. The informed ideas of political

scientists may have the practical consequence of increasing the power of the rulers (2) or may enable the ruled to exercise greater influence (3). Whether it does one or the

other depends largely on the goals of the society and the power relationships within it. In a democratic society political science tends to aim at wide participation in political life.



5 The power structure of Western societies has been interpreted in three different ways. Some political scientists hold the theory that in liberal societies such as the USA, UK, Sweden, France and West

Germany, everybody has a say in the ruling of society. According to this pluralist theory (A) society is viewed as consisting of a number of pressure groups such as political parties, trade unions and business

organizations which compete on an equal footing to promote the interests of their members. Some critics of the pluralist view claim that Western societies only appear to be ruled by the people

and are, in reality, run by a limited number who form elite groups (B). Who constitutes these elites is open to question but one of the most influential theories is that put forward by an American, C.

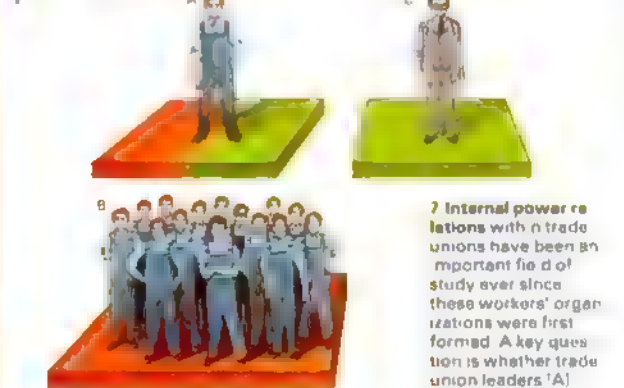
Wright Mills. He identifies three elites that make important decisions together - politicians, military leaders and the owners of big industry. In the past priests and nobles often formed elites

and today trade unions are beginning to form another. Finally there is the Marxist view that the state exists to serve the interest of a single ruling class which, in Western societies, is made up

of capitalists or owners of capital (C). In this view economic forces are decisive in shaping the political process and the apparent freedoms of democratic societies mask the real power structure.



7



6 Public demonstrations and strikes are among the powerful weapons available to modern trade unions in seeking to sway political decisions in the interests of their members. In Western industrialized societies the growing strength of

unions and their ability to promote sectional interests is an important area of study for political scientists. Industrialization has brought an obvious shift in the power relationships within society in favour of the workers.

7 Internal power relations within a trade union have been an important field of study ever since these workers' organizations were first formed. A key question is whether trade union leaders (A) take care of the real interests of the workers (B) or whether they have other goals that are more in accord with interested groups outside the union (C). Do trade union leaders identify with the workers or with political parties and outside pressures?

Types of political systems

Political systems can be classified in different ways, for example in terms of their political institutions. Western systems of representative government, for instance, can be differentiated according to the way in which the legislature or law-making body is elected, the main difference being between single-member systems such as Britain's and proportional electoral systems [1, 2]

The basis of elections

In single-member systems, each geographical area or constituency elects one representative on the basis of a simple majority within that area. Proportional electoral systems try to give greater weight to the proportion of votes given to each party, a method adopted by most continental European countries. Either districts elect several representatives on the basis of each party's percentage of the overall vote or, in other systems, where no one candidate has an absolute majority on the first ballot the second preferences of the voters are distributed or a second ballot is held between the leading candidates.

Yet another way of classifying political

systems is in terms of how the executive arm of government is chosen. The two major Western systems are the parliamentary and presidential systems. In a parliamentary system [3] the head of government (the prime minister) is appointed on the basis of the distribution of power in parliament. The majority of the members of parliament must consent to the choice of the prime minister who then decides the composition of his government (his ministers). According to the "parliamentary principle" a government must resign if the majority of parliament votes against it on an important issue. In a presidential system [4] the head of government (the president) is elected directly by the people independently of the election of the legislative body. This means that the president and the government he chooses do not necessarily have a majority in the legislature.

Democracy and dictatorship

The term democracy usually refers to a political system in which people are involved in some way in the ruling of society. A dictatorship is a political system in which the few rule

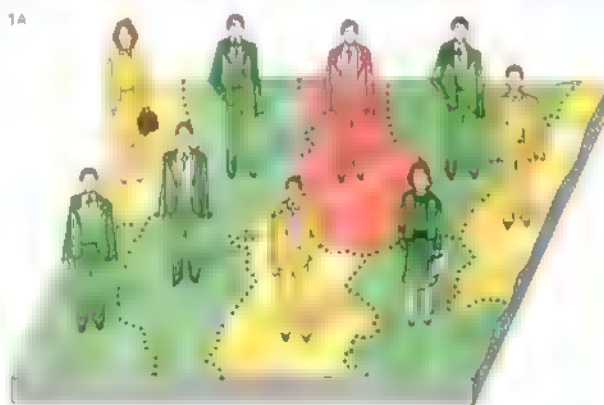
the many. The notion of equality is central to democracy in the sense that in an ideal democratic society all people are supposed to have an equal say in the making of important decisions. But in characterizing existing political systems there is considerable disagreement as to what is the most democratic type of rule. Western, liberal societies would contend that the most democratic system is the one with regular free elections for which any political party may stand. Socialist societies, on the other hand, claim that there can be no democracy unless all are economically equal and have equal say in determining the pattern of production of goods and services.

In view of this conflict of terms political scientists often use other categories to classify political systems. Three types of systems can be differentiated, for instance, according to the ways in which they try to solve conflicts of interest between the various groups in society [5]. Autocracy is a system in which one man or small group rules society and enforces his or its own interests without systematically consulting other members of society. Republican government attempts to bring together

CONNECTIONS

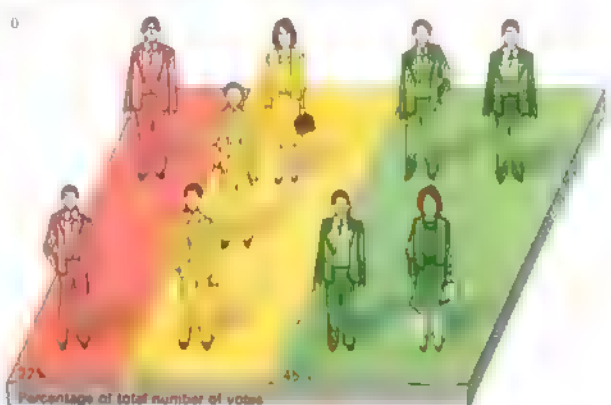
See also

1 The electoral principle of the single-member system (A) is that each geographical area must be represented by the candidate winning most votes. The principle of proportional representation (B) is that each political party should be represented according to its share of the total vote. Alternatively minorities can be given a voice by some system of distributing their second preferences.

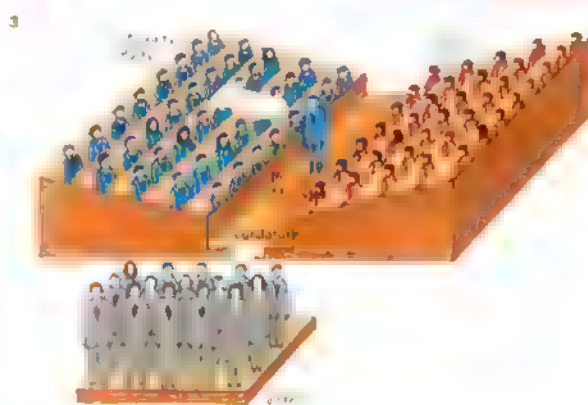


2 The same voting support can produce different legislative representation under single-member and proportional representation systems. A country with five constituencies, each with 1,000 votes distributed between three parties might elect under a single-member system, 3 Red, 2 Yellow and no Green candidates while the same vote under proportional representation elects 2 Red, 2 Yellow and 1 Green.

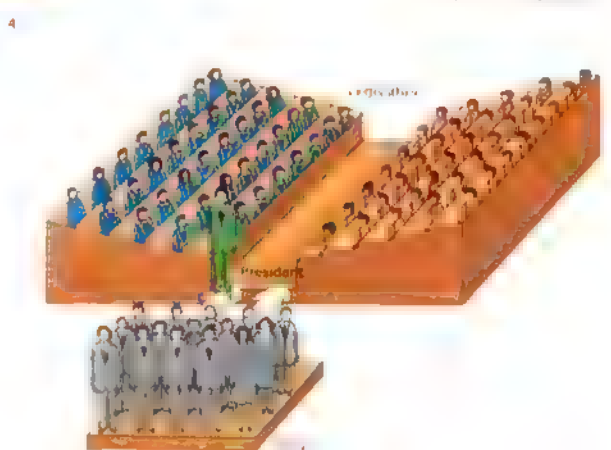
tributed between three parties might elect under a single member system, 3 Red, 2 Yellow and no Green candidates while the same vote under proportional representation elects 2 Red, 2 Yellow and 1 Green.



3 In a parliamentary system each voter casts one vote and the sum of these votes determines the composition of the parliament or legislature, which in turn determines which party (or coalition) makes up the government and chooses its head or prime minister. The head then selects an executive or cabinet which is collectively responsible for its acts. A head of state (monarch or president) has only nominal powers.



4 In a presidential system the president is elected independently of the legislative body and is the head of government as well as head of state. He has much more power than the prime minister, president or monarch in a parliamentary system and usually appoints his own prime minister and executive who are responsible directly to him rather than to parliament. Legislative control over the passing of laws or other checks and balances curb his power.



the different interests by letting all citizens share in government or in the choosing of the government. Totalitarian government attempts to solve the problem of conflict by creating a society in which no major conflicts will arise. The creation of such a society is based upon a system of ideas (an ideology) that is supposed to guide the actions of the people and mobilize their support for the system. Each of these three categories can be subdivided - to distinguish different types of totalitarian government [6] for example

Communism, socialism and liberalism

A common distinction between existing political systems is that between non-communist or Western, liberal countries and communist or socialist countries [7]. The difference between these two kinds of societies is basically economic. In the West the economy is partly capitalist, with the means of production (factories, machinery and so on) largely in private ownership. In a socialist economy the means of production are publicly owned. The differences in economic systems are to some extent

reflected in political systems. Most political systems of the capitalist countries are of the republican type. The state interferes only to a limited extent in production and all political parties are allowed to compete in parliamentary and local elections.

The political systems of socialist countries are often described as totalitarian. They have emerged as a result of a revolution, through which the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and the state, which is seen as representing the interests of the working people, controls production. Only one party, the Communist Party, is allowed to function; all other parties are considered to be undermining the interests of the working class. The system is based on Marxist ideology, according to which true equality can be achieved only in a society where production is controlled by the working people. Socialism, occurring in the period during which the state is supposed to rule on behalf of the people ("the dictatorship of the proletariat") is seen as a transition towards communism, the stage at which the state is assumed to have withered away.

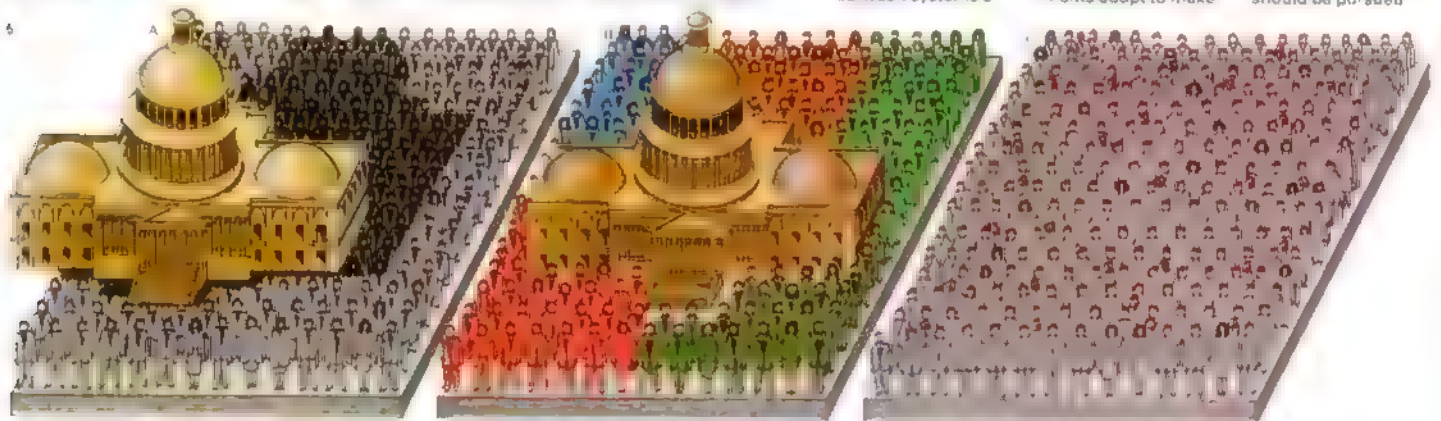
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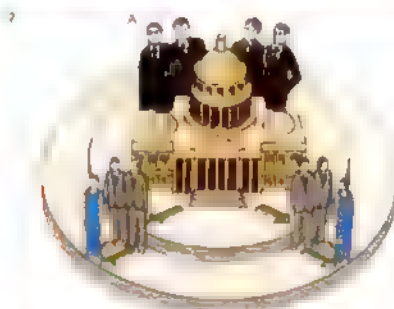
People, with their capacity for mass loyalty or mass rebellion, are at the heart of any political system. The mass differences between systems of

government, with the means by which the will of the people is transmitted to those who govern them and in the methods governments adopt to make

decisions on their behalf. Debate about the means and methods of good government is as most as endless as debate about objectives that should be pursued



5 Democracies developed from authoritarian systems such as oligarchies. A) in which an elite rule. Modern Western democracy corresponds to republicanism B) power derives from the people and is given effect by an executive, legislature and judiciary through a bureaucracy. In the 20th century a new political system has arisen C) where only one party exists - it claims to represent all the people and thus to epitomise democracy.



6 Totalitarian systems governed Germany during the Nazi era of Adolf Hitler A) and the Soviet Union, particularly under Joseph Stalin B). Both mobilized the people in support of the state. But the systems differed both in their economic bases and also in the ideologies used to mobilize the consent of the masses. Germany was economically capitalist and ideologically fascist. The Soviet Union remains economically socialist and ideologically Marxist.



7 Marxist political theory is based on a theory of history called historical materialism and holds that because of the struggle between opposing social classes societies that have progressed from feudalism to capitalism will progress from

capitalism A) to socialism B) and finally to communism C). Many Western scholars believe however that capitalism and socialism are becoming more and more like each other in the sense of being mixed economies. Adherents of this

convergence thesis D) point to the fact that in many socialist countries for instance the Soviet Union, some private production has been allowed to encourage higher output. At the same time in capitalist countries the state is increas-

ingly interfering to regulate the economy. Therefore many hold that eventually the two kinds of society will become alike with a certain amount of private enterprise and a certain amount of state enterprise run by some kind of multi-party system.

Political participation

People can take part in politics directly by holding public office or by being active in political parties and pressure groups or, indirectly, by exercising the right to vote [3, 4]. The constitution of a country establishes the institutions through which political power is exercised, the machinery for passing laws and administering policies, the qualifications for public office, the method of election or appointment and the composition of the electorate. Autocratic or oligarchic systems restrict participation to very few or to a minority [6], but in a democracy all adults are usually able to participate. Social and economic factors, however, as well as constitutional and legal ones, often determine how real a degree of political participation a society provides.

Parties and pressure groups
Most democracies have representative bodies [key] whose members are responsible to those who elect them and act in their interests. The more control electors have over their representatives, the more chance they have of real political participation [1].

Frequent elections and the ability to recall representatives gives electors greater control. So do committee systems such as that operated by the US Senate which expose the policies and actions of officials to public inquiry. An alternative means of control is the establishment of political units small enough to allow citizens to participate directly [2] – a form of democracy that some believe could offset the tendency for government to become too remote and complex for the individual to understand or influence. Organized political parties have developed to further the aims of those holding basic political beliefs in common. The parties provide a forum for discussion, machinery for political education and propaganda, and a method of achieving political goals by evolving a party policy and supporting candidates to implement it [9]. Participation in parties can range from passive membership, and occasional fund-raising and electioneering, to membership of policy committees or the holding of public office. While parties further the interests of their members on a broad front and on a

permanent basis, pressure groups organize political participation on specific issues or to promote the interests of a particular group. When a specific goal has been achieved such pressure groups often cease to function. Pressure groups cover the spectrum of political activities and may operate behind the scenes or by public campaign.

Assessing participation
In a democracy, the individual may take part in politics within a party or pressure group, or independently by taking an interest in public issues, voting in elections, watching his representatives' actions and perhaps even standing for political office himself. These forms of activity can take place only under certain conditions. The individual needs the ability and freedom to organize, discuss, publicize, obtain and disseminate information and criticize or question the existing rulers, policies and political institutions. Even when such conditions exist it is difficult to assess the amount of political participation. The percentage of the adult population who vote in an election [5], for example, is an indicator

CONNECTIONS
See also
[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9]



1 Ancient Greek city states provided the first examples of direct democracies. In Athens, all citizens formed the legislature and participated directly in political affairs. They were actively engaged both in decision making and details of administration. Slaves, foreigners and women were excluded.



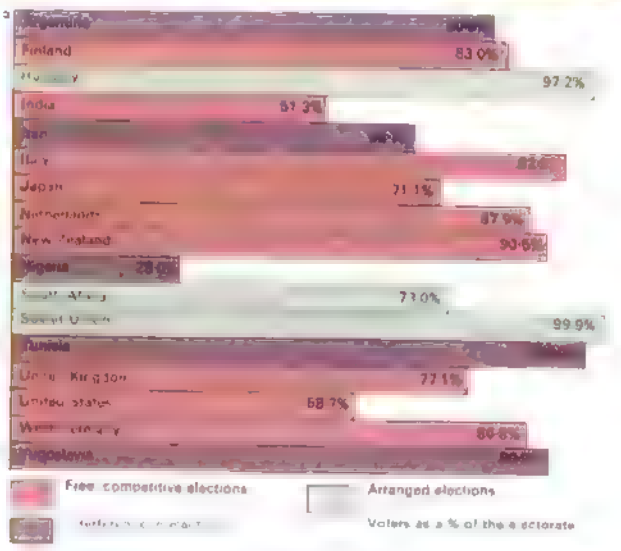
2 Direct participation by the people in the making of political decision works in small scale units such as this Chinese commune, or in a Swiss canton, or an Israeli kibbutz. It is, however, often impractical in societies organized on a larger scale where a system of elected representatives is much more efficient.



3 Casting a vote in a plebiscite or referendum, or at an election, is the most widespread form of political participation, often the climax of political discussions and propaganda in the media.



4 Mechanized voting machines, such as this American model, reduce the possibility of fraud and improve the speed and accuracy of obtaining election results, particularly when there is a complex voting system. Technical innovation can increase the level of political participation, instant voting machines could reflect public opinion on many issues. But such a system could undermine representative democracy and the carrying through of wise but initially unpopular policies.



5 Voting patterns in a number of countries at recent elections indicate formal political participation. But variations in the number of adults who cast a vote do not necessarily measure political apathy or enthusiasm. They are often affected by a legal requirement to vote or limitations on freedom to do so.

of participation but voting may simply be a formality or a compulsory obligation. A low poll might indicate widespread apathy or an absence of contentious issues, or it might be the result of an organized boycott demonstrating opposition to that particular poll. Membership strengths of political parties may be equally misleading if party membership is socially desirable or a consequence of trade union membership. Such indicators of political participation must therefore be treated with particular care.

Political frustrations

Democratic institutions of government and a free political system do not themselves guarantee wide and effective participation in political decisions. For the latter to occur, people need a certain level of political knowledge, leisure time, a consciousness of their political rights and a belief that their participation is worthwhile.

In modern industrialized societies the institutions of government are often complex, remote and inaccessible. Political issues that are not straightforward are often ob-

scured by jargon and presented as matters best left to "experts". Political parties, as governments themselves, tend to become bureaucratic and hinder new ideas. The business of government and the policies of public officials may be difficult for political representatives to understand or influence, let alone the public. In such circumstances individuals may be reluctant to participate in politics even if qualified to do so.

Political participation is lower among the illiterate and less well educated. People who believe that political power is the prerogative of superior groups or classes tend to be apathetic about politics. In some countries such apathy may be officially encouraged. This kind of situation has often led to a reaction, however. When existing institutions and channels are inadequate to the political needs of a community the people may resort to direct action [10]. Popular revolts, revolutions or other forms of mass political action [7] may lead to the establishment of more democratic forms of government and a higher level of genuine political participation by a better-educated community.

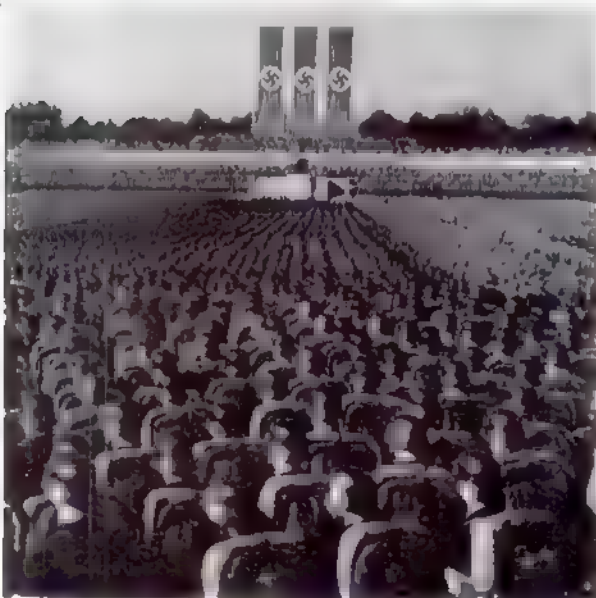
KEY



The British House of Commons, the "Mother of Parliaments", has been a model for many other

legislative assemblies providing a forum for the elected representatives of the people to frame new

laws and to put the running of government to the test of open party political debate



6 Nazi rallies at Nuremberg during the 1930s mobilized Germans in a ritualized expression of racial mythology, but genuine political activity was ruthlessly suppressed. "Politics corrupts the character", wrote Goebbels, the propaganda minister. Mass Nazi rallies became substitutes for real political activity.

7 Lenin, in leading the Bolshevik Party to power in Russia in 1917, showed how a popular revolution can overthrow an existing government and change the social and political nature of the state. The tsarist autocracy gave way to elected soviets which soon lost power to the Bolshevik Party.



8 Suffragettes in Britain fought successfully for the right of women to vote and participate

in politics. The Women's Movement of the 1970s also seeks to extend participation in political affairs.



9 The Democratic Party Convention in Chicago in 1968 was an example of a party organization working through established channels to frame a policy for an impending election and to choose candidates for high office to implement it.

10 Political demonstrators who clashed with police outside the Democratic Convention in 1968 were dissatisfied with established channels of political participation. Direct action of this kind is often the result of frustration be-

cause formal institutions are responding to an unpopular situation too slowly or not at all. The 1960s saw an eruption of worldwide protest movements in opposition to government policies and were met with varying state repression.

Machinery of government

In every political system there is a central body called the government which is responsible for the functions of the state. It must make provision for external defence and internal order, see that laws are administered and collect the revenue needed to finance these state activities

The modern state

In the modern state governments are usually responsible for a much wider range of activities, including the provision of social services in education, health and housing. Even under a capitalist system based on private enterprise, the government regulates general economic trends, encourages export industries, helps low employment areas, aids research, controls international trade and adjusts the money supply. In a socialist state with a "command economy" government activity extends further to running all major industries as national state enterprises.

The structure of government usually reflects a division of responsibility both between national and regional government (or federal and state government) and between

legislative, executive and judicial areas under the theory of "separation of powers" [Key]. However, the government machinery is organized, a central body is needed to give coherence to government policy as a whole and to co-ordinate the activities of individual departments. Each department may be responsible for a particular government function, or for the supervision of a particular group of citizens, and will have its own administrative structure. Departmental activities may be co-ordinated through the central or cabinet office, or through a complex of inter-departmental committees.

Members of the political executive are each made responsible for a particular area of government activity by the head of the government. These members, often called ministers, become answerable for their department's policy and its shortcomings [1-21]. The machinery of government itself is staffed by civil servants who are employees of the state. Little decision-making will be required of civil servants engaged in the purely clerical or low-level administrative routine of government work. Similarly, much

technical and scientific work may be merely routine testing, to enforce government standards. But at the highest levels civil servants work with political heads and suggest ways in which political decisions can be carried out and government policy implemented. The satisfactory functioning of government depends on the civil servants at this level.

High-level civil servants

Ministers, as politicians, take charge of government departments for given periods only but civil servants are often permanent officials and it is on their advice and administrative abilities that good government largely depends. These high-level civil servants may be recruited from the ranks of university graduates and selected for their general intellectual abilities; or they may have received their training at a college for administrators. Further training in public administration may be undertaken while they are in government service.

Management theories and familiarity with the quantitative techniques of economics and other relevant social sciences

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 A new minister of transport is appointed by the head of government to take charge of policy

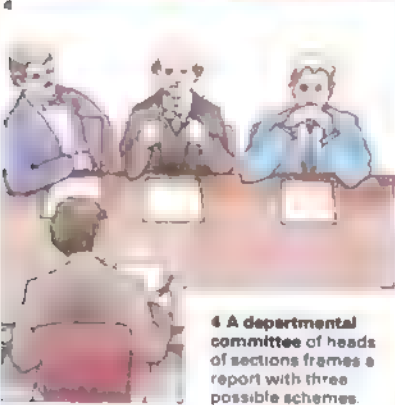


2 The ministry is made up of several sections responsible for different activities in different parts of the country, each with its head or principal Section

activities are co-ordinated by various officials who report to the minister



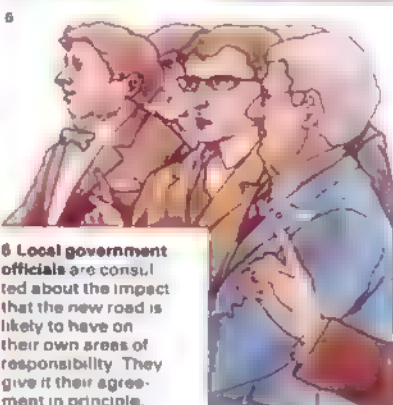
3 In a meeting with his section heads the minister proposes a new motorway to help a region



4 A departmental committee of sections frames a report with three possible schemes

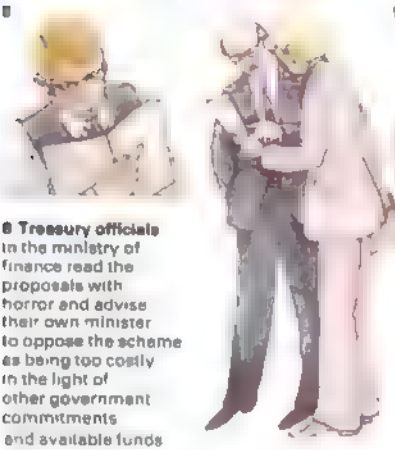


5 Other ministries with related interests are consulted about the three schemes at an inter-departmental meeting



6 Local government officials are consulted about the impact that the new road is likely to have on their own areas of responsibility. They give their agreement in principle.

7 The minister receives a report on the merits of the schemes, chooses plan B and sends draft proposals to other ministries



8 Treasury officials in the ministry of finance read the proposals with horror and advise their own minister to oppose the scheme as being too costly in the light of other government commitments and available funds

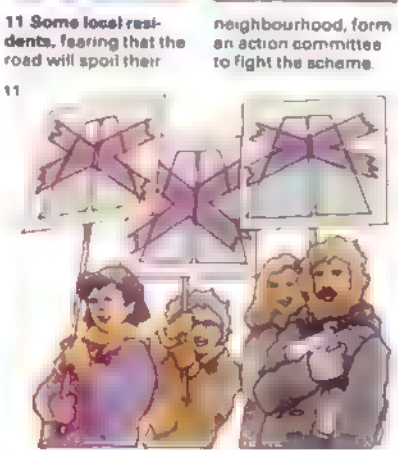


9 A ministerial committee considers the plan outlined by the minister of transport and the objections of the minister of finance but adopts the plan as policy



10 At a press conference the minister reveals the plan

Publicity is handled by his public relations section



11 Some local residents, fearing that the road will spoil their neighbourhood, form an action committee to fight the scheme

are the necessary background knowledge of the modern senior civil servant. Management and organization theory will be used not only to increase efficiency within a particular department but also on a larger scale to help plan the machinery of government itself.

As the political complexion of the executive changes, permanent civil servants will have new political masters and may have to administer new and even opposite policies to those that they have been following. A certain degree of political neutrality is therefore required, for as part of the government machine civil servants do, as their name suggests, serve the state. In some countries, notably the United States, key public service posts are more closely linked to political affiliations and may reflect electoral changes.

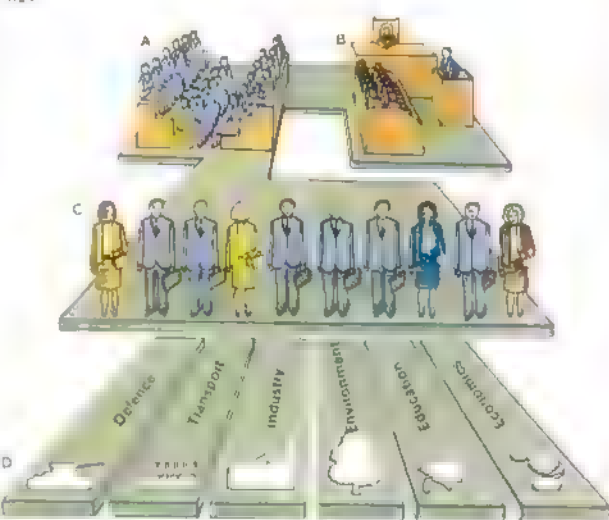
Control and accountability

Governments spend vast amounts of money, take decisions that provide large profits and make appointments that bestow power and prestige. It is therefore necessary to safeguard against corruption and dishonesty within the government machine. The task of

ensuring honesty, efficiency and fairness may be undertaken both internally and externally. Internally the procedures for decision-making and administration are carefully designed to ensure consistency and secrecy where necessary; full records enable government processes to be traced. The machinery of government usually has its own unit to monitor efficiency and promote improvements in standards of administration and personnel. Occasionally special commissions may be appointed to survey the machinery of government, in part, or as a whole.

Members of the public may be protected against arbitrary or illegal administrative action through civil administrative courts. Many countries appoint an independent ombudsman who may investigate charges of maladministration and provide relief. Investigative committees of a legislature may bring to light misuse of the government machine. Similarly, public exposure of government processes by the mass media can play an important part in controlling excesses of bureaucratic behaviour and analysing the efficiency with which public funds are spent.

KEY



In a typical representative democracy the legislature [A] passes laws administered by the judiciary [B] and monitors the actions of the executive [C], which governs the country through departments [D]. The story below shows how these relationships work within a government machine.

12 Representatives

of the action committee appeal to the courts, seeking an injunction to stop motorway work. Meanwhile various sections within the ministry begin work to implement the plan, which has been endorsed by most local opinion including the press. The legal section uses powers under existing laws to secure purchase of the land required. Technical civil servants prepare details of construction.

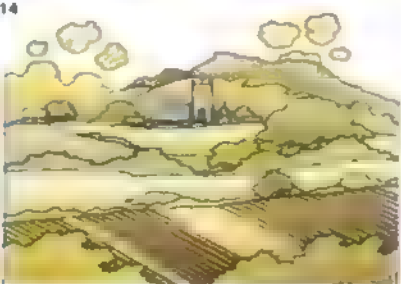
tion plans. The finance and accounts sections then accept

tenders and appoint contractors to undertake construction.

13



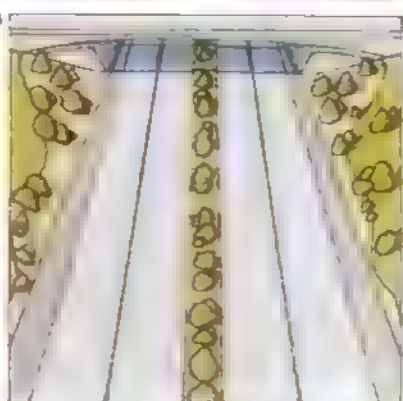
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15 In parliament the minister, briefed by his civil servants, defends his action, outlines the complex consultations behind the

final plan and shows the decision to be consistent with long-term government policies.

16



17

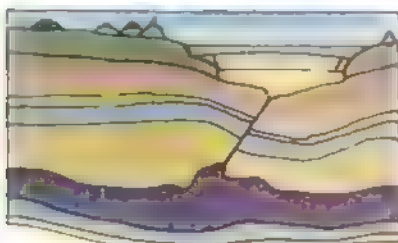


15 The minister opens the completed road.

16



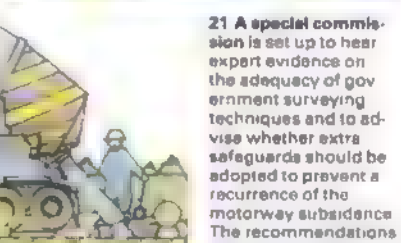
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20



21



19 Following intense press criticism the minister is asked to account for the subsidence. Addressing parliament on the basis of his departmental report he blames geological

movements for causing the damage. But his performance under close questioning is unconvincing and raises doubts about his grasp of departmental work and his ministerial ability.

20 A local resident lodges a grievance which has to be heard before an administrative tribunal. The complaint is that he was inadequately compensated for loss of part of

his property to the motorway and that he has been further affected by geological disturbance as a result of drilling during its construction. The tribunal examines the ministry

files, exonerates the civil servants from any negligence, but recommends a review of the compensation paid to the complainant and of the method of geological survey.

21

A special commission is set up to hear expert evidence on the adequacy of government surveying techniques and to advise whether extra safeguards should be adopted to prevent a recurrence of the motorway subsidence. The recommendations of the commission lead to a restructuring of the transport department and a strengthening of its geological survey section. In a ministerial reshuffle, the minister is transferred to a less important department.

Money and capital

Modern man uses money in a wide variety of forms [Key, 1], offering various degrees of liquidity, risk and return. The cash in our purses and wallets is used to cover a diminishing number of our needs, most are now met by cheques or, increasingly, by credit cards.

Where our grandfathers kept a gold sovereign or two to tide them over rainy days, we use the savings bank, premium bonds, national savings certificates and bank deposit accounts as our first line of reserve. These are all "liquid assets", so called because they can quickly be changed into cash. Insurance policies, partly paid mortgages, the shares of public companies all can, be turned into cash with varying notice and cost. In this way the concept of money gradually shades into other forms of financial assets.

The banking system

A modern banking and monetary system has certain constituent parts. Large banks with many local branches (clearing banks) are in touch with the general public, holding their deposits and dealing with their everyday transactions. In continental Europe the most

common medium for everyday transactions is the giro method of monetary transfer based upon the postal system. Above the clearing banks stands the central bank – a government institution that is a banker's bank and "lender of last resort." The certainty that the central bank will ordinarily support any subsidiary bank should it get into difficulties has removed the crises of confidence and "runs on the bank" that so disrupted eighteenth- and nineteenth-century business.

Managing the economy

The relationship between the central bank and the clearing banks is a crucial part of economic management as practised by modern governments. They use the banking system to influence the balance between monetary demand and supply. They may when necessary require the clearing banks to increase the proportion of their liquid funds deposited with the central bank, which forces the clearing banks to call in some overdrafts and loans so that their liquid assets are still able to cover any normal claims on them.

The central bank can also influence the

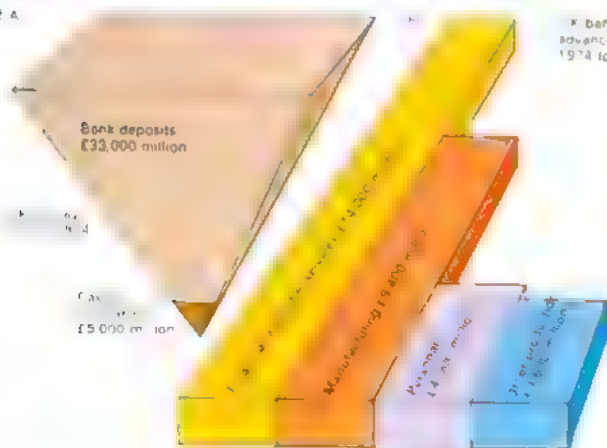
monetary situation by changing its "base rate" or "minimum lending rate." This is the rate of interest at which subsidiary banks can borrow money from the central bank if they need to and it forms a logical base for all other interest rates. So, if this bank rate is raised or lowered, other interest rates follow. The central bank or other appropriate authority can influence the money supply by "open market operations" in which it buys or sells government bonds and so competes in the money market for available funds.

Banks are only part of the complex interlocking system of financial institutions that characterizes the modern monetary economy. Peculiar to the City of London is the discount market – a small group of firms that deal in government and commercial short-term paper and form a buffer between the central bank and other financial institutions. There are also the merchant banks, which do not accept deposits from the general public but provide specialized banking services to business. They engage in the financing of trade (particularly of commodities) and are active in company develop-

CONNECTIONS

See also
 Monetary
 economic development
 industry and
 structure
 international trade
 and finance
 international
 cooperation and
 development

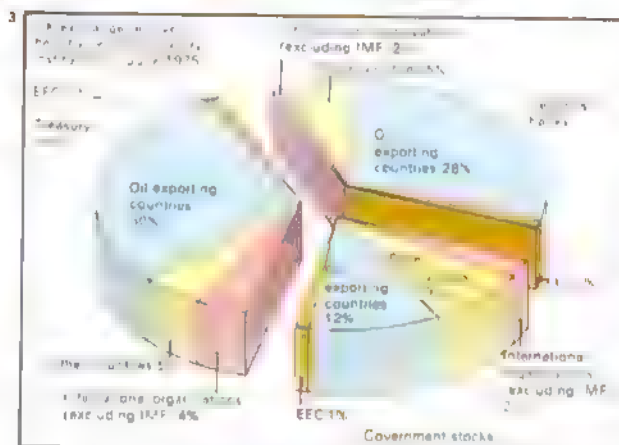
1 Money is, at root, really a matter of confidence. It is any thing that a society generally accepts as having value. Once that confidence is destroyed money reverts to its intrinsic value. Throughout history money has assumed many forms. Apart from those shown here: precious stones, fish hooks, nails, compressed tea (the original "cash"), livestock, special stones and, in prison camps, cigarettes and tinned food have all been used. Man needs money as a store of wealth, a medium of exchange and a unit against which to value other goods. To be adopted as money an article needs to be relatively scarce, durable, easily stored and portable. It is for this reason that gold and silver have formed the basis of many coinages. That confidence is vital is seen by the gradual development of paper money: the intrinsic value of which is negligible despite its face value.



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2 Cash makes up only a small part of the total money supply (A), 13% of the 1974 UK total of £38,000 million. Credit (B) in the form of bank advances to tailed £31 000 million of which only 13% went to private individuals

3 Currencies such as the dollar and pound are "reserve currencies." Other countries hold part of their reserves in New York or London as deposits or investments in government securities for easy encashment.



ment and flotation as well as in organizing the issue of new companies' shares to the general public (as issuing houses) [5, 6]

Significance of the stock exchange

Another key financial institution in the money market is the bourse or stock exchange, where bonds and shares, which represent the physical wealth of the community, can be traded. The stock exchange makes a market through stockbrokers - firms that buy and sell shares on behalf of investors [7].

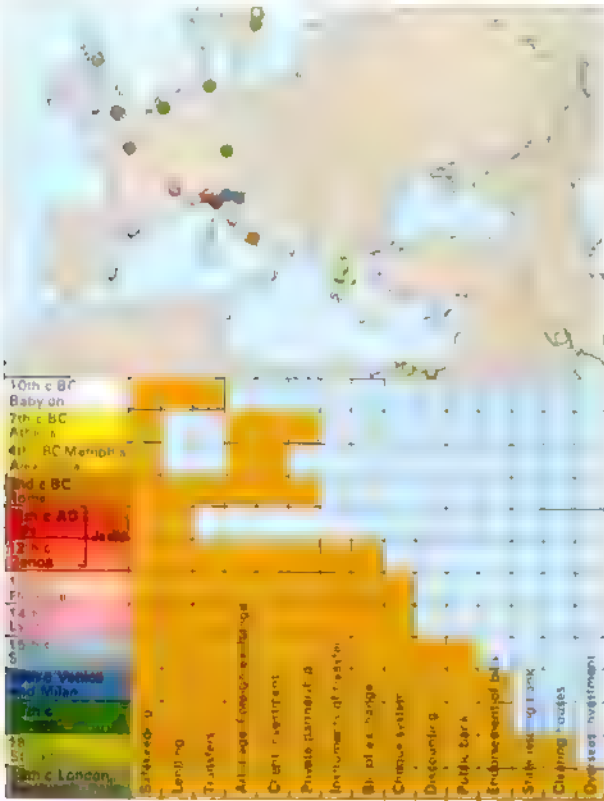
In London the market is made by stock jobbers ('specialists' in the USA) who are wholesalers of stocks and shares. They hold a 'float' of shares at any time and it is the marking up and down of prices as they balance shares on offer with shares demanded that sets the daily prices. Transactions on a stock exchange are undertaken within a complex network of law, government regulations and house rules that are laid down by the governing bodies.

One striking characteristic of stock markets throughout the world has been their growing institutionalization since 1945.

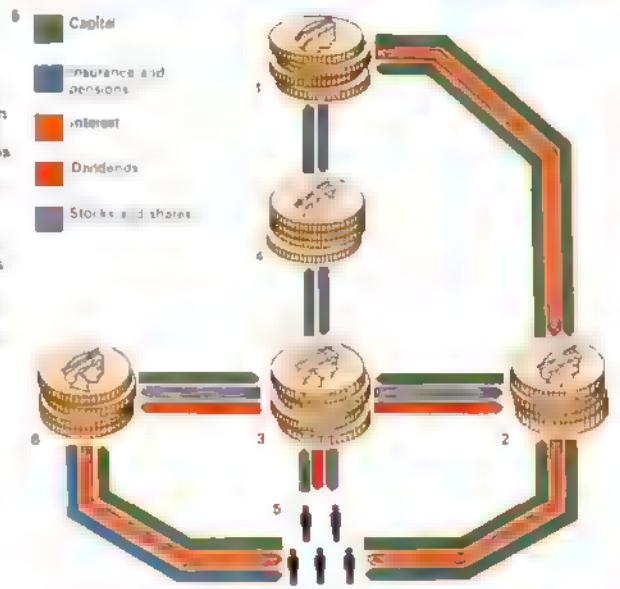
Although small savings have expanded greatly, they have in general been used to boost the great growth in personal insurance and pension provision. Hence the main supply of funds to the stock market both for existing shares and for taking up new ones is now through insurance companies and pension funds which invest on behalf of their millions of customers.

Another important development has been the rise of unit trusts, or mutuals as they are called in the USA. These buy groups of shares so that the investor, by buying units in the trust, can spread his risks over a wide range of companies even though he is investing a relatively small amount. Another constituent of the modern financial scene is some form of institution to finance house building and purchase, which in Britain is carried on by the building societies and some insurance companies. Since the 1920s, there has been an increase in other institutions specializing in the provision of short- and medium-term credit, both to individuals and also to industry in the form of hire purchase facilities and leasing contracts.

KEY



4 Banking first appeared about 1000 BC in Babylon in the form of safekeeping, lending and transfers. Modern banking began with Italian merchants and London goldsmiths who gave credit to depositors. The formation of the Bank of England in 1694 marked the realization that a central bank was needed. In the time chart below left brown squares indicate services available.

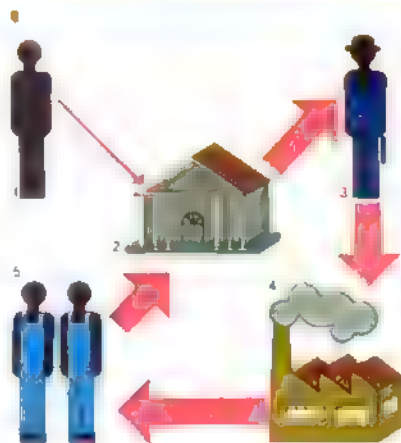


5 A business [1] can raise capital either through a bank [2] or by selling a new issue of shares on the stock market [3] through a guarantor, the merchant bank [4]. The public [5] and institutions [6] can then invest.

7 Shares
1 Bonus issue (ordinary)
2 £1 ordinary
3 Participating preference
4 Non-cumulative preference
5 Cumulative preference
6 Debentures
7 Gilt edged securities
8 Bank deposit



6 The public [1] deposits savings with the banking system [2] which in turn advances money to entrepreneurs [3]. This money is spent on plant [4], materials and wages and returns to the bank via the recipients' accounts [5]. Since the public does not call on all the money at the same time, the banking system can safely expand the money supply in the form of loans by lending about five times the amount of its cash reserves to hand.



7 Different types of shares carry different rates of interest and degrees of risk. The illustration shows the fortunes

of a man who divides £700 equally between a bank deposit, government stock and shares in a company. The red boxes show

the interest he receives over a four year period. Bank deposit, government bonds and debentures are the most reliable.

Preference shares have first call on dividends over common shares, and both carry the chance of an increase in unit value.

Man as an economic being

Choice is one of the fundamental ideas in economic thought and scarcity is another. Man is seen as rationally choosing between alternatives – between different goods, between material benefits and leisure, between consumption now and in the future and between alternative uses for the scarce or limited production resources such as land, labour, skills and capital that he uses to achieve his economic standard of living.

What is economic man?

Economic man is a term used to describe a series of generalizations and abstractions that have been developed over two centuries of economic theory to determine the essence of "economic life". Economic theory is concerned with three areas: the way in which man's demands are generated; the behaviour of organizations that supply those demands, and the behaviour of groups within the economy and of national economies inter-related in the world economy. On this substructure rest more detailed theories about the monetary system, taxation, monopolistic bodies such as trade unions,

cartels and multinational firms and so forth.

Economic man is a maximizer. As a consumer, according to his own preferences and the prices that confront him, he adjusts his expenditure so as to make the best use of it [2]. This balancing act is performed by adjusting personal consumption of various goods until a given amount spent on any one of them will yield equal satisfaction to him [1]. As a producer, economic man works within the constraint of market demand and his supply of resources in order to make the most profit. Resources are put into production to the point where a given amount spent on any one of them yields equal profit. The "marginalist" character of economic theory derives from the law of diminishing returns – the general rule that as more money is spent on goods or on a resource, the return (utility or profit) to the purchaser from each successive expenditure decreases.

The standard of living

Although economic man is a maximizer, he may not always choose to maximize his consumption of material goods. Workers in

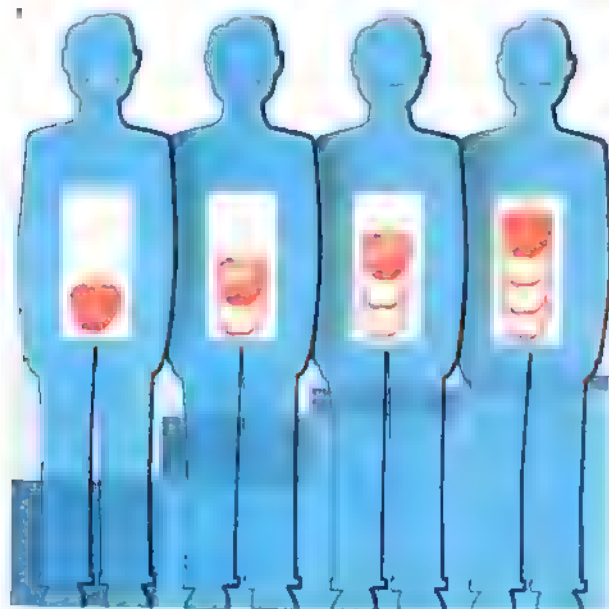
unpleasant jobs frequently react to a rise in pay by working less and absenteeism rises. The mid-twentieth century has seen a small but significant minority opting out of the competitive pressures and the full material benefits of industrial society [6]. If, as living standards rise in the world, there should be any marked shift towards a preference for leisure and peace of mind and away from material goods, this could have the most fundamental effect on economic life.

As a general rule the standard of living in any country is fixed by the average output of each person [7]. The opulent few in a community have virtually no impact on the standard of living of the masses of their countrymen. That standard is determined by the efficiency with which the community as a whole works. This is as true in the "advanced" countries as in peasant economies, even though the complex organization of the former and their access to capital tends to confuse the issue. Since the eighteenth century many countries in the world have achieved a rapid rise in output per man and hence in their standard of living.

CONNECTIONS

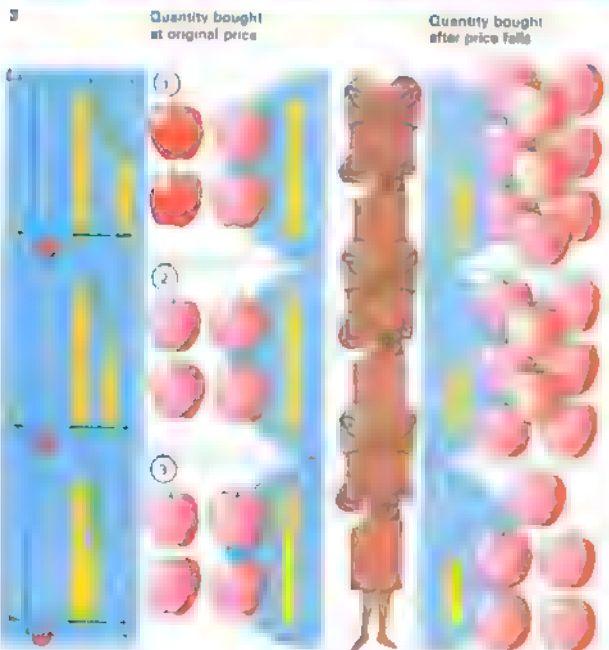
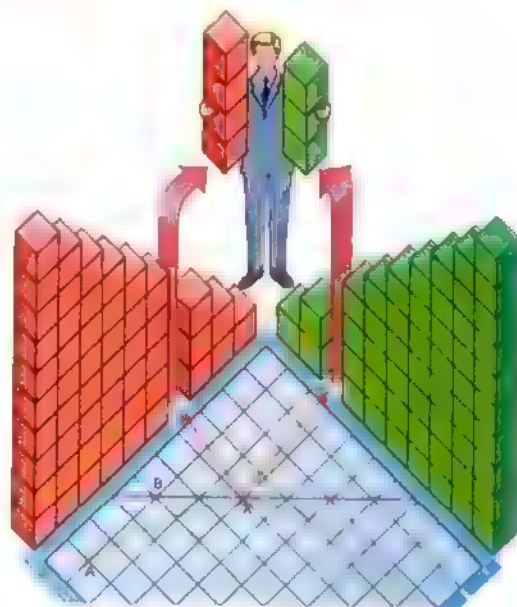
See also

Microeconomics
Consumer behaviour
Consumer choice
Consumer surplus
Consumer theory
Consumer utility
Consumer welfare
Consumer choice



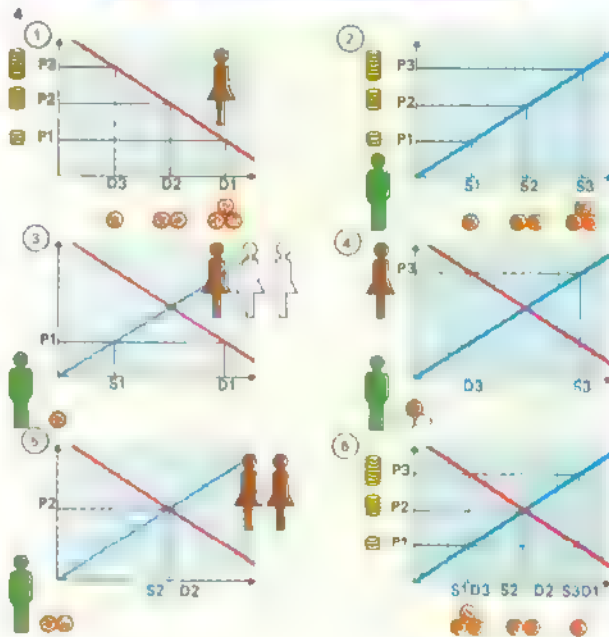
1 "Ravenous, hungry, peckish, full-up" illustrates a basic law of economics – diminishing marginal utility. As we fill our most urgent needs, additional consumption gives less satisfaction or "utility" (dark area on graph) until the point is reached when we gain no additional satisfaction from anything more consumed.

2 Indifference curves [A] and budget lines [B] show how a man will get the most use from his consumption with a given income and relative prices. The optimum occurs where line A touches line B at X. Here the marginal utility of the last unit of income spent on each item becomes equal.



3 Demand is said to be elastic [1] when a given percentage fall in price (yellow columns) produces a higher percentage rise in demand. It is unity when the two balance [2] and inelastic when a fall in price produces a smaller percentage rise in demand [3].

4 In a simple market demand [D] changes inversely with prices [P] so that as prices rise, demand decreases [1]. Supply [S] directly increases with prices [2] so that when prices rise more goods are produced. An excess of demand over supply leaves unsatisfied customers [3] and an excess of supply over demand leaves unsold goods [4]. Equilibrium is reached when demand equals supply at the current prices [5, 6].



Welfare economics [8] grew out of a realization in the early 1900s that competitive economic individualism did not necessarily bring about, in a phrase used by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". Poor parents, to relieve their misery, might seek the solace of gin rather than feed milk to their children. Exploitation of resources led to large-scale destruction of the landscape. Some people felt that a degree of state intervention was preferable to the largely untrammelled competition experienced in Western Europe and Russia in the period 1850-1900. From this has developed the concept of "cost-benefit" analysis whereby the benefits and costs of an irrigation scheme, chemical factory, food subsidy, indirect tax or whatever are calculated for the community as a whole.

Statistical sampling of economic man

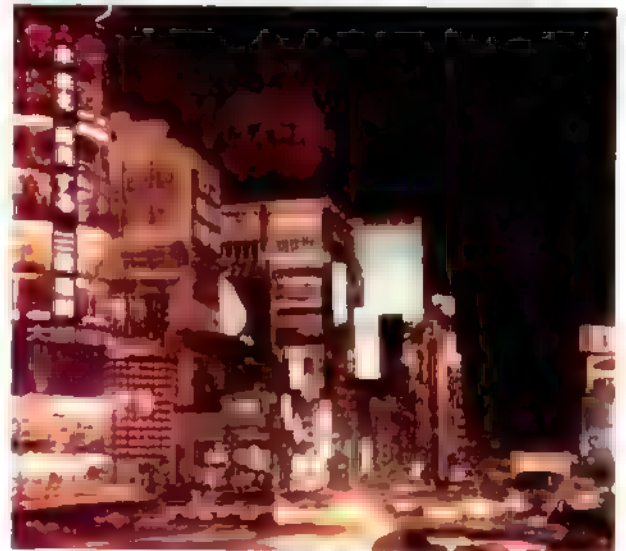
Knowledge is more useful and complete when it can be quantified. Therefore population, trade, output and money are counted and compared over time. Because it is usually physically impossible or impracticably

expensive to make a total count of whatever is being studied, statistical sampling techniques are used. However, the periodic censuses of population are an attempt at total counting and the results contain only a small element of estimation. Once the total population has been counted and classified, "sampling" can be used to collect data about a few thousand representative people (selected in relation to age, social class or income level) and the results can be grossed up by reference to the total population.

Statistical indexes are a particularly effective way of describing changes over time. They also give meaning to such ideas as "changes in the price level" and "the volume of industrial production" which, because they are composed of myriad changes relating to a variety of products, are virtually impossible to discuss without indexes.

"Cost of living" indexes [9] are familiar enough, a representative quantitative collection of goods is priced in the base years. Developments in the successive years are shown as a percentage change and thus indexes usually show the base year as 100.

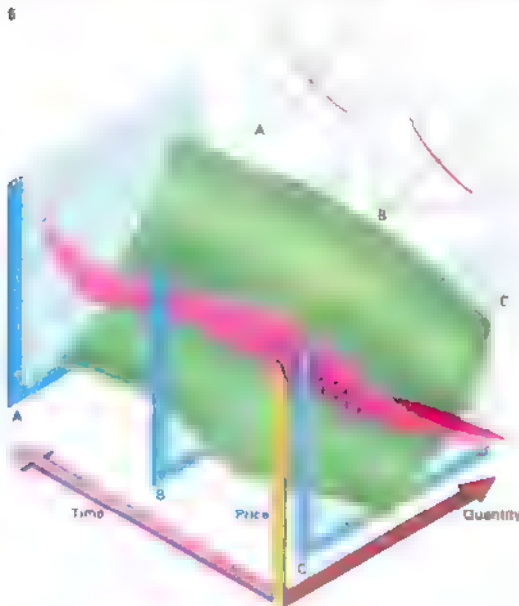
KEY



Advanced countries generate their high standard of living

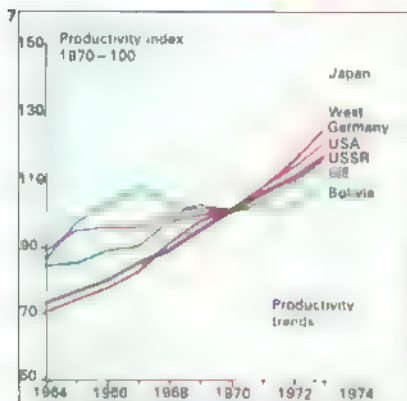
through high-pressure selling methods that are here epitomized by the Ginza

the hub of Tokyo's commercial life



5 Economists use simplified models of actual economic situations, which may be either dynamic (tracing changes over time) or static (presenting a single situation). The diagram illustrates both models. A, B, C show the static relationship between supply (green curve) and demand (pink curve), and are three points charting the change from A to C through time.

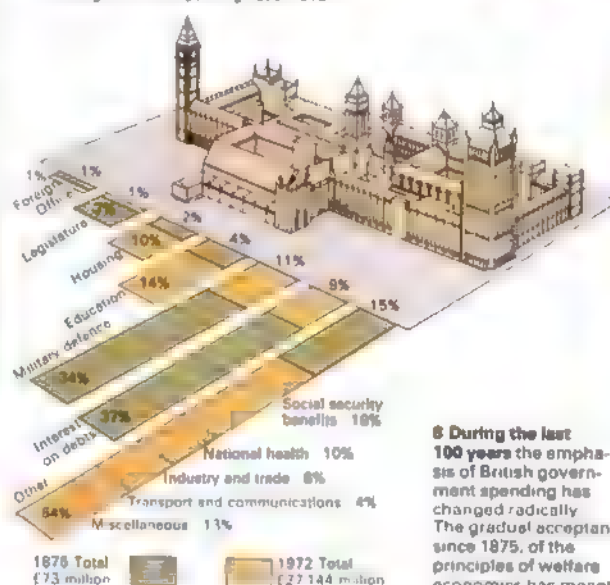
6 Drop-out communities are a luxury afforded only by high pressure wealthy economies. Those disenfranchised with stressful urban life seek simpler ways - but their "poverty" may include such things as cars, TV, alcohol, modern medicine and social security benefits.



7 Productivity depends on many factors - efficiency of both management and work force, hours worked, investment levels and degree of industrialization. Comparing figures between countries is difficult because of special local conditions. But

it is possible to monitor trends in productivity within a country. Here the output per person in 1970 is taken as 100 and productivity before and after compared to that. The steeper the line, the faster the standard of living can rise.

8 British government spending 1875-1972



8 During the last 100 years the emphasis of British government spending has changed radically. The gradual acceptance since 1875, of the principles of welfare economics has meant a shift from defence expenditure to welfare.



9 One important way of gauging a country's economic health is to measure shifts in the cost of buying a standard range of common goods. This so-called cost of living index is based in the UK, on the average price of some 348 individual items ranging from a pound of cheese to drawing up a will. The items are listed under four main headings.

	Number of items	% of total cost
A Food, drink and tobacco	156	41.6
C Consumer durables	113	14.7
B Housing and heating	12	18.1
D Services and transport	87	25.6
Total	348	100.0

Industry and economics

Economic analysis is applied both to the individual and to group or aggregate situations. Micro-economics deals with the problems of the individual consumer, household or firm and uses supply and demand as its basic model, whereas macro-economics studies communities or countries and uses the overall flow of money as its basis. The division is not clear-cut but largely one of convenience. They are simply different aspects of the same picture.

Behaviour of organizations

The behaviour of firms is analysed generally in terms of perfect competition and monopoly. These two categories probably do not exist in their extreme forms, and real-life situations lie on a spectrum between them. Perfect competition assumes a world in which everybody knows what is happening and in which production freely responds to changes in demand. Above all it requires that individual firms be small in relation to the total market so that they cannot affect price levels by changing their volume of supply, but equally they can always sell as much as they

want at the current market price [1].

In a monopolistic situation, a firm is large enough to affect the market price offered for its wares by withholding or increasing supplies. Under conditions of monopoly [2], the greatest profit is achieved when the volume of sales or output is such that the additional revenue resulting from selling one more unit equals the cost of producing it - that is, when the marginal revenue equals the marginal cost. If a monopolist could be forced to sell that volume of output at which price just equals his average cost per unit, he would sell a much larger volume and the consumer would pay a much lower price.

Control over company activities

Monopoly, oligopoly and imperfect competition are names for situations in which, because of relative market size or because of product branding and publicity, a firm can to some extent control the price at which it sells. In the last 100 years governments have exercised more and more control over the behaviour of firms. Company law is the chief means of control. It determines the way in

which firms are established, how they are controlled by their shareholders; how they are financed, and it makes them accountable to the community by forcing them to publish certain financial information.

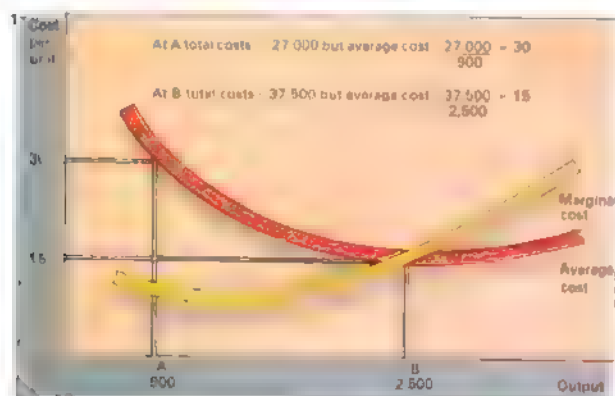
A wide range of other laws covering safety, health, location of plant and pollution also impinge on the businessman's life. Among the most important are laws, such as the American anti-trust laws, that restrict or break up monopolistic firms. Much of this state concern is a reaction to the concentration of economic and social power within industrial and financial corporations where the four or five largest in an industry may control over 60 per cent of the total assets.

The boom/slump cycles of the 1920s [7] and the slump of 1931-3 spawned the theoretical work of the British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), who argued that governments could and should take counter-cyclical action (deflation and reflation) to regulate the level of economic activity. Since those days and particularly since 1945, governments throughout the world have been expected by their citizens to

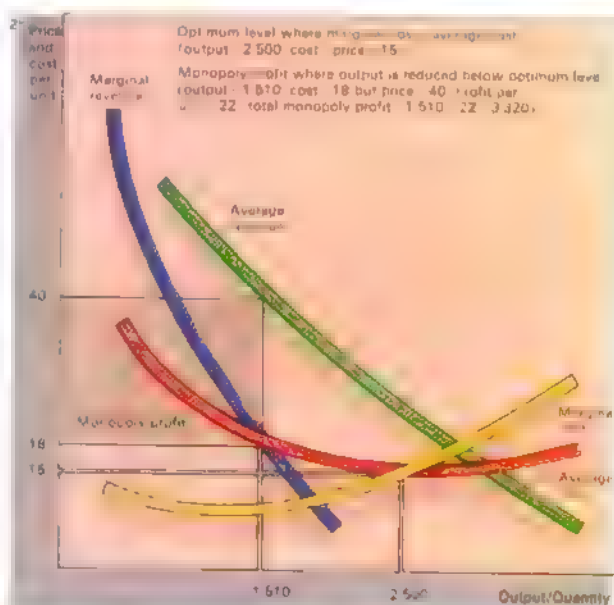
CONNECTIONS

See also

Micro-economics
Monopoly
Demand



1 Unit costs depend on volume of production. At its designed capacity a plant achieves minimum costs but if output is pushed higher costs tend to rise through machine breakdown, congestion and so on. Under perfect competition, firms enter or leave an industry until market price and marginal cost coincide with the minimum average cost. Below this price firms are forced out of production, above it excess profits attract competitors.



2 A dominant supplier or monopolist can exploit its customers. By restricting output, for example, it can force the price up and increase profit. The consumer pays a higher price but consumes less.

3 Primary industry (A) produces food, oil, wood, steel, aluminium and energy. These materials are worked into higher forms of manufacture by secondary industry (B) which produces chemicals, cars, cars, cars and so on. Shops, warehouses, banking facilities etc form tertiary industry. An advanced economy has a growing sector of these 'service' trades (C), such as credit card companies and the professions.

4 By acting in concert, the main oil producers of the world in OPEC were able to triple the world price of oil in 1973-4. This was monopoly in action. However cartels are not new and they have proved unstable in the past.



follow full employment policies. Gradually it has become clear that at first creeping, and latterly galloping, inflation limits even the most powerful government's ability to maintain a high level of employment without occasional recessions and resultant increases in the numbers of unemployed.

Inflation and modern society

Inflation is a baffling phenomenon. It shows itself usually as a persistent rise in prices or fall in the value of money and has long been simply summed up as "too much money chasing too few goods". But inflation is an extremely complex process; its results are obvious but they are reached by myriad paths [6]. Prices have been rising persistently and with relatively few interruptions throughout recorded human history - and nobody knows why. It has required a major catastrophe such as the collapse of a civilization or a holocaust like the plague in fourteenth-century Europe to produce a serious check to rising prices.

Many causes are suggested for inflation, governments spending more than they have the courage to collect in taxes, individual

optimistic expectations produced by decades of full employment, growing trade union or industrial monopoly power, international cartels such as those that typify both the demand and supply side of the oil industry [4], the exhaustion of world raw materials, the inexorable growth of world population, the side-effects of mass media, and so on.

Modern industrial society is promoting great unease in men's minds. Giant firms, apparently out of the control of their nominal owners, giant trade unions sometimes in the hands of criminals, sliding ethical standards and so forth, have produced a political demand for more and more intervention by national governments. The most fundamental issue is probably a question of whether the earth with its finite resources can support perpetually growing industrial output. Man's magnificent technology may have lightened his physical labours (at least for a minority) but in subtle ways it may have enslaved him to the giant institutions, complex administrative systems and mass media manipulation that are necessary to utilize this technology at the large scale it demands.

Production requires the assembling and coordination of capital (A) labour (B) and materials (C). These are divided into fixed or overhead costs (rent rates) and

variable costs (materials, overtime) which relate directly to the level of output. The greater the level of output, the lower are fixed costs per unit. These

costs tend to fall at first as work is subdivided and material waste reduced, but they rise later when additional costs do not produce an equivalent rise in output.



Rising prices or a fall in the value of money



6 Increased costs of any or all the three factors of production (that is, of 'cost push' inflation). Raw materials (A), capital (B) and labour (C) may all increase in price, thus pushing upwards the

cost of goods produced. World shortages, trade union wage increases that exceed productivity, or monopoly profits are examples of cost push. In a modern interdependent economy price rises in

any one area lead to increases in many other sectors, the multiple effect of a particular increase developing its own self-perpetuating momentum, as in the case of a large increase in oil prices.

6 "Demand pull" inflation is used to explain price changes. Inflation is seen as a result of rises in demand pulling on the limited resources of an economy and forcing prices up a self-perpetuating spiral.

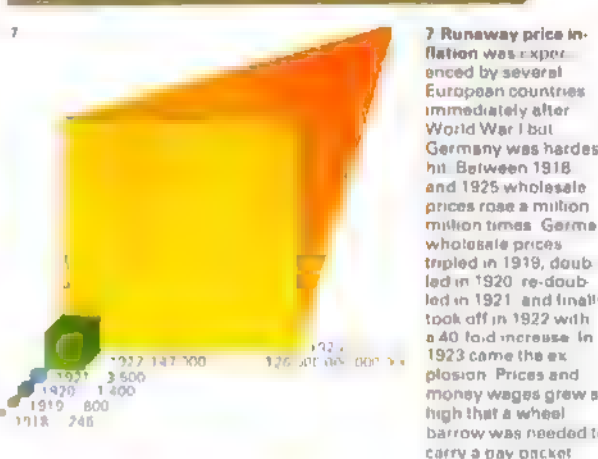


Falling prices or a rise in the value of money

Levels of consumption, investment or government expenditure can cause changes in demand. Any increases have an inflationary effect, whereas a fall in their levels causes a downward movement on the spiral.



At the bottom of the spiral, in a recession, demand for resources is low, production and employment fall and with them income and expenditure (demand). Thus the downward movement develops its own momentum.



International trade and finance

Trade, or the exchange of goods between parties, is one of the major wealth-creating activities of mankind [Key]. This is so even if the people of a country or region are the most efficient producers in every conceivable field of production: they are still better off if they exchange goods with countries whose pattern of relative efficiencies is different from their own. This principle is called the theory of comparative advantage [1].

Free trade and tariff barriers

It is easy to see the sense in manufacturing producers and primary producers exchanging their goods, but it is less easy to see why the USA, Germany, Japan and the UK are able to profit by importing and exporting similar products among themselves. Yet it is a fact of world trade that the biggest and most rapidly growing markets for manufacturing countries are not the primary producers but other industrial nations. Trade between low-wage and high-wage countries provides an area for controversy. While Americans do not suggest putting a duty on shirts imported from low-wage Tennessee into high-wage Detroit, they

may think it reasonable to put a duty on textiles coming from Korea.

The theory of comparative advantage requires that goods be able to move freely between the trading areas. This raises few problems within a country but it may be a different matter if boundaries of politics, language and culture have to be crossed. Equally, free trade is a wonderful idea if everybody plays the same game, but for various political reasons tariff quotas, levies and similar restrictions may be more popular than totally free-trade policies.

Governments impede trade in many ways, usually by tariffs but sometimes by non-tariff barriers [2] and quotas. In the years 1950 to 1970 tariffs were substantially reduced throughout the world with resultant benefits to trade. Today, other barriers have become more important as limitations on international trade.

A country's trading position vis-à-vis the rest of the world is summed up in its balance of payments [4]. The net result of all transactions on both current (basic flow of goods and services) and capital accounts

(loans or debts to other countries) will be seen as a change in the country's international reserves (gold, dollars, sterling or other convertible currency). If a country has a surplus on its current account but lends more than this abroad, its reserves will fall.

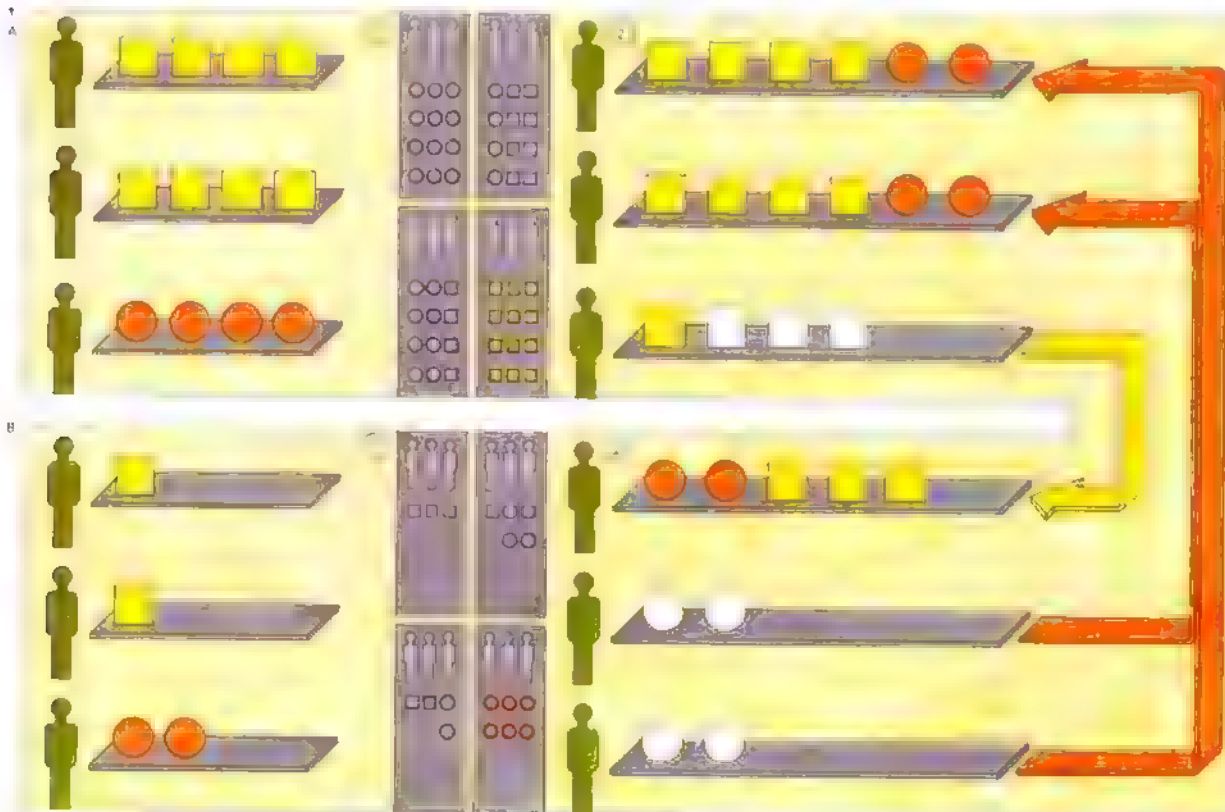
There is a close link between national economic policy and the state of a country's balance of payments. Good-neighbour behaviour in world trade dictates that no country should run a persistent surplus or deficit in its balance of payments. After a year or two of surplus a country should stimulate demand for imports by reflation (for example, lowering taxes or undertaking public works), equally it should deflate its economy after a year or two of deficit [5].

Exchange rates of currency

An exchange rate is simply the price of one currency in terms of another. This is determined on foreign exchange markets, which exist in major financial centres such as London, New York, Frankfurt and Tokyo. When the gold standard was used, the currencies of participating countries were all

CONNECTIONS

See also
Money, exchange
Manufacturing
Industry and
Trade

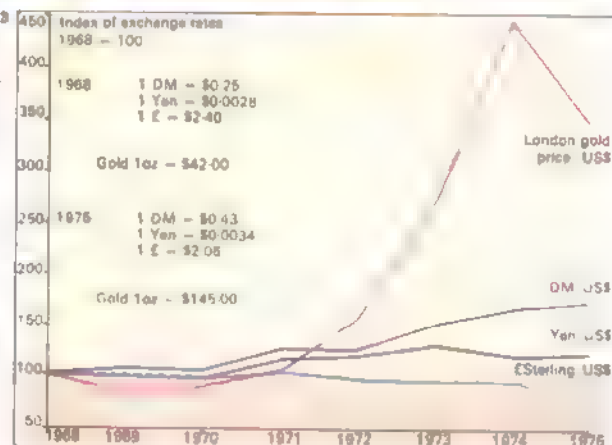


1 The theory of comparative advantage explains how benefits arise from trade. In the pre-trade situation in country A, two men produce four crates of lemons each and one man produces four bags of corn. In country B two men each produce one crate of lemons and one man produces two bags of corn. Each country can produce various combinations of lemons and corn by transferring labour between the activities [1]. However, when trade takes place each country specializes in producing the commodity in which it is relatively more efficient. Of the various possible combinations [2] the best is in colour. A produces only lemons, B only corn, and they trade four bags of corn for three crates of lemons. Each country now consumes an extra crate of lemons so that both have gained from specialization and trade.



2 Stringent checks on incoming products, food hygiene laws, labelling requirements, electrical safety regulations or tendering procedures that handicap foreigners can be greater barriers to trade than tariffs.

3 Floating exchange rates gradually replaced fixed exchange rates so that by the early 1970s most major currencies were responding daily to foreign exchange market movements. The most spectacular unshackling was the dollar price of gold.



ried to one another by their gold content. The gold standard was largely abandoned during the 1920s because it was thought to be too inflexible and too limiting. Thereafter the major trading currencies became international standards of value.

In the decades after World War II this system came under pressures that resulted partly from structural weaknesses in the world economy, partly from side-effects of other policies such as the USA's commitment to massive economic and military aid, and partly from institutional rigidities such as fixed exchange rates and the fixed value of the US dollar in terms of gold. Both of these were maintained somewhat pointlessly for many years. The result was a flurry of foreign exchange speculation precipitating devaluations and revaluations of dollars, marks, pounds, yen and finally gold, that led in 1970-71 to a position where there was no international standard of value against which currencies could be expressed.

This situation produced the "Smithsonian parties" in which each major currency was priced against a "basket" of other currencies.

weighted in relation to their importance in world trade, and thereby provided a conventional standard of value against which movements in exchange rates could be judged.

Floating systems in world currency

The world has moved slowly from a regime of fixed exchange rates to one in which most currencies are "floating", that is, their value in other currencies is allowed to fluctuate from day to day on the foreign exchange markets [3]. Systems have been introduced that allow a currency to float within certain fixed limits so that most major currencies now have two fixed values instead of one - the upper and lower limits of the "float" - at which points the monetary authorities will intervene to sell or buy the currency. A further modification has been the introduction of systems in which short-term and relatively minor market fluctuations are permitted in the value of the currency but in which the fixed limits are sporadically moved up and down. In this manner the nominal value of a currency is adapted to long-term movements and economic forces.

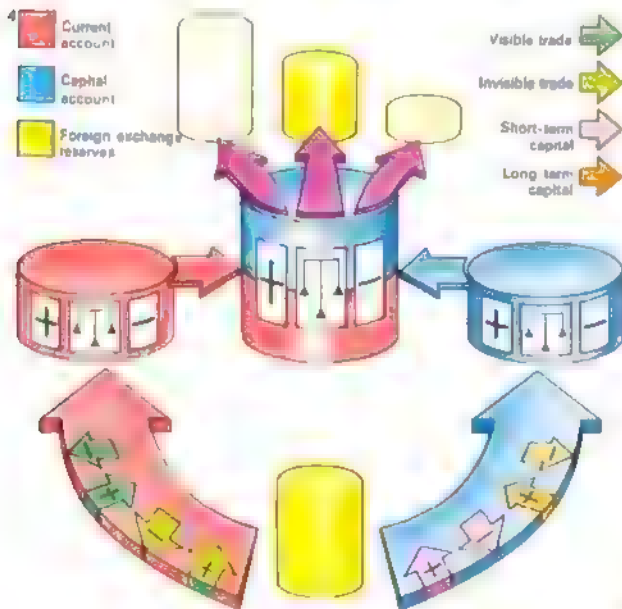
KEY



Trade within a country and trade between countries (typified by thriving ports) have similar

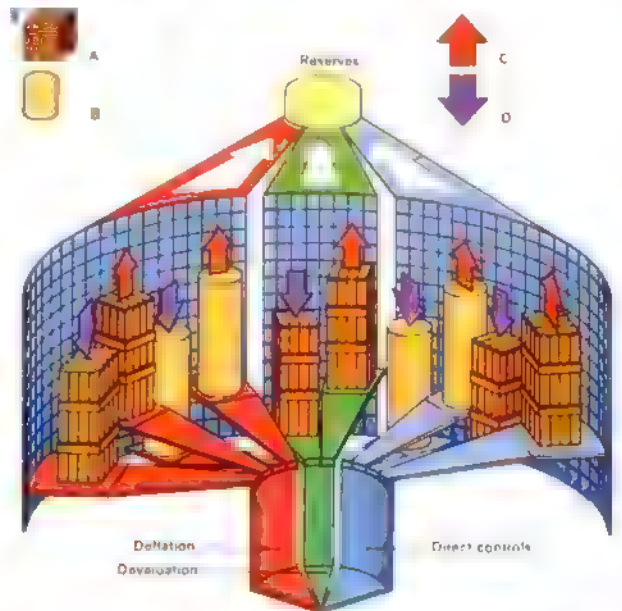
economic causes and results. Differences in climate and resources produce different regional

patterns of efficiency in the production of goods, hence making trade worthwhile.



4 The balance of payments is the combined net surplus or deficit of current and capital accounts and records the flow into (+) and out of (-) a country. Current account covers visible and invisible (shipping, insurance, etc.) trade; capital account includes long- and short-term capital. A surplus will add to the reserves of foreign exchange, a deficit reduces them.

5 Deficits are corrected by deflation, devaluation or direct controls, whose purpose is to decrease imports (A/D), increase exports (A/C), attract short-term capital (B/C) and reduce capital outflow (B/D). All three policies add to reserves.



	Belgium	Denmark	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Sweden	Switzerland	United Kingdom
Belgium		183	9	25,000	9,588	9,49				
Denmark	200		414	1,000	937	3,00				
France	15,000	907		184	4,187	4,100				
W. Germany	4,800	5,270	287		25,000					
Italy	90,000	808	218	230,000		29,100				
Luxembourg	1,400	5		2,000	1,244	32				
Netherlands	13,500	886	86	6,000	52,488	1,148				
UK	5,000	4,298		11,000	21,448	4,800				
Spain	34,000	718	18	288,000	128,817	2,006				
Greece	5,000	481	6	5,000	203,828	788				
Yugoslavia	3,000	4,827	4	80,000	418,748	4,103				
Portugal	4,000	204	12	475,000	70,520	831				
Others		1,639	40		1,100,000					
Algeria	3,000	178		440,000	1,407					
Morocco	30,000	824		130,000	18,298					
Tunisia	2,000	83		70,000						
Others	8,000	18,574	1,032	146,000	246,481					

6 Labour migration has been an important stimulus to world economic development. The opening up of the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina in the 19th century drew millions of migrants from Europe. In the 1960s and 1970s the booming heartland of Europe drew migrant workers from the less economically active peripheral countries. The chart shows foreign workers employed in the nine member countries of the European Economic Community in 1974. Nearly 1,500,000 of West Germany's workers, for example, came from Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The total number of migrant workers in the whole of Europe in 1974 was 15 million.

International co-operation and development

The booms and slumps that scarred the interwar years clearly revealed the need for international economic co-operation. One result has been the establishment of two key institutions to finance trade and economic development. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) provides temporary help to member countries that are having balance of payments problems, tries to stabilize exchange rates and provides an adequate monetary base for trade. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) provides long-term loans and expertise to aid economic development.

Other world bodies (Key) include the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), which was set up to improve world standards of nutrition by promoting agricultural development. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) provides a framework for reductions in trade barriers.

Co-operation in regional groupings

Regional groupings of countries, because of their close cultural, political and geographical links, have achieved much practical

economic co-operation. Undoubtedly the most fruitful so far has been the European Economic Community closely followed by COMECON (the economic organization to which Russia and the East European countries belong). Other successful regional, economic organizations include the European Free Trade Area (EFTA), the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Latin American Free Trade Area (LAFTA).

Co-operation in international finance has concentrated on arrangements to finance balance of payments deficits and surpluses and to regulate international liquidity. Areas of controversy have been whether the IMF should have more power to deal with countries that persistently run surpluses or deficits, thus upsetting the world's financial equilibrium, and the role of gold, its relationships with the dollar and the wisdom of replacing it with some form of "paper gold" such as the IMF Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).

After successive rounds of tariff-cutting negotiated by GATT, worldwide tariffs, in

the early 1970s, are at an historic low. The USA, for example, has moved from tariffs averaging 45 per cent to tariffs of less than 10 per cent in 1974. Now the international community is beginning to turn its attention to non-tariff barriers to trade - such as national food hygiene laws, labelling requirements, or weights and measures rules - that are sometimes unfairly invoked to exclude foreign goods from the domestic market.

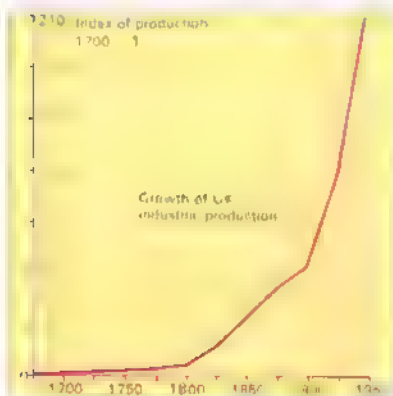
Economic growth

Geographical, cultural, psychological and religious phenomena play a part in explaining the past growth and decline of great civilizations but a comprehensive theory explaining how growth starts has yet to be formulated. Nevertheless, modern economic theory has greatly extended our understanding of the inter-related parts of the economic growth process once it has started. The world has experienced an exceptionally large growth of wealth since 1950 but the gap between rich and poor countries has if anything widened. Helped by the World Bank and national aid programmes the poor have become better off

CONNECTIONS

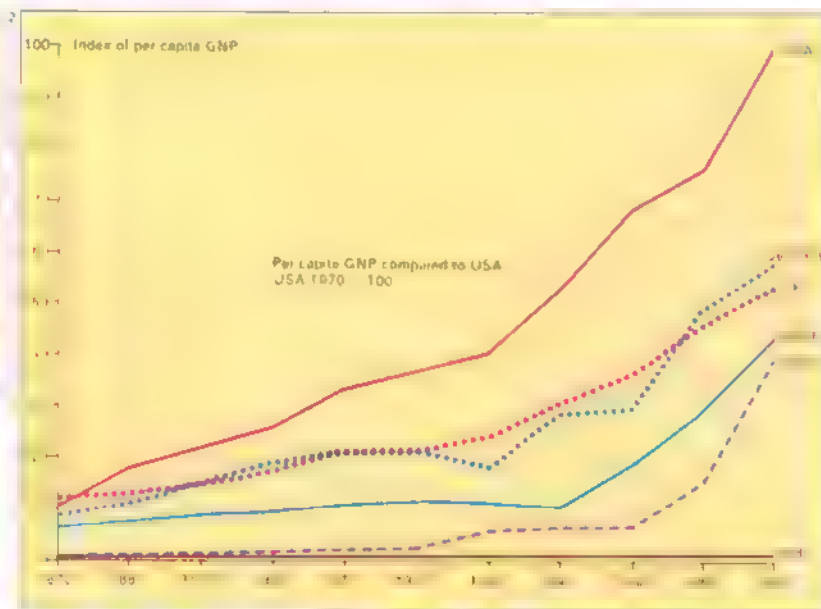
See also

aid finance
Money and prices

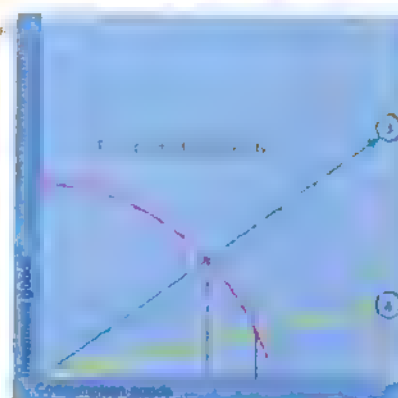
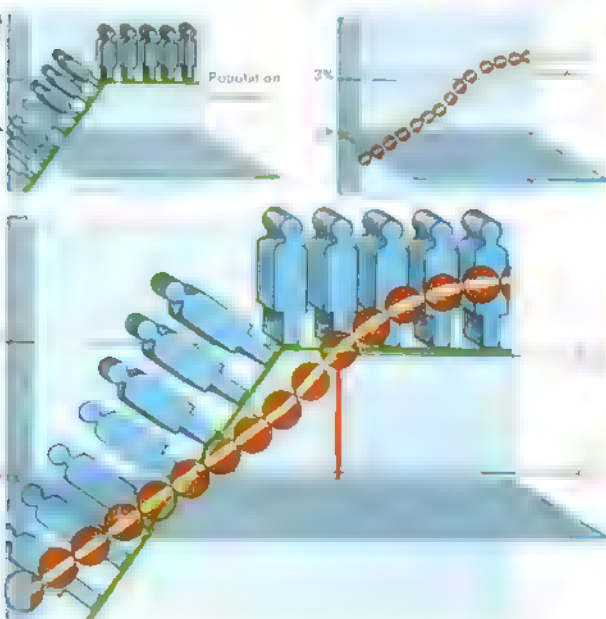


1 For centuries until the mid 18th century, human population and wealth grew at only a very modest pace. Then the application of power to industrial processes increased productivity.

This produced capital surpluses which, when applied to farming, mining and transport, diffused the rise in productivity. Population increases followed improved hygiene and living standards.

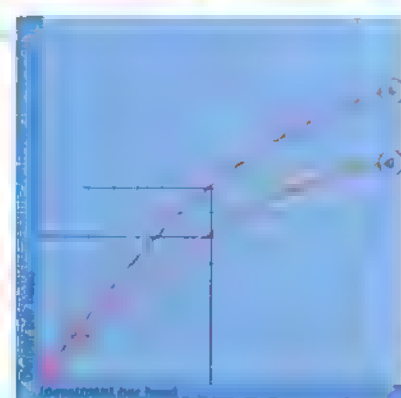


2 Rates of growth vary widely between nations. A mature, relatively wealthy economy may not show the same rate of growth as a poor but emergent one, but in absolute terms its growth may be much greater. Since 1950 the additional income available each year to the USA has been greater than the total national income of India. In the 20th century growth rates have ranged from the slow climb of India and Brazil to the spectacular increases in Germany, Japan and the USSR. However, the hardships imposed on the peoples of totalitarian states such as the USSR to attain their industrial growth would be unacceptable in democratic societies.



3 Poor countries with low levels of per capita income and high rates of population growth face difficulties in development. Population growth (A) rises as incomes increase above subsistence level (2) up to an average high point of

3% where it levels off. In order to close the widening gap between population increase and the per capita income curve, growth in total income has to be accelerated to point 1. This can be achieved by a massive saving and investment programme.



Below point 1 population growth is faster than income growth and per capita income will fall back to subsistence. Beyond point 1 there can be a continuing increase in per capita income. To move to a higher rate of growth a country must make

the decision to divert its resources (B), so as to produce more investment goods (3) at the cost of consumption goods (4). The effect of technology (C) is to increase the output achieved per head (5) at each level of investment per head (6).

but less so than have the richer countries giving the aid [2]. It is estimated that even now less than ten per cent of world income accrues to the poorer half of the world.

The attempt to create higher economic growth in low-income areas involves the transfer of both capital and technology - the one helping the other [4]. In this process errors have been made. For prestige reasons a country may want an airline or a steelworks that confers no trading advantage on it. With the best of intentions, an advanced country giving aid tends to offer its highest technology with the result that the underdeveloped world is dotted with large scale plants that are difficult to link with the general economic development. More intermediate technology that can be grafted into less developed economies should be applied [7]. But this is not necessarily available, the techniques having perhaps been abandoned by the more advanced countries 50 years or more ago. Despite these problems, per capita incomes have been rising at three or four per cent per annum in the less developed world with the expectation

that, as more is learnt about the social and economic conditions for successful growth, a higher rate will be achieved.

Growth in population and production

Since the mid-eighteenth century the world has experienced growth in both population and production. This has been due principally to a better technology [1]. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, current ideas, especially those put forward by the English economists Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) and David Ricardo (1772-1823), suggested that the world was destined to become a stationary economy with population growth limited by disease and malnutrition among poorer peoples, and capital investment limited by falling profit rates and an upward surge of rents. These views overlooked technology, which has raised the productivity of labour and expanded resources of usable land and available minerals. However, since natural resources are limited, perpetual exponential growth is impossible and technology has only postponed rather than removed the spectre of Malthus's ideas [8].

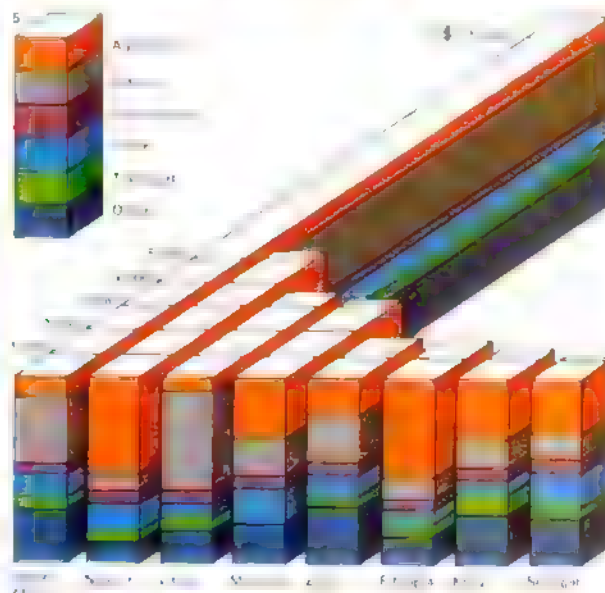
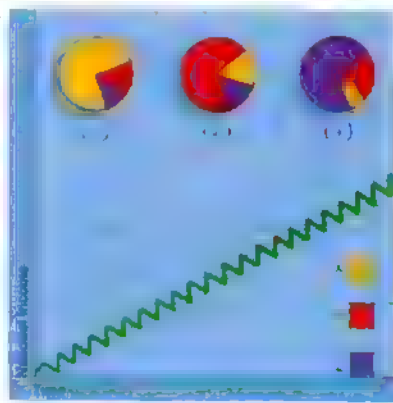


Economic co-operation has flourished since the end of World War

The setting up of international organizations such as those

whose symbols are shown here provides its institutional basis

4 As a country's national income grows steadily over time the economy passes through three stages. In under developed societies [1] agriculture [X] is the dominant activity and source of income. As the economy develops [2] manufacturing industry [Y] grows. Finally [3] the service industries [Z] become more important concerned with areas such as entertainment, social welfare, transport and commerce.



5 The output of goods and services produced internally by a country (the gross national product) is indicative of that country's economic state. Shown here is the composition of the gross national product for eight representative African countries and the value of their GNP expressed in millions of dollars. The countries have been chosen to represent different areas of the continent: rich Libya and less developed Morocco in North Africa; Nigeria and Senegal in West Africa; Zaire in Central Africa; and Ethiopia and Kenya in East Africa. These are contrasted with South Africa.



6 Abu Dhabi shows the ironic contrast between a starry desert surface and the fabulous wealth of the oil sheikhdoms. This has attracted the minute population of herdsmen into some of the wealthiest citizens of

the world. The question now is whether these stands of technology can be developed to provide an adequate living for the rich citizens after the oil has been exhausted. Will they become within 50 years a series of Middle East Switzer-

lands, earning their living by providing services? Or is it possible that these countries will become nations of comfortable rentiers living on the huge investments in other people's industry that they will have amassed by 2050.

7 The need in developing countries for technology that is appropriate to local conditions. An example of such 'intermediate technology' is this pedal-operated cassava grinder in Nigeria.

made from old bicycle parts. Although less prestigious than expensive imported machinery it is ideal for countries where labour is plentiful and spare parts, trained personnel and foreign exchange are scarce.



8 The Malthusian theory of population attempts to explain the relationship between the size of population (horizontal axis) and the level of output (vertical axis). As output rises [1, 2] above subsistence (light blue) so does the population. But as more marginal

land is brought into production and fertility declines, output falls [4] below subsistence (dark blue). Finally equilibrium between output and population is reached [3]. The yellow boxes represent the total goods to be shared amongst the population.

Rule of law

It is said that 'the law and the courts are often in error, but they are never in doubt!' The law demands to be obeyed and its sanctions can be unpleasant – a fine, imprisonment or some other social disability. However, we are not usually conscious of the penalties the law can impose [1] we accept the law because it upholds our chosen way of life.

Law and justice

There are many arguments about the source of legal authority. The eighteenth-century French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) felt that to merit obedience the law must have the status of a social contract freely agreed by free citizens. In direct contrast the English jurist John Austin (1790–1859) argued that laws are basically nothing more than a series of commands from the ruler to the ruled. At the same time in Germany Friedrich von Savigny (1779–1861) described law as a thing that grows naturally out of a nation's spirit, environment and history. And in fact, every nation's legal system has some characteristics which are distinctively its own.

Although laws vary from place to place certain concepts are basic to almost all legal systems. Perhaps the most important is the idea of justice – the desire to balance fairly the needs of the individual against the needs of society plus the desire to find a fair balance between the interests of one individual and those of another. The borderline between these two endeavours is, broadly speaking, the line of distinction between public law and private law.

One difficult problem in the search for justice was epitomized by William Blake (1757–1827): "One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression." The law that is fair to the lion may be unfair to the ox, and vice versa. But lawmakers cannot produce individual laws for each member of the community [3]. They have to legislate for the whole society. Many legal systems have felt the need for mechanisms to remedy such injustices as result. In medieval Europe the Church courts applied a system of equity to protect individuals from legal unfairness. And in imperial China judges were allowed to apply the law in a flexible way that took account of individual

circumstances. A simple everyday example of equity in action is that fire-engines and ambulances, for example, can break speed limits and other traffic laws in emergencies but not in other circumstances.

Law in ancient times

Legal systems seek certainty. Once early men had learned to write they tried to make their laws certain by writing them down. Later they constructed codes – systematic collections of legal rules – which had the advantage of making the community's laws clear and easy to refer to.

One of the earliest legal codes known to us is the Code of Hammurabi (c. 1792–c. 1750 BC), a king of Babylon. Its 300 laws deal in a matter-of-fact way with exactly the same kind of legal matters that exist in modern society, such as sale and purchase, inheritance, employment, marriage, theft and manslaughter.

A legal code of a different type is the one that – as the Bible recounts – Moses brought down from Mount Sinai in about 1200 BC as a law for the Israelites [2]. The Ten

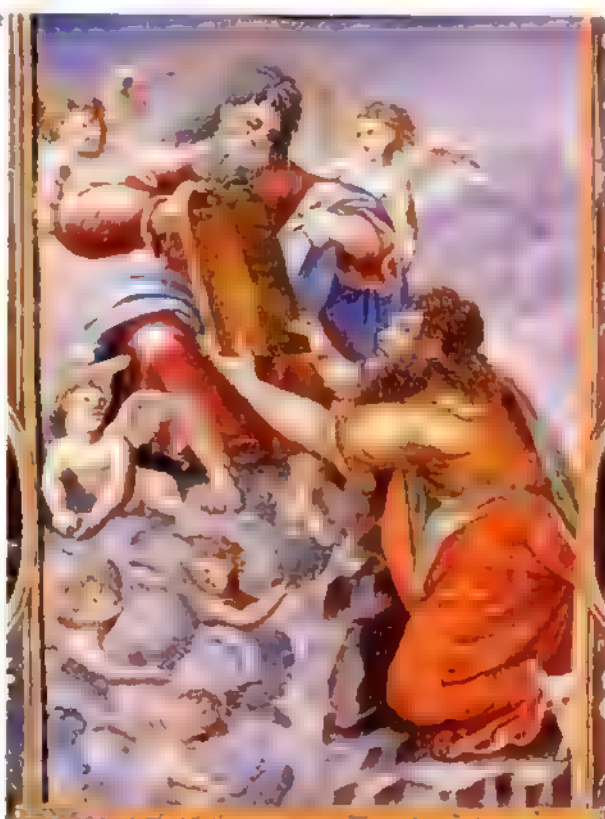
CONNECTIONS

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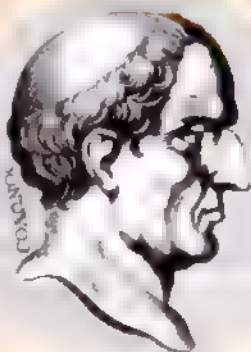


1 Why do we obey the law? One powerful reason is the wish to avoid the sanctions by which law is enforced (A). Another is that it is custom to obey (B). For many people the law is also morally right (C).

2 Moses was given, by God on Mount Sinai, the tablets of law on which, according to the Bible, the Ten Commandments were inscribed. The law can be seen as based on fundamental moral principles.



3 Mr Bumble, in Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837–9), declared, on being told that he was answerable for his wife's actions: "If the law supposes that the law is a ass – a idiot." This statement has been echoed by many litigants and is the basis of the principle of equity which seeks to avoid wrongs resulting from strict adherence to the letter of the law. The process of law making and judgment attempts to make the unfair fair.



4 Solon the Lawgiver, an Athenian statesman and poet (c. 640–c. 559 BC), tried to create a just society. Given power to change the law he reorganized the community, cancelled unfair debts and carried out many other reforms to improve the lot of the people. The dilemma of balancing the rights, duties and conflicting needs of all members of society is seen in his lack of success. Ultimately Solon managed to please few Athenians.

Commandments are essentially a body of principles. They enshrine ideas of morality that have subsequently helped to shape law in almost every part of the world.

The ancient Greeks tried to humanize law. They developed the idea that rules should be changed when they ceased to meet the needs of the community. This idea seems commonplace today but in early society laws were seen as God-given, fixed and immutable. The great thinkers of ancient Greece, including Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, also concerned themselves with the quality of law and its moral standards.

Some Greek ideas were adopted by the Romans. But the Roman genius was essentially practical. The lawmakers sought primarily for order and efficiency in the administration of their territories. Henry Maine (1822-88), writing of Roman law, said: "The most celebrated system of jurisprudence known to the world begins, as it ends, with a Code." He meant that it began with the rudimentary Law of the Twelve Tables in 450 BC and ended with the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the complex collections of laws

and doctrines made by the Emperor Justinian I in the sixth century AD. But Roman law did not really end there: much of its substance still exists in contemporary legal systems.

Modern legal systems

The modern world has hundreds of legal systems, but many of them have drawn principles and methods from the same sources and, for this reason, can be grouped together. The two largest groups are those with a major civil law component, and those with a major common law component [7].

Civil law systems utilize the experience and ideas of Roman law. They are found in most of western Europe, in South America, in parts of North America, Asia and North Africa, in South Africa and in the Soviet Union. Common law systems derive from the common law of England and are found in most English-speaking countries.

Contemporary systems draw from innumerable other sources, and are shaped by such influences as the teachings of Islam, political or economic theory and recent advances in jurisprudence and sociology.

KEY

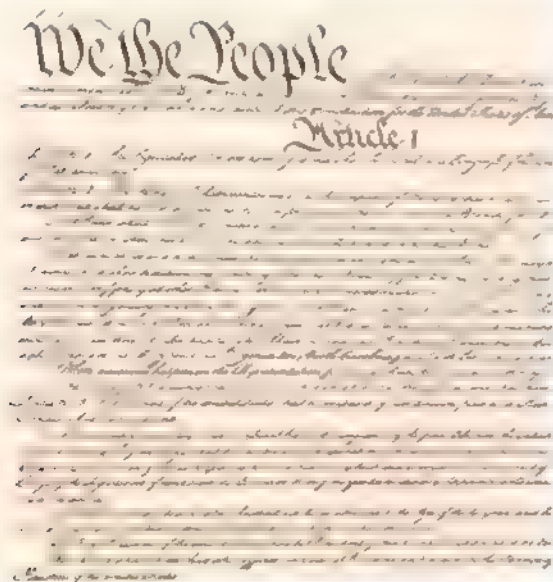
Justice, with her sword and scales, represents the power and impartiality of the law. Often she

is shown blindfolded to indicate that she is blind to prejudice. Legal systems may strive to give effect

to the principles of reason and morality that constitute justice, but pure justice is unattainable.

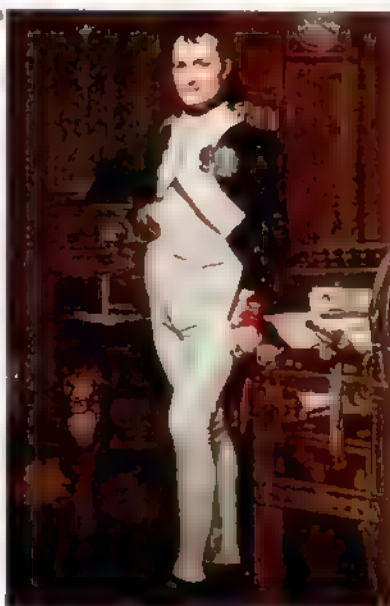


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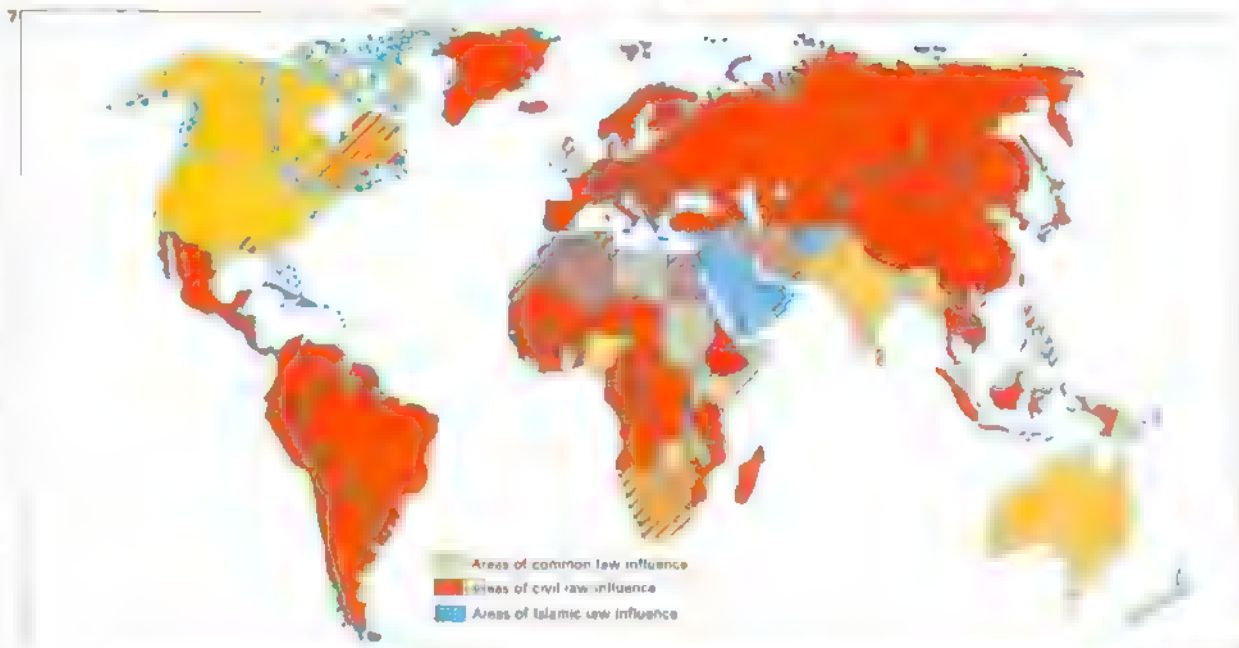
5 "We the People", the famous opening words of the Constitution of the United States of America were intended to indicate that the legal authority in the new country derived from its citizens not from kings or other rulers. The Constitution was signed on 17 September 1797 and after ratification became the supreme law of the USA. It has been a model for the constitutions of many other countries. In most countries that have written constitutions, constitutional laws are specially protected. They can be changed only by procedures stricter than those employed for changing the other laws of the land.

6



6 Napoleon I (1769-1821) who is remembered chiefly as a military genius, ordered the compilation of the French code of law called the *Code Napoleon* or *Code Civil*. Promulgated in 1804, it was the first of the great modern legal codes. Based on existing French law and Roman law it contains the civil law as opposed to criminal law of France and was a compromise between the customary law of the north and Roman traditions of the south. Pre-revolutionary elements co-exist with post-revolutionary innovations. The Code has strongly influenced the legal systems of many countries of Europe, Asia, North America, South America and Africa.

7 Legal systems of various nations show different influences. Civil law systems derive from Rome. Their pedigree runs through the *Code Napoleon*, the law schools of Bologna and other ancient universities and the Canon Law of the Christian Church to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. In common law, judges are bound by certain civilized assumptions such as that all men were equal before the law. They also have regard to precedent: the recorded reasoning of their brother judges in similar cases. It is for these reasons that over the years, judicial decisions were fused together to form a coherent system. There is much cross-pollination between the two systems.



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Communication
without words

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Talking without words

People communicate with each other in many ways other than by speaking or writing. Animals build quite complex societies by means of non-verbal communication and humans reveal a surprising amount about themselves by the use of gesture, posture, facial expression and other forms of behaviour. Several thousand pieces of information can be exchanged within seconds of a meeting.

Ways of expressing emotion

In addition to outward facial and bodily signals, including the use of costume and adornment, there are less obvious means of communication – the use of time and space. Touching [5] and distance or nearness of approach can reveal much about a relationship. Punctuality can convey eagerness. On the other hand, a person who keeps someone else waiting can convey an impression of busyness that may be either genuine or false.

In evolutionary terms non-verbal communication preceded speech, and the existence of a system for expressing emotions was particularly significant to man's development. More than a century ago

Charles Darwin (1809–82) suggested that emotions help a species to survive and that feelings such as happiness, sadness, fear, anger, surprise and disgust each have unique forms of display.

While the expression of these emotions looks similar in all humans [2], cultures differ in the degree to which emotional displays are encouraged or discouraged. In many Western societies, for example, men are not supposed to cry and women are discouraged from showing extreme anger.

Accurate reading of emotion from the face is complicated by man's ability to control his expressions by masking some feelings and fabricating the appearance of others [1]. In addition, many facial displays last only a fraction of an instant. Displays may also be partial – occurring on only one area of the face [3] – or they may be a blend, combining two or more emotions in one expression [4]. People differ in their ability to decode expressions, particularly fleeting ones.

Specific emotions are even more difficult to read from body posture. But overall attitudes, positive or negative, are easily

recognizable [Key, 6]. Interest or disinterest is shown by whether the body is erect or slouching, leaning backwards or forwards. Attraction or dislike is revealed by approach or avoidance. Status is indicated by the assumption of a higher or more dominant position in a group.

The significance of gestures

Gestures can be classified in a number of ways. Adaptors are movements that, at least originally, helped man to adapt to his environment. Scratching, wiping and fondling are examples. Regulators are movements that guide the flow of speech or contact between people, nods and eye signals are used, for example, to encourage a speaker to continue or to indicate a wish to interrupt. Conversation without regulator gestures (as when someone does not react at all to what is said to them) can be disconcerting. Illustrators are movements that help to elaborate punctuate and clarify speech. Emblems have specific word-like meanings and often replace words and phrases.

Adaptors are often used unconsciously

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Facial expressions in both humans and primates show many similarities. The smile is usually a sign of happiness. But it is also one of the easiest expressions to 'put on' and may be used to conceal real feelings of fear, anxiety or dislike. The tense grin adopted by a chimpanzee when

approaching a more dominant male parallels the nervous smile a woman may wear in a stressful social situation. [A] In both the expression is meant to demonstrate lack of hostility. When aggressive or angry [B] both primate and human display a stare and, at least initially, a firmly closed mouth.

2 Each of the primary emotions has a unique facial display that can be recognized and correctly identified all over the world. Interpretation of photographs shown to people as diverse as New Guinea hunters and New England socialites is remarkably uniform. Happiness is associated with the characteristic up-turned mouth [A], sadness with down-turned mouth and slightly up-turned brow [B], anger with down-turned mouth and in this case an aggressive compression of the lips [C], surprise with raised brow and open eyes and mouth [D], fear with tension in the central forehead, the lower eyelids and the corners of the mouth [E], disgust with a distinctive wrinkling of the nose and shape of the mouth [F]. Happiness is easiest to recognize. It is harder to distinguish fear from surprise or anger from disgust.



4 A blend expression in which more than one emotion is shown on the face at once can often be seen as a person's response changes, producing startling effects such as an angry brow and a laughing mouth.



3 Partial expressions are more difficult to interpret than full face displays of emotion. The human face is tremendously flexible

and is under considerable voluntary control. An emotion such as surprise may therefore appear in only one part of the face and then

only for a very short time. The main areas in which such fleeting expressions of emotion may be detected are the brow [A], the eyes [B]

and the mouth [C]. To make it easier to separate the characteristic signs of surprise each area is shown superimposed on a neutral face.



with no intention of communicating anything, although an observer may find them informative. A psychotherapist, for instance, may notice that a person fiddles with his hands when a troublesome topic is broached.

Regulators, too, are used with little awareness. In many cultures gestures of greeting serve as more conscious regulators. The appropriate bow, handshake, hug or kiss must be delivered before conversation can take place.

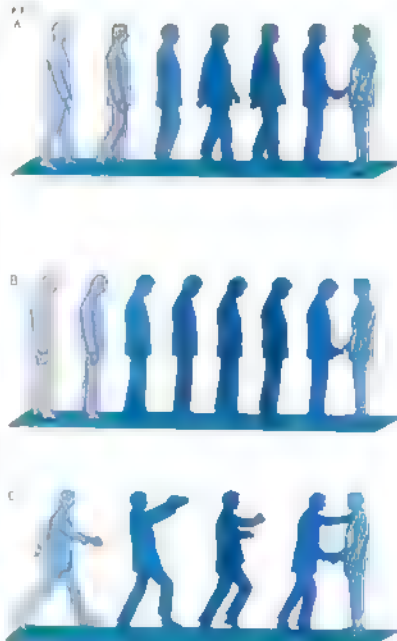
Illustrators are classified into sub-categories such as pointers, indicating which object is being discussed, spatialists, indicating size or space relationships, batons, used for punctuation or emphasis, pictographs, outlining or portraying an object; ideographs, tracing the flow of an idea, and kinetographs, enacting some bodily movement. In Germany Nazi theorists once argued that illustrative gestures were innate - that, for example, Jewish people had distinctive, innate gestures. A pioneering work by David Efron in New York showed that gestures did differ between eastern European Jews and southern Italians. But it showed also that

these gestures changed in second-generation immigrant groups. Thus illustrators are learned, just as language is also learned.

Emblems in communication

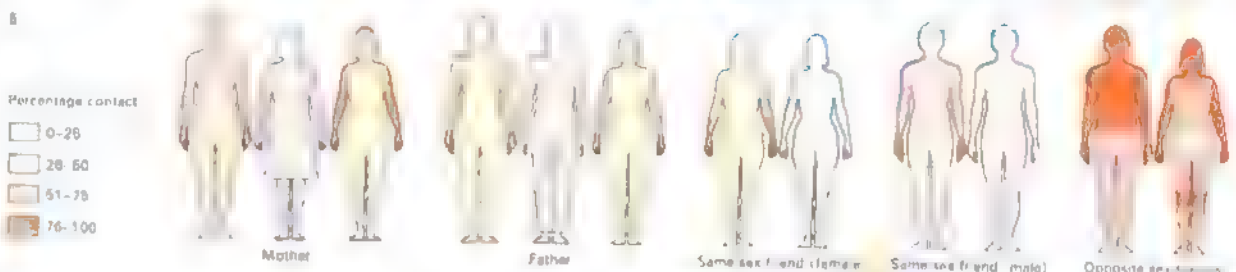
Emblems are usually employed consciously to communicate. Examples include the direction-indicating thumb of the hitch-hiker and the two-finger "V" for victory (or peace) signal. The significance of emblems differs sharply from one language to another [7, 8]. The American "A-OK" gesture, with forefinger and thumb forming a circle, for instance, has vulgar, derogatory connotations in many parts of the world.

Advances in modern technology have made non-verbal messages become increasingly important, especially in visual media such as television and the cinema. There has been a corresponding increase in research into the ways in which these communication patterns have evolved and are used in different cultures today. The term kinesics has been applied to the study of body movement and efforts have been made to analyse it in the same way as linguists analyse language.



When people meet, their posture and movements can reveal a great deal about their emotional state. Normally when a man walks across a room to shake hands, he holds himself erect, swings his arms and remains balanced and in control [A]. If he is depressed, on the other hand, he tends to bend his head and shoulders forwards, taking small, shuffling steps and holding his arms by his sides [B]. When a man is elated and excited his body may lose its natural balance and erectness, his arms swing widely and his gait becomes erratic [C]. These movements are often seen when old friends meet. They can also be associated with a manic state of mind.

5 The extent to which people touch each other varies widely according to culture and relationship. A 1966 American study showed where male and female students were touched most often by parents and friends.



6 Posture and gesture make up a fundamental part of the repertoire of non-verbal communication. One look at a collection of people reveals much about their characters and moods. A man with hands on hips and drooping eyes 1 is shut off from the group and does not hide his boredom or sadness. A man 2 shows self-confidence or smugness by forming a steeple of his hands while the open hands of 3 suggest sincerity and warmth. Sorrow or shame are typified by the way that 4 hides his face. The erect posture with hands on hips of 5 conveys assertiveness. An attentive posture, a take-away, he sits on the edge of his seat, leaning for-

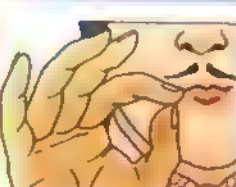
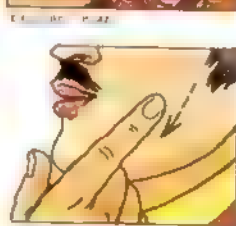
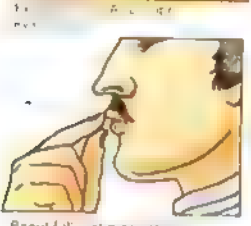
wards with hands on mid thighs. The fact that 7 has chosen the highest place may show that he is the most dominant of the group or simply that he is aloof. Touching

or rubbing the nose 8 is associated with doubt while the arm-gripping, defensive posture of 9

suggests that he is nervous (or perhaps sitting in a draught). A nervous person may wrap his fingers

around his biceps so hard that the

knuckles show white. Finally 10 shows lack of interest by turning away from the group entirely.



7 Gestures can convey a common emotion such as approval in many ways.

8 An insult to one person may be a compliment to another. Tucking a thumb beneath the forefinger [A] is a good luck charm in Brazil but a jeer or obscenity elsewhere. A raised forefinger [B], vulgar in Anglo-Saxon countries, means "Wait, I have an idea" in Italy, Austria and among Jews but "God is my witness" to gypsies. It may also be an suction bid.



Communication through speech: 1

Any system used by a social group to communicate information, whether drum beats, smoke signals or finger movements may loosely be called a language. But of all language forms that exist by far the most flexible and expressive is human speech.

Origins of speech

Language and thought are so intertwined that it is sometimes forgotten that men originally had to learn to talk to each other by inventing arbitrary vocal symbols for a whole world of nameless objects, actions and emotions. The idea of naming things is assumed to have evolved from more simple forms of communication such as gestures, facial and bodily movements and the kind of cries, grunts, snorts, whistles or clicks uttered by animals or birds [1]. Experiments with animals ranging from apes to dolphins have shown that some are capable of imitating human speech or of responding to a limited number of sounds [2, 3]. The crucial difference between speech and animal communication is man's ability to cope with complicated ideas, particularly involving time and space

It seems certain that language and thought evolved together, one quickening the other. Man's ability to perpetuate and extend his knowledge gave him the power of swift cultural development, increasing his dominance over other animals. The idea that language was originally a divine gift appears in many mythologies.

Although the different shape of man's vocal organs allows him to make more varied sounds [5] than the hominoid ape, his linguistic superiority is primarily an intellectual one. Every normal child appears to be born with the capacity to learn a language simply by watching and listening to people around him. Since few sentences are ever repeated in precisely the same way, this remarkable achievement implies an innate faculty not only to learn words and their meanings but also to grasp grammatical structure at a deep level.

The question of whether all languages descended from one common source language or rather evolved among separate groups independently in different parts of the world is impossible to determine. The length of

man's history, the transitory nature of early cultures which must have possessed language, and the superimposition of later tongues through trade or invasion, have all weakened the scent.

Linguistic studies, on the other hand, have shown that one historic language, Indo-European, has been the parent of existing languages spoken by about half the world's population. In western Europe only one regional tongue, Basque, is not descended from it. Further investigation of a small group of words for plants and animals that had a common origin [6] narrowed down the geographical origin of the proto-language to a small area of northern Europe from which chariot-riding marauders began to spread out in about 2000 BC, mingling their language with those of the lands they reached.

Limitations and resources

Each particular language conditions a speaker's way of seeing the world and of feeling and acting in it. The limitations of language have preoccupied many twentieth century writers and thinkers. At the same

CONNECTIONS

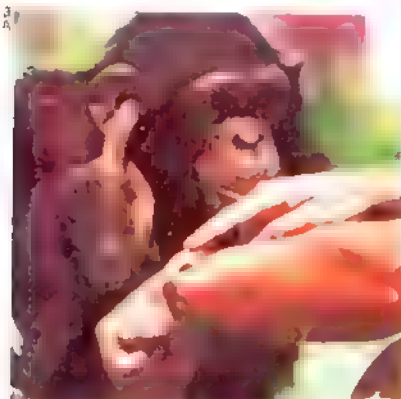
See also



1 Wolves, like humans, form integrated social groups and have a flexible communication system to express both emotions and status within the hierarchy

of the family pack. Apart from vocal noises and facial or body positions, a wolf can use its tail to indicate confidence [A], confidence [A], relaxed threat [B], relaxed

threat [C], uncertain threat [D], relaxed feeding [E], depression [F], defensive threat [G], active submission with wagging [H] and abject submission [I].



3 Chimpanzees have been taught a rudimentary vocabulary as a result of experiments conducted in the USA since the early 1950s. In attempting to find out if animals could be taught to communicate directly with man, scientists chose

the chimpanzee both because its physical and mental capacities are closest to those of humans and because it is able to form strong emotional ties with them. In early experiments efforts were made to teach spoken words to a chimpanzee



reared from birth with a family. But it managed to learn only four words. More recent experiments have used systems of geometric shapes or hand signs. Having noticed the use of gestures by chimpanzees in the wild, one researcher

adopted a year-old animal into his family and began teaching it American sign language, a system used widely by the deaf. By instruction through play the chimpanzee steadily amassed a vocabulary of signs. Seen here are the signs for listen



[A], eat [B] and tooth brush [C]. After four years of study it knew about 150 signs and began to use them in combinations to form meanings. Signs for bird and water were used to represent a duck for instance. The sign for dirty, which pre-

viously had been used only about soiled objects, was combined with monkey when the chimpanzee described a macaque that threatened it. Researchers are now investigating whether chimpanzees will use learned sign language between themselves

2 Dolphins communicate with each other by a system of distinct sounds ranging from clicks to whistles. These highly developed marine mammals can also locate small objects from relatively long distances by sending and receiving echo-locating pulses. To test the ability of dolphins to communicate information through sound codes, scientists noted the time a dolphin took to learn a trick [A]. The skilled dolphin was then placed in a tank alongside an unskilled one which could hear but not see it [B]. In all tests the second dolphin learned to perform the trick much faster, apparently because it was being prompted by sound messages

time, the film image has become, through cinema and television, an important supplement to language as a cultural tool. Yet the influence of spoken language on man's development remains fundamental. Only through language can people communicate diversities of meaning with sufficient precision to allow complex social, economic and cultural systems to work.

Vocabulary itself is only one of an armoury of speech weapons. Variations in word selection and sentence structure, intonation and emphasis, can convey infinite nuances. When supplemented by facial expression and gesture, language becomes more expressive still. The Russian actor-manager Konstantin Stanislavsky (1869-1938) used to ask his students to say the word "tonight" in 50 different ways, ranging from inquiry, surprise and doubt to rage, fear, relief and excitement.

When we speak we do not utter words but what may be termed "breath groups" - an uninterrupted flow of breath (that is often less than a sentence (depending sometimes on lung capacity)). Listeners understand three things: logical value as indicated by choice

order, emphasis, intonation, and something beyond that which word symbols convey.

The study of meaning at its deepest level is the most complicated and difficult aspect of language study, not only because of the diversity of human thought and experience but also because the vocabulary of a living language may change rapidly while grammatical and phonetic changes evolve slowly.

The analysis of language

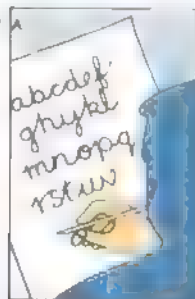
Grammar is the description of the structure of a language and has two necessary subjects: the sounds and the meaningful combinations of sounds. The sounds are studied in phonetics. The description of the meaningful terms is the morphology, a minimal meaningful unit is the morpheme. For example, "man" is a basic morpheme from which "manly" and "manliness" are derived. In English, a free entity of one or more morphemes bound together is a word. The study of the history, development and origin of words is called etymology, the arrangements of words is called syntax. Semantics is the study of the meaning of language.



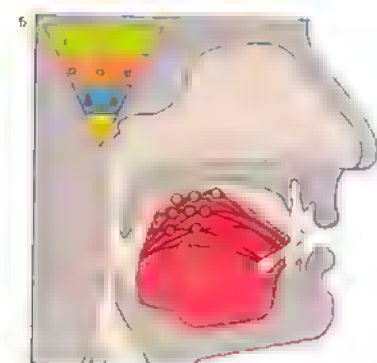
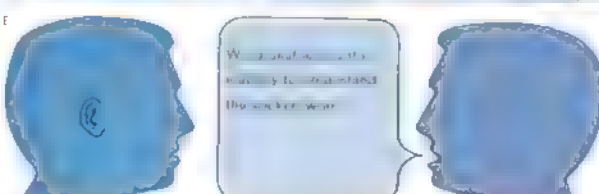
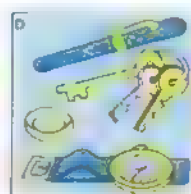
International organizations are the modern Towers of Babel. At the UN every

speech, no matter what its original language, is simultaneously translated into the

five official languages - Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.



4 Language control areas in the brain are vital for several different functions. Writing ability is located in the frontal lobe [A], together with two areas that control voice production [B]. Alexia, a form of word blindness in which letters are confused, can result from damage to an area of the parietal lobe [C], while deafness can result from damage to the cortex of the parietal and temporal lobes where ability to comprehend the spoken word is located [E]. Another area of the temporal lobe apparently controls the ability to name things correctly [D]. In most people the processes are controlled in the brain's left hemisphere.



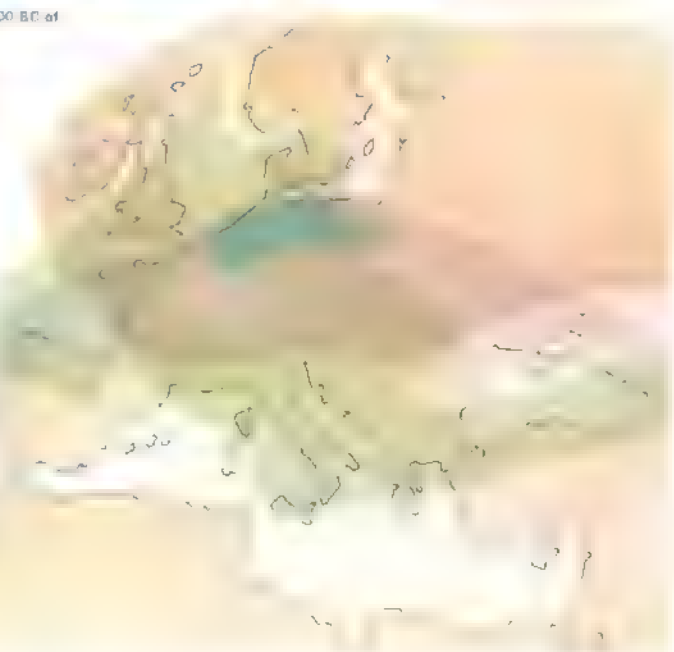
5 Vowel sounds are controlled largely by the position of the tongue in the mouth. A triangle diagram named after the scientist who originally formulated it, Hellwag, represents the limits of the tongue positions for the

major vowels, although these vary slightly for different languages. Depending on their vertical position, vowels are classified as front, central or back, while the horizontal classification is closed, half closed, half open and open.

6 Language detective work by scholars and scientists has led to the theory that an area of northern Europe was the place of origin for all the languages of the vast Indo-European group. The names of a small group of plants and animals are similar in all these tongues. But fossil-dating techniques indicate that before 2000 BC only one area, close to the shores of the Baltic, provided a habitat for all four species - wolf, salmon, terrapin and beech tree. The theory is that a race of people who spread out from this area imposed their own names for these species on other tongues, but adopted various local names for species with which they were unfamiliar.

7 Distribution at 2000 BC of

Wolf
Salmon
Beech
Terrapin



Communication through speech: 2

More than 4,000 languages, living or dead, have been identified. The migration of early nomadic peoples produced an astonishing diversity of speech forms as each group experimented with language, discovering new things to be named, borrowing words from other tribes and slowly changing the sound and the grammatical construction of its own tongue in so doing.

How languages are classified

Nearly half the population of the world speaks one of the Indo-European group of languages [Key], all of which derive from a common tongue spoken in northern Europe about 5,000 years ago. But the language divided into eight major branches, five of which split and resplit as words were shortened, lengthened, coined or swapped, as syllables were added or dropped and as vowels and consonants changed. Because Eastern peoples, for example, were not accustomed to pronouncing the Aryan sound "k", they altered it to "s" or "sh" when invaders from the West settled amongst them. As grammatical changes were made,

the original links became obscured.

A few languages, called isolates, seem unrelated to others. Basque is an example. But some features of grammatical structure are common to all forms of speech and many languages are historically related. Classification of the difference between them is of two kinds: genetic and typological. Genetic classification is based on word derivation, common history and literary traditions and on socio-cultural factors. Within the Indo-European family of languages genetic classification identifies such sub-families as the German, English, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish group.

Typological classification groups languages according to their structure as isolating, agglutinating and inflecting types. An isolating language is one that indicates grammar mainly by word order with each word being a single grammatical unit called a morph. Vietnamese is an example. An agglutinating language is one in which individual words can be composed of several morphs glued together, as in Turkish. An inflecting language is one in which there is no

specific correspondence between particular segments of a word and particular grammatical functions. An example is the English word "mice" in which plurality is indicated by a syllable change instead of an added morph. English, like many languages, combines all three typological features.

Differences within languages

Adding to the enormous diversity of language are the subtleties of accent and tonal change that can be produced by the speech organs [2]. Even within a single language there are subdivisions, or dialects, based on regional, social or occupational differences. There are American, Australian and Scottish dialects of English, for example. They contrast with Gaelic, which is quite a different language from Scottish English, although the two may be spoken within the same Highland village. The point at which dialects become separate languages is not always clear. The Dutch-German speech community, for example, spans a continuous area of intelligibility from Flanders (Dutch) to Styria (German), but speakers of Flemish and Sty-

CONNECTIONS

See also

1. The world's languages
2. The world's languages
3. The world's languages
4. The world's languages
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6. The world's languages
7. The world's languages
8. The world's languages
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10. The world's languages



1 Each of the world's 4,000 million people belongs to a speech community, a group speaking the same language. About 1,500 different languages are spoken. The largest block being Mandarin Chinese, spoken by more than 650 million, but this does not include those speaking Wu (70 million), Cantonese (47 mil-

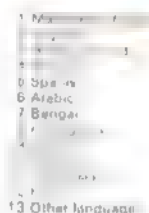
lion) and other Chinese tongues. The map shows the principal official languages throughout the world. Those twelve take in almost 2,500 million people. The rest of the world is split into smaller language blocks such as Italian (60 million), Tamil (55 million), Korean (50 million), Punjabi (50 million), Dutch and Flemish

(19 million) and Greek (10 million). About 100 languages have more than one million speakers. A multiplicity of other languages are each spoken by a smaller number of people than this. Superimposed on the thousands of local languages and dialects around the world are the six major international

languages of the historic colonialist powers: English, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Portuguese and French. Easy communications may increase the dominance of some of these languages, and of Japanese and Chinese, as mediums of commerce, education and cultural exchange. The Indo-European group of

languages is the most widespread. More people now speak these languages outside Europe than inside it. North America has the biggest English speaking population and South America has most speakers of Spanish. A growing number of people throughout the world can speak one of the major internat-

ional languages as well as their native tongue. At the same time, the number of speakers of minority tongues is steadily dwindling. Efforts to establish an artificially created language such as Esperanto have been limited by the fact that such languages lack a cultural base.



13 Other language

Social groups may use speech differences to heighten group identity, to exclude others speaking the same language or to underline social divisions by the snobbery of a preferred accent. When extended to political or international rivalry the divisive aspects of language can be dangerous. In India, for example, the end of British rule led to noting over whether Hindi (an Indo-European tongue) or one of the earlier Dravidian tongues, such as Tamil, should become the country's official language. Similarly, language rivalry in Belgium and Canada has also caused political tension.

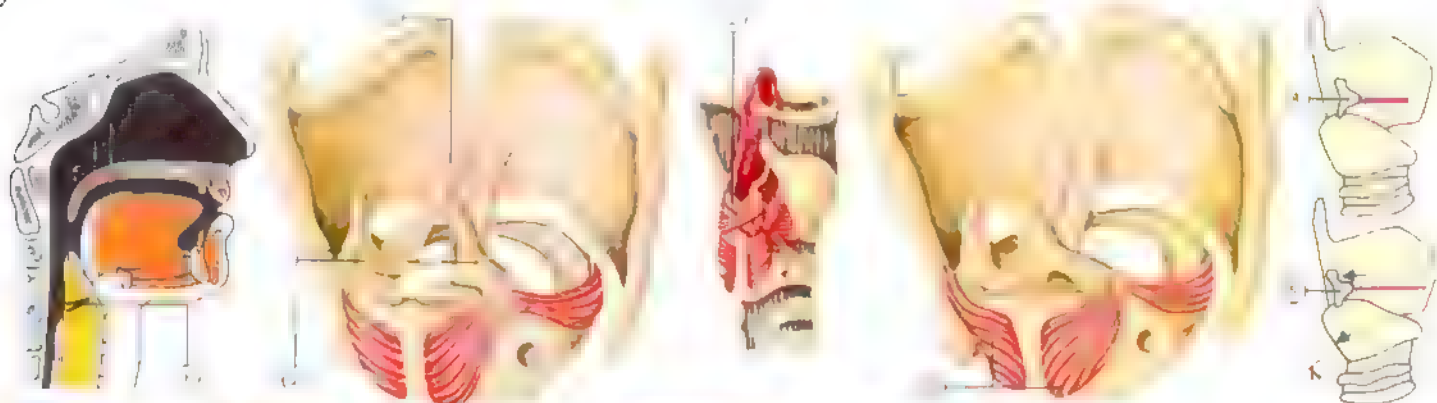
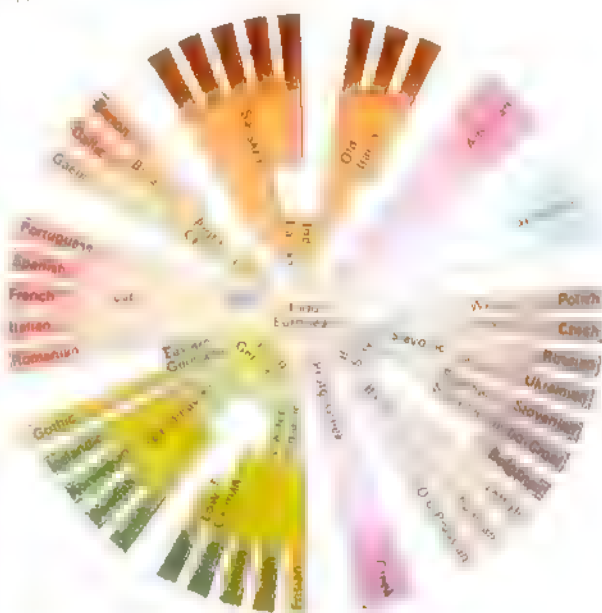
The potential of language as a unifying force was recognized by the Romans who used Latin in the west and Greek in the east of their empire to weld together the people; they controlled Latin provided scholars throughout medieval Europe with a *lingua franca* (common language) and survives today both in professions such as law and medicine and as a source for new scientific words. The prestige of France and the clarity of its language made French the language of

European diplomacy for many years, while in the twentieth century the dominance of English-speaking peoples in technology and commerce has led to increasing interest in the acquisition of English as a second language

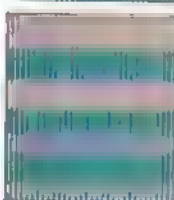
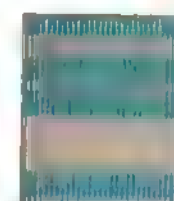
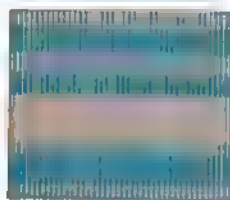
Improving communication

A simplified language form called pidgin was used by several European nations to facilitate trade or to communicate with peoples they colonized. At a more sophisticated level there have been at least 300 attempts to invent a universal language of which Esperanto alone (with more than 750,000 speakers) has made some headway.

A whole range of "languages" has also been developed for computers. These codes are made up of unambiguous words and symbols. The message is first translated into the special language. A typical example in COBOL (Common Business Oriented Language) might read "Multiply hours-worked by rate-for-job giving wage-payable" This is fed into the machine, which translates it into basic instructions that trigger further commands to the machine and produce the result.



consist of the lungs
larynx, nasal cavity,
tongue, mouth and
lips. Speech begins
with voice production
as the lungs push air
through the larynx.
During normal breath-
ing the vocal cords
[1] in the larynx are
held apart forming a
triangular opening.
[2] When speech
begins, the articu-
lar cartilages of the
larynx are drawn to-
gether by muscular
action [3] and a
finer chink is left
between the vocal
cords. The faster
air is forced
through this chink,
the louder the voice.
The pitch of the
voice depends on the
tension of the vocal
cords and the parts
of the cords that are
made to vibrate. When
the articulating
cartilages [4] are
tilted [5] changes are
caused in cord ten-
sion. The tighter the
cords, the higher the
note produced in the
larynx. As air passes
through the mouth
the voice is modu-
lated and broken up
by changes in the
shape and position
of the other organs.



3 The sound spectrograph analyses the sound waves made by speech into component frequencies and intensities. A spectrogram is produced on electrically sensitized paper on which a registering stylus burns dark traces to show the concentration of energy in the appropriate frequency areas. The tongue position that produces spectrograms of front vowels [A] is slightly different from that which produces back vowels [B]. No two vowel patterns are exactly alike; the significant variations are seen in the position of the resonance bars – the darkest horizontal bands. Each person produces a distinctive spectrogram because the number of permutations in voice production are infinite. Involving about 100 paired and single muscles and dependent on very delicate adjustments in the air currents escaping from the lungs. All this is associated with contraction of

internal and external muscles of the larynx to maintain the margins of the glottis at the right degree of elasticity. The complex sound wave produced by regular vibrations of the glottis folds consists of a basic vibration (called the fundamental related to our perception of pitch) and a series of overtones. The relative pitches and ranges of these overtones determine the quality and the character of the voice produced in speech and song sounds (usually initiated by lung air with or without glottal vibration) are modified by the shape of the resonators provided especially by the pharynx, the nasal cavities and the mouth, which is particularly flexible and important in "moulding" the emerging stream of air. An individual spectrogram is unique, as is a fingerprint, although perhaps more variable, opening the way for the use of "voice prints" as a means of identification.

What is philosophy?

The word philosophy has almost as many meanings as there have been philosophers. In its broadest sense, every man or woman who exists is a philosopher and has evolved a philosophy: a point of view, an opinion of the world and of how life should be lived. By extension the word philosophy has come to include the personal qualities - calm balance, the capacity for reflection or detachment - expected of a philosopher or sage.

However, in the strict meaning of the word philosophy is a technical study of human thought and knowledge. The word has its roots in a Greek expression meaning 'love of knowledge' and students who wish to become "lovers of knowledge" are required to embrace a discipline as rigorous as its subject is potentially vast.

Various fields of philosophy

Because philosophy is concerned, directly or indirectly, with almost everything in the known universe, its practitioners have found it necessary to break it down into a number of smaller, although often overlapping studies: epistemology, or the study of the origins,

nature and limitations of knowledge, metaphysics, the search for reality beyond what we know from our senses, ethics, the study of how men should behave towards each other, and logic, the study of the rules and methods of correct reasoning.

Thus philosophy stands between the sciences and religion. Like science it appeals to reason rather than authority, whether traditional or revealed, but is not solely concerned with a knowledge of the facts. Like theology, it deals with matters about which definite knowledge is not, so far at least, possible.

Philosophical method

In the primary, technical sense, philosophy is essentially argumentative and it is concerned largely with abstract questions that may often seem tiresomely hair splitting and of little practical value. For example, is the world divided into mind and matter and, if so, what are they and how do they differ? Is the universe haphazard or planned? What is "good" and must it be eternal to be valued? Are there laws of nature or do we invent them to satisfy our innate sense of order? Concern with

questions of this kind is what preoccupied those philosophers who are by common consent considered important in the European tradition such as Plato (c. 427-347 BC), Aristotle (384-322 BC), Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-74), René Descartes (1596-1650), Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716), David Hume (1711-76), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Georg Hegel (1770-1831) and, in our own day, Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951). The same concern is shared by the Persian Avicenna, the Arab Averrhôes [7] and the Indian Sankara (780-820).

Socrates (c. 469-399 BC) [Key] in Europe and Confucius (c. 571-479 BC) in China were both outstanding teachers of a philosophical way of life. But Socrates was also a philosopher in the technical sense. He spent his life arguing and teaching in the market-place of Athens. Characteristically he raised and pressed questions in his dialogues about virtues or values, like "What is justice?" He introduced the idea of universal definitions which could be arrived at by arguing from particular facts. This method

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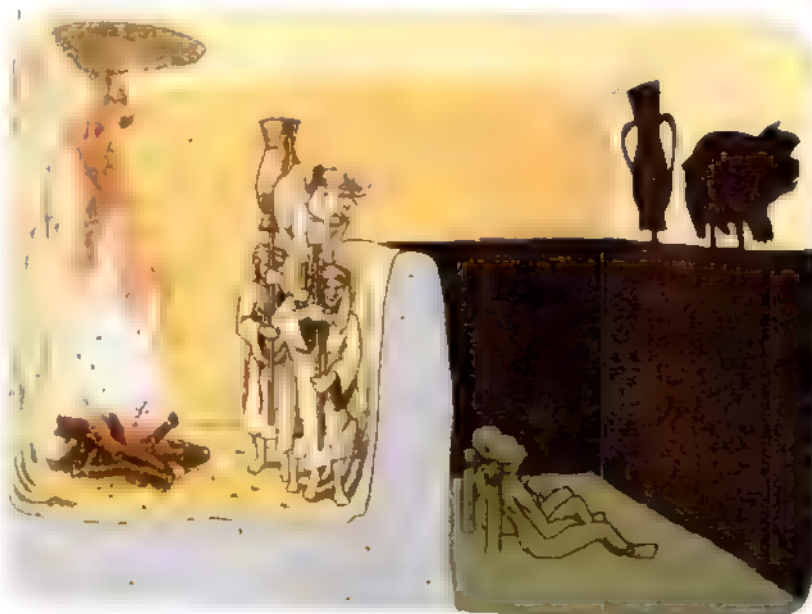
See also

PHILOSOPHY

PHILOSOPHY

PHILOSOPHY

1 Plato, in the *Republic*, compares those who live by conventional wisdom and who are dominated by their senses and appetites to prisoners living in an underground cave chained since childhood, so that they can see only what is directly in front of them. A fire behind them throws the shadows of objects on to the wall. Our knowledge of real subjects is as incomplete as those prisoners would be. It is only through philosophy and intelligent reflection that we can escape from this world of shadows of puppets and see true realities. If anyone returned to the cave to point out the illusion he would be ridiculed.



2 Heraclitus flourished about 500 BC in Ephesus. As with all other Greek pre-Socratic philosophers, any knowledge of his ideas has to be derived from a few surviving fragments and the often

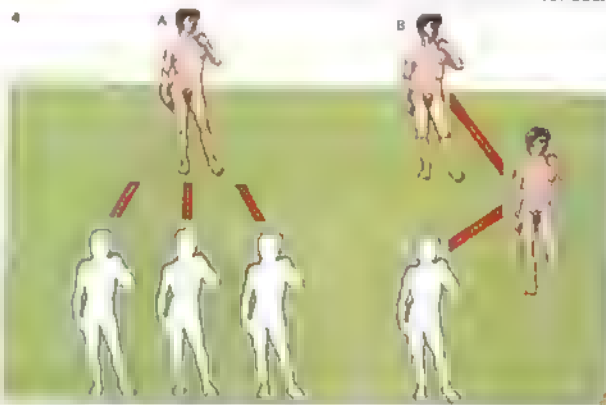
melancholic gossip of rivals. His theory that all things are in a state of flux or change stimulated Plato into producing his theory of unchanging Ideas that provided stable standards for conduct.

3 Plato's *One Over Many* Argument applies to every general word, whether material such as tree or abstract such as piety. "Tree" may describe a number of different examples. These change and none of them is perfect, but still we recognize

the general class. The Form or Idea is eternal, unchanging and incorruptible. It is some how simultaneously

both more real and more ideal than any particular manifestation. These perfect Forms can never be attained in the every-

day world and can only be known by the intellect, not the senses. True knowledge is therefore the knowledge of Forms. Plato is not clear as to whether particular examples are caused by the Forms or are merely a shadowy likeness



4 Aristotle advanced several common-sense criticisms of the Theory of Forms. Plato had given the fact that things have common characteristics much too great significance. It was unnecessary to postulate a separate mystical realm where

pure being exists and which is never experienced. Forms, he contended, are no more than those qualities that are experienced as similar with in things. Aristotle also put forward the well known Third Man argument. Wherever two entities are

discovered with a common quality, Plato postulates a Form [A]. But the original entity and the Form now also share a common quality. Therefore we have to postulate yet another Form in which they both share [B]. This process can be extended infinitely.

is called inductive reasoning. Often there are no definite conclusions from his dialogues but the aim remains the same - to arrive at answers about meaning through argument.

The gap between appearance and reality

The search for universal definitions is triggered by the need to discover what things, if any, we can know with absolute certainty. Generally people are aware, at least from time to time, that there is a gap between appearance and reality even if it is only that the person we see in the mirror parts his hair on the right whereas in reality he parts it on the left. In a world where one of the most salient characteristics is change or flux, how do we gain knowledge of the "real"?

Plato, a pupil of Socrates, identified flux with appearances or what we "know" through our senses, appetites and emotions. He argued that reality is something other than that which is perceived by our senses - the so-called Theory of Forms or One Over Many Argument.

Plato believed that what is common to things described by the same name, such as

trees, is their Form or Idea [3]. The Form represents being, the particular examples of that form represent becoming, and these two realms are separate. Plato's arguments are illustrated by curiously haunting imagery. His four ultimate categories of existence (and therefore of knowledge) constitute a hierarchy. These levels correspond to the four sections of what Plato called The Line, which he divided first into two unequal parts with each then subdivided in the same proportions. At the top are Ideas and the knowledge of them; immediately underneath, the purest of pure mathematics. For Plato this ideal world is alone truly real. A long way below falls our everyday world physical objects on top and, under these, shadows and reflections. To move from lower to higher is to pass from shadow to substance.

Yet any such move, up or down, is disturbing. To be confined to the nether region is to be like a prisoner in a cave [1], seeing nothing but shadows cast by artificial light. For the released prisoner it hurts at first to look at things in the sunlight, and still more to confront the sun itself.



Socrates frequented the market place in Athens, spending his time, to the annoyance of his wife, arguing and challenging the conventional wisdom of the day rather than earning

a living. Few could stand up to his style of cross-examination and he made many enemies. Eventually he was tried on charges of corrupting youth and being irreligious and

was sentenced to death. He could have escaped but argued that it would be inconsistent with all that he had taught. He drank hemlock and died comforting his friends.

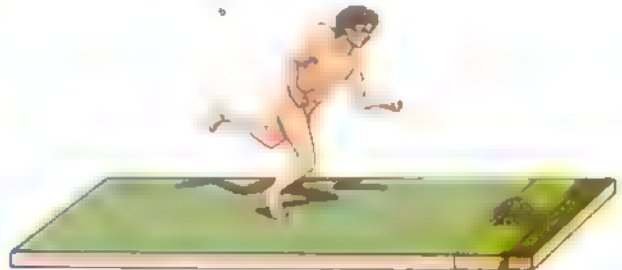
5 The problem of universals, or words like "man" that apply to many examples has three differing explanations. For the Realists like Plato universals are entities called Forms or Ideas (A), that exist independently of the instances of them. The universal idea of man is more real than the particular men who exist in the world. For Conceptualists (B), universals are purely concepts in the minds of men, so the universal idea of man comes after and is based on particular men. The Nominalist (C) holds that every concept is a specific individual concept - there is nothing in its nature that makes it general.



6 Zeno of Elea (fl. 450 BC) questioned our notions of time and change through a paradox. Achilles can run ten times as fast as the tortoise, who

has a ten unit start. When Achilles has run his first ten the tortoise will be one ahead. When Achilles has run that one the tortoise will be one tenth

ahead. And so on. Logically Achilles cannot win because Zeno defines the race mathematically but our senses tell us that Achilles does win.



8 Philosophers were described by Plato as being split between two great armies: those of the Gods and the Giants. The Gods, fighting from the heaven of the ideal world maintain that ideas are fundamental and are all that has any existence or reality: they are Idealists. The Giants, by contrast, struggle to pull everything down to earth and maintain that matter is primary or even that it is all there is; they are Materialists. In his dialogue the Sophist Plato goes on to say that in the great battle between Materialists and Idealists neither side can defend itself as the Materialists say, reality is what we can grasp with our hands: we deny "justice" or "wisdom" if we say only ideas are real, we deny living things



7 Avicenna 980-1037 (A) and Averroes (1126-98) (B) were Islamic philosophers. Two centuries before Aquinas Avicenna attempted an Islamic scholasticism, a synthesis of the best of ancient Greek philosophy with the teach-

ings of Mohammed. Some of his work was attacked as heretical but later both the Jew Maimonides and the Christian Aquinas adopted Avicenna's suggestion that in God essence and existence are one. Averroes, born in Moorish Spain

became best known in Christendom for commentaries on Aristotle. Translations of these were at one time regularly bound up with Latin versions of Aristotle's Works. Averroes founded a Muslim philosophy of religion.

Logic and the tools of philosophy

Logic as a discipline was invented by Aristotle [Key]. No doubt people had been reasoning in consistent and logical ways long before Aristotle; but he seems to have been the first to attempt to spell out and formalize the rules of valid inferences [1]

Logic is concerned less with truth or falsity as such than with the transmission of truth or falsity from one set of statements (the premises) to another (the conclusion). Its central concepts are those of logical consequence and of valid inference. If some statement q is a logical consequence of a statement p , then if p is true, so is q ; if q is false, so is p . An inference is valid if the conclusion is a logical consequence of the premises from which it was inferred

Invalid inferences

In the classical form of the syllogism, with two premises and a conclusion, one example of an invalid inference is known as "the fallacy of undistributed middle". All cows are animals, all herbivores are animals, therefore all cows are herbivores. Here the premises are true, and so is the conclusion, but only

accidentally, not by logical necessity. That the inference is invalid can be shown by choosing replacements for each of the descriptive terms in the argument in such a way that although the premises remain true, the conclusion is false. Thus the same reasoning from the true premises, All men are mortal, all gorillas are mortal; would give the false conclusion All men are gorillas.

Some famous proofs in the early development of mathematics were *reductio ad absurdum* proofs, a proposition proved by showing that its denial, combined with other true propositions, would lead to an absurd conclusion.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there were many important new developments in mathematical logic.

Aristotelian logic could handle only very limited kinds of deductive reasoning. For instance, Euclidean geometry had long been regarded as a superb example of deductive reasoning; yet Aristotelian logic could say almost nothing about the validity or other wise of Euclid's inferences.

Kant had endowed mathematical know-

ledge with a special status essentially different from that of both physics and of logic. Since Kant's view implied that no alternative to Euclidean geometry was conceivable, it became untenable when non-Euclidean geometries were developed. John Stuart Mill (1806-73) tried the alternative of interpreting mathematics as a part of empirical science, but there were overwhelming objections to this interpretation. A remaining alternative was to interpret it as a branch of logic. It was Gottlob Frege (1848-1925) who first undertook the task of showing that all pure mathematics is deducible from premises that contain only logical terms and are logically true. (This programme is known as logicism.) Just as he seemed to have succeeded, Bertrand Russell [2] discovered that the logical foundations of mathematics itself contained fundamental paradoxes.

Paradox and truth

Logic requires an adequate concept of truth [6] since it deals with the transmission of truth. But the traditional theory of truth was also beset by paradoxes. One of these, the

CONNECTIONS

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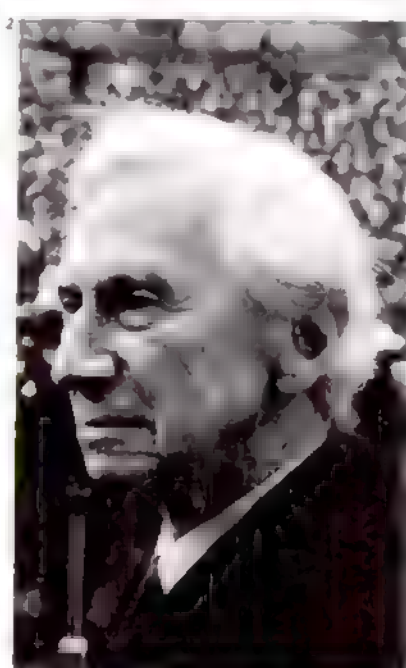
What with

1 In Aristotelian logic, propositions containing two terms are classified into four kinds (A, E, I and O) and displayed in a Square of Opposition. Propositions labelled A are universal and affirmative (All men are brave), E are universal and negative (No men are brave), I are particular and affirmative (Some men are brave), O are particular and negative (Some men are not brave). Specific relationships of truth and falsehood follow from the positions in the square of statements referring to the same two entities. Thus, if proposition A (All men are brave) is true, then its contradictory, O (Some men are not brave), must be false, while A's contrary, E (No men are brave), could be either true or false and is undetermined.

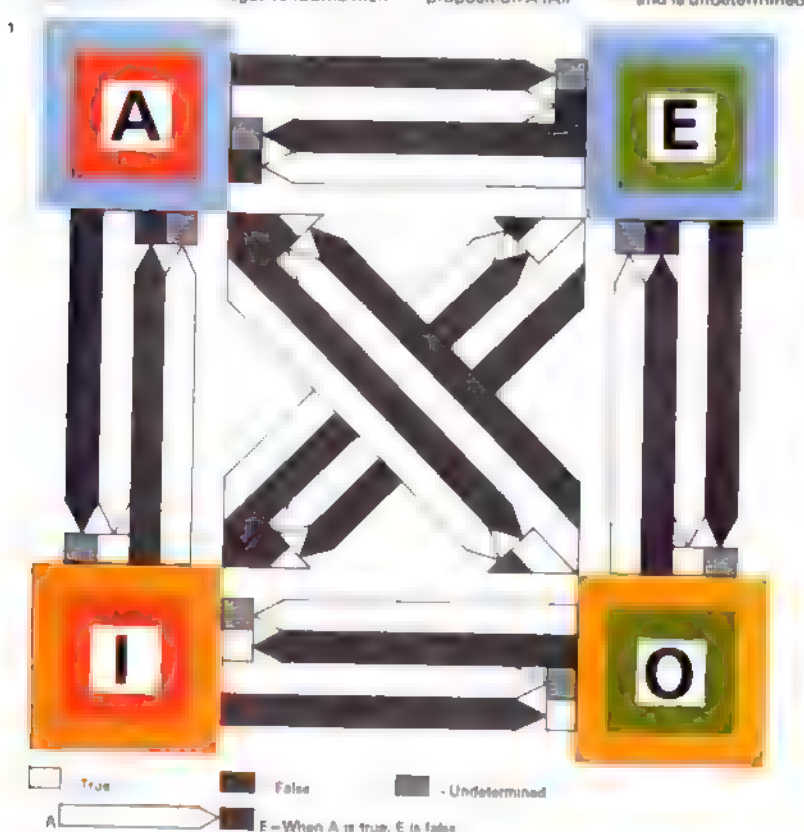
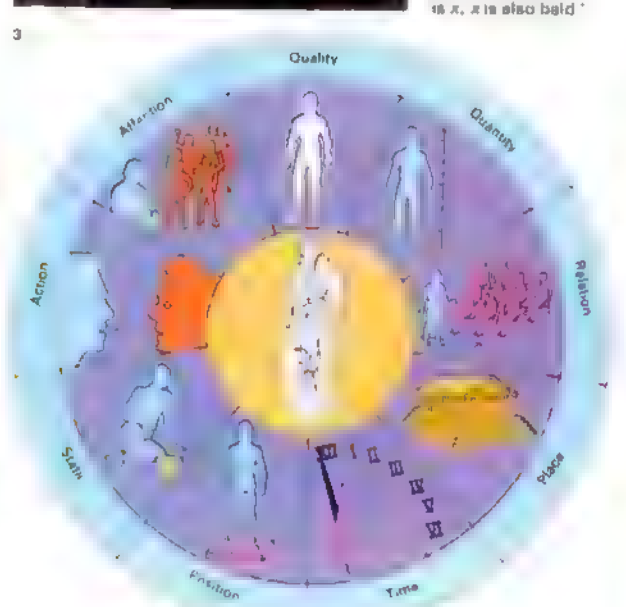
2 Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) was joint author with A. N. Whitehead (1861-1947) of *Principia Mathematica*. Their main philosophical aim was to show that mathematics was ultimately reducible to logic. That is, every true mathematical statement could be shown to be deducible from premises containing only logical concepts and which are logically true. Their logical system dissolved the traditional Aristotelian distinction between subject and predicate. Russell's theory of descriptions translates the subject-predicate sentence 'The King of France is bald' into one that is no longer of the subject-predicate form: 'There is an x such that x is King of France and for all y , if y is King of France then y is x , x is also bald'.

3 "Category" is a key word in philosophy. Aristotle introduced it first, as a label for ten items he took to be fundamental and irreducible in human discourse. These items are first, substance (what any statement is about) and next, the nine kinds of statement that can be made about it. For example, Socrates, the central substance in the diagram, can be discussed in terms of quality (he is wise), quantity (he is tall), relation (he is the teacher of his students), place (in the Agora), time (at midday), position (he is standing up), state (he is poor), action (he is arguing) and lastly, affection (he is being verbally abused by some of the students). The study of language was an important philosophical pursuit for Aristotle and his attempt to define its component parts in this way has been followed by many other logicians concerned with the nature and relationships of substances.

4 The diagram illustrates the Square of Opposition, a tool used in Aristotelian logic to analyze the relationships between four types of categorical propositions: A (All S are P), E (No S are P), I (Some S are P), and O (Some S are not P). The diagram shows how these propositions are related in terms of truth and falsehood. For example, if A is true, then E is false, I is true, and O is false. If E is true, then A is false, I is false, and O is true. If I is true, then A is true, E is false, and O is false. If O is true, then A is false, E is true, and I is false. The diagram also shows that A and O are contraries (they cannot both be true, but they can both be false), E and I are contraries, and A and E are contradictories (they cannot both be true or both be false). Similarly, I and O are contradictories, and A and I are subalterns (if A is true, then I is true; if I is false, then A is false). The same relationships hold for E and O.



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Liur, had been known in antiquity. The statement "This statement is false", if true, is false, and if false, is true. A similar paradox arises as follows. Some adjectives (for example "polysyllabic" and "short") possess the property they denote. These are called "homological". Others (for example, "monosyllabic" and "long") do not. These are called "heterological". Is the adjective "heterological" itself heterological? If it is, then it is not, if it is not, then it is.

Alfred Tarski (1902–) eliminated such paradoxes with his semantic theory of truth, which involved a sharp separation between an object-language (the language spoken about) and a meta-language (the language in which the object-language is spoken about).

But when such difficulties can be found in the formulae of mathematics and the language of logic, the problems of establishing a coherent system of thought and then using it to establish scientific truths become obvious. For argument from experience is very different from valid inference, in which the truth of a conclusion can be proved to be logically necessary because denial would involve a

contradiction. David Hume (1711–76) pointed out that since the conclusion of a valid inference can contain no information not found in the premises, there can be no valid inference from observed to unobserved instances. Thus we cannot logically infer that all A's are B, or even that the next A will be B, from the premise that we have observed billions of instances of A's that are B and no instance of an A that is not B. Thus all the laws of science, and nearly all common-sense beliefs, are logically unjustified, this is known as the problem of induction.

Testing scientific hypotheses

One attempted solution, associated with Karl Popper (1902–) is to abandon any sort of justifying inference from evidence and to ask of scientific hypotheses that they be subjected to searching attempts to falsify predictions derived from them. If such attempts are successful, the hypothesis has to be rejected. If the hypothesis withstands testing we may not conclude that it is true (the fallacy of affirming the consequent) but we may retain it until we hit upon a less falsifiable one.

KEY

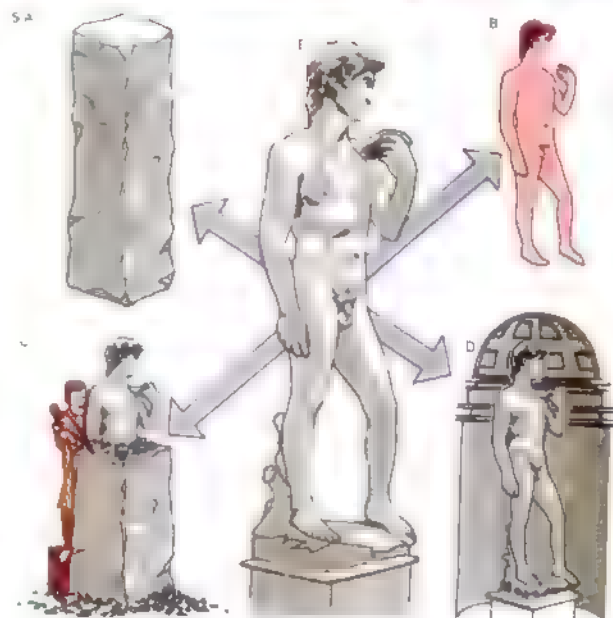


Aristotle (384–322 BC), one of the greatest philosophers, founded logic as an academic discipline. For a time, he tutored the boy who was soon to conquer the known world, Alexander the Great. Aristotle directed the first programme of research in comparative political science. He both systematized and advanced biological studies. He founded and led the Lyceum (the second university) after withdrawing from the first – Plato's Academy. The Middle Ages spoke of Aristotle as 'the master of those that know'. So in the 1500s and 1600s his name became for all the pathfinders of the new science the epitome of traditional conservative thinking.

4 Venn diagrams are devices for the visual representation of logical relations. If all swans (S) are white (W) and not all white things are swans, the S circle must be wholly within the W circle. If some swans (S) are black (B) and not all black things are swans, the S circle must overlap the B circle. If all unicorns (U) are one horned (O) and all one horned creatures are unicorns, then the U and O circles must coincide exactly.



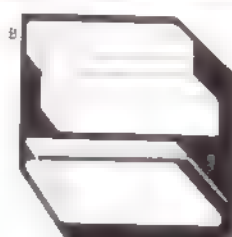
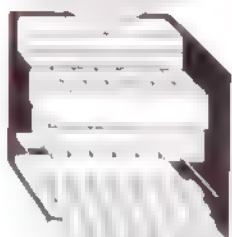
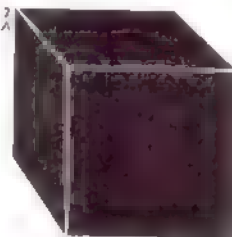
5 A doctrine of Four Causes was proposed by Aristotle as a means of framing fundamental questions about material and form, means and end. He labelled these four: Material (M), Formal (F), Efficient (E) and Final (F). Of a statue (S), for example, the Material cause is stone (A), its Formal pattern is that of a man (B), its Efficient cause is a sculptor (C) and its Final end is as part of a decorative frieze (D). In Aristotle's terminology, the Final Cause is not necessarily someone's conscious intention. The Final Cause of a fetus, for instance, is to achieve its intrinsic end by developing into an adult organism.



6 A necessary condition of knowledge is that the statement expressing it be true. There are a variety of theories concerning the ways that the truth of a statement can be verified, of which coherence and correspondence are two. In

the coherence theory, [A] statements are judged to be true if they form a coherent system in conjunction with other propositions – like the pieces of a jigsaw which one knows to be "right" because they interlock to form a whole. In the cor-

respondence theory, [B] a proposition is judged to be true only if there is a fact such as the proposition asserts. Hence the meaning of truth is correspondence with fact that each part of the jigsaw matches part of the known whole.



7 The mind was seen by empirical philosophers such as John Locke (1632–1704) as rather like an empty box [A] "void of all characters without any ideas". According to this view, human knowledge has to be derived from whatever experience comes flowing in – and the box develops an internal structure only gradually. Against this picture of open-mindedness, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) believed that the mind brings a prior system of categories to organize and interpret data from the senses. Kant's box [B] therefore has its own structure, imposing order on the intrinsically unknown or disorderly materials of experience (although influenced by it).

Philosophy and religion

Religion and philosophy are not the same thing. Nor are they rivals fighting to occupy the same ground, although philosophical conclusions may sometimes support or deny religious claims and philosophical questions can arise out of and about religious beliefs

The impact of St Thomas Aquinas

The philosopher and theologian St Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–74) [Key] claimed that the existence of God could be proved in five ways. He was responding to the challenge of newly revived Aristotelian studies, with their underlying question: "Is there any need to go beyond whatever may be the fundamental laws of nature?" Aquinas started from broad and uncontroversial premises: that in our universe we find causation, motion, order and so on. He argued that these presuppose that there must be a "first cause", a "great orderer" "which all men call God"

His "first cause" was not defined as that which started things off "in the beginning". Rather it was the ultimate sustaining cause, operating now and for as long as causation continues [2]. Aquinas maintained, despite

accusations of heresy, that it was not possible to prove by philosophical argument that the universe did in fact have a beginning. That was something to be accepted simply on faith, as being taught by the Holy Catholic Church. He argued that philosophy is based on reason and there is no conflict between faith and reason as two sources of knowledge

Aquinas's argument that God's existence is demonstrated by familiar general facts took no account of distinctions that were set out later by David Hume (1711–76) [7]. Hume attacked the whole idea of natural (as opposed to revealed) theology: that is, the attempt to reach positive conclusions about God and the soul by philosophical argument. He argued that any attempt to deduce from general facts about the universe that it must have a cause was unsound: "Any thing may be the cause of anything."

A popular argument, based on human experience, holds that there cannot be order without design. But Hume argued that even if this were true to the facts of, say, biology, the universe as a whole was by definition unique, and so man could have no experience of the

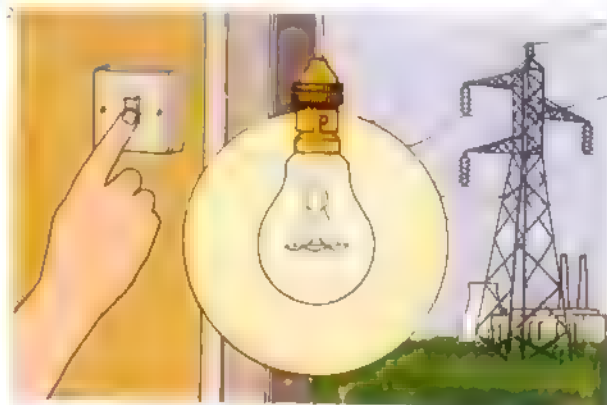
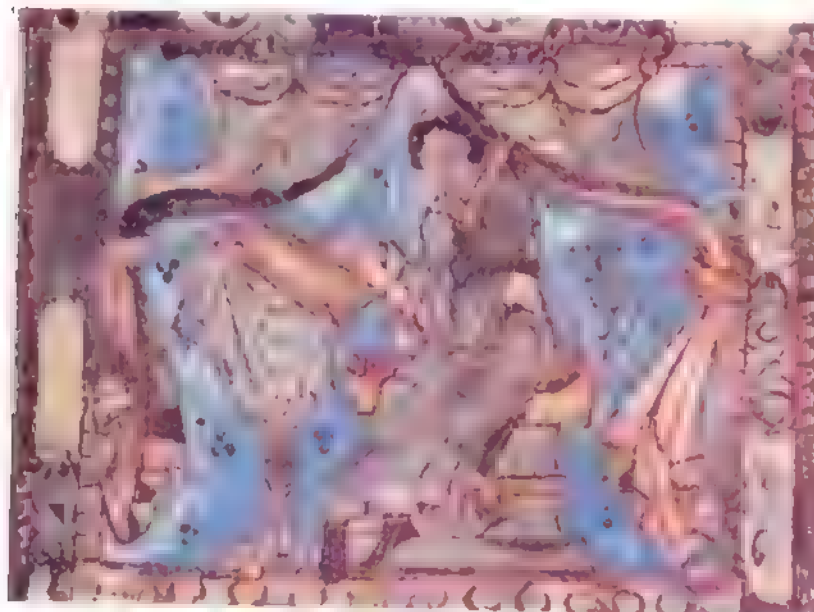
origin of the universe. So why not say that its observed order is the order of the universe itself, and not one imposed upon it by an outside Power? (Hume unlike Aquinas was an agnostic and he did not believe the existence of God could be proved.)

Descartes and the Cartesian philosophy

Where Aquinas held the existence of God to be implied by general facts about the world, René Descartes (1596–1650) [3] inverted the argument. He believed these facts could not be known without a knowledge of God. In order to find unshakeable foundations for knowledge, Descartes began by systematically doubting everything he could doubt. This left him certain only of his own existence as a being incapable of doubt. "I think, therefore I am" ("*Cogito ergo sum*"). Accepting that the idea of God was so perfect that only a perfect God could have caused it to arise, he concluded that his own God-given senses would not deceive him provided they were properly employed. This is the Cartesian solution (Descartes' philosophy is known as Cartesian) to how we can have certain

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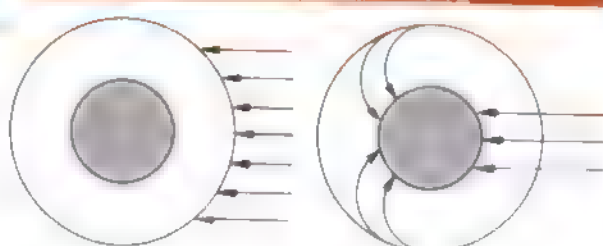
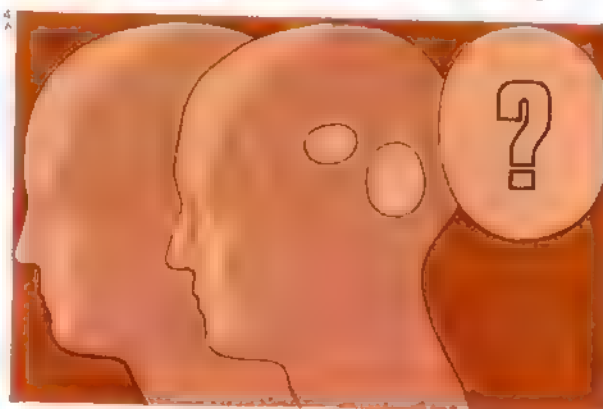
1 Scholastic philosophy was the preserve of monks and priests in medieval times. This 12th-century manuscript shows Bede at work. The teaching was subject to the authority of Christian theology.

2 To explain why the light is burning, something needs to be said both about switching it on and about the continuing flow of current. The former is the initiating, and the latter the sustaining, cause.

The five ways of Aquinas were intended to prove that the universe has a Creator, in the sense of a sustaining cause: without His support all creation must collapse into non-existence.



3 René Descartes is considered the philosopher who ended the medieval period and initiated the modern period of philosophy. He created analytic geometry and did innovative work in physics. Descartes broke the hold that theology had on philosophy by beginning systematically to doubt everything he had been taught in school. He then resolved to believe nothing, unless it was logically necessary, regardless of the prestige of any belief. He noted that it was not always possible to perceive things clearly and that he must never rely on empirical knowledge. Yet he was certain of his existence and so his philosophy is based on knowledge of the self.



4 From his own immediate consciousness Descartes then proceeded to contend that he was just an immaterial object of consciousness and to discover how such a being knew what was going on around him. As all other animals were to be regarded as machines, he had to ask how it was proved that human machines were inhabited. His answer was their ability to think [A]. From this Descartes argued that the external world [arrows] included not only that which lay outside the body, but also the body itself [B]. Man was, therefore, essentially not the body but the spirit inhabiting it [shaded]. The English philosopher Gilbert Ryle (1900–) described man as "the ghost in the machine".

knowledge that an external world exists. For one of his proofs of God's existence, Descartes argued from the definition of the word "God": since God is defined as embracing all perfections and existence is a perfection, therefore God must exist.

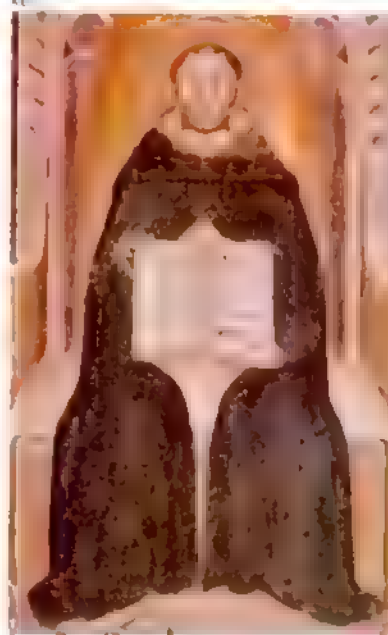
If it were valid, this argument (called the ontological argument) would provide a certain foundation for rationalist thought. The three classical rationalist thinkers – Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza – made the most of it. Rationalism in this sense is contrasted with Empiricism [5]. The Rationalist hopes to produce a deductive system consisting, like pure geometry, of logically necessary truths – but truths that, unlike those of pure geometry, tell us about the universe and ourselves. The Empiricist believes this is a will-of-the-wisp, insisting that there can be no knowledge that does not refer to actual experience of the world.

Philosophy of religion

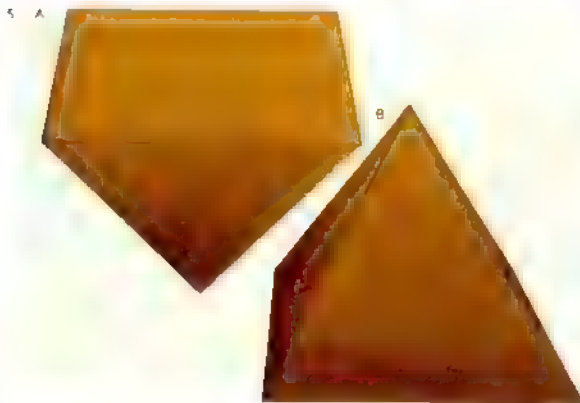
The philosophy of religion deals mainly with questions of how religious beliefs can be both coherent and significant. Thus Leibniz in his

Theodicy (1710) tried to solve the problem of evil by showing that it is not inconsistent to say that evil exists and that God is perfect. His key idea was that some virtues logically presuppose some evils [6]. For example, it is impossible, both as a matter of fact and of logic, to forgive unless there is an injury to be forgiven. And since there is a perfect God (assuming the validity of the ontological argument) actual evils ultimately must have a justification. It therefore follows logically that this be the best of all possible worlds.

Some religious philosophers have urged that the idea of personal survival and immortality is senseless. Followers of Plato and Descartes believe that men are composed of two elements, body and soul, of which the immaterial soul is truly the person. But followers of Aristotle insist that words like "mind" and "personality" refer to the qualities and capacities of a unitary organism. To suggest therefore that the mind or the personality might survive the death and dissolution of the organism is as absurd as Lewis Carroll's suggestion that the grin of the Cheshire Cat could outlast its face.



Thomas Aquinas was born in Italy. Against the objections of his family he entered the Dominican Order in which his whole life was devoted to study and teaching. Canonized in 1323 he was proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1567. By the papal bull *Aeterni Patris* (1879) of Pope Leo XIII his works were given special status in the training of priests. Of these works, the most important are the *Summa contra gentiles* and the *Summa theologiae*. Aquinas was always concerned with the relations between faith and reason, and with assimilating into a new Christian synthesis the then recently rediscovered works of Aristotle.



5 Rationalists, in the technical sense of the word, see all sound knowledge as an inverted pyramid [A], everything else depends on and is to be deduced from a few fundamental self-evident

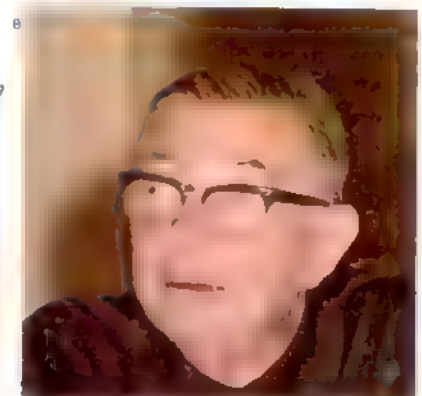
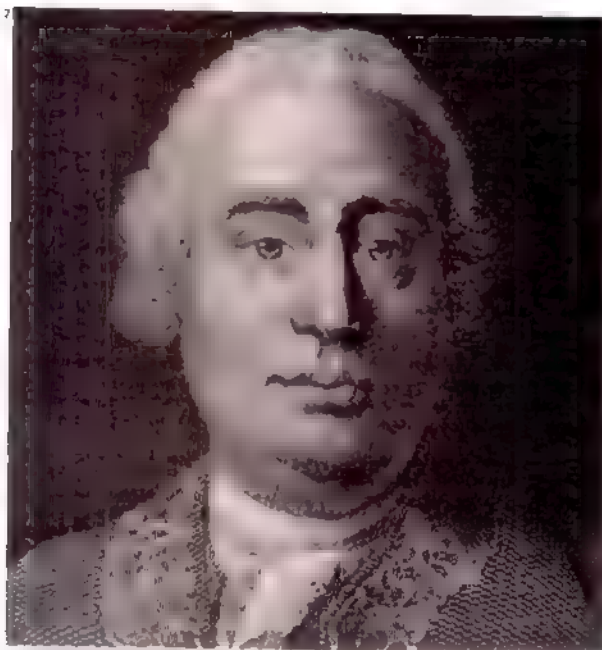
and necessarily true principles. Their Empiricist rivals favour instead a structure built up upon a broad base of observations of how things actually are: each truth rests on a wide foundation [B].

6 Leibniz tried to explain in his *Theodicy* how evil can exist in a world created by a perfect God – this problem was also explored in the story of the temptations of Job in the Bible.



7 David Hume was most famous in his own time for what was then the best selling *History of England*. His *Treatise of Human Nature* was the first comprehensive radical work of philosophy

written in the English language. However it was the later *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding* and the posthumous *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* that so strongly influenced Kant.



8 Two of the most influential Existentialists are Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55) [A] and Jean Paul Sartre (1905–) [B]. A main feature of Existentialism is that it sees our essence or what we are, as being determined by our existence

or what we do. Implicit in this attitude is the notion that existence is always prior to essence and therefore that of our lives are always completely determined by our choices. The existentialism of Sartre has been consistently atheist.

Fields of philosophy

Philosophy is classically divided into the major fields of logic, the theory of knowledge (epistemology), metaphysics, ethics and aesthetics. Each studies a set of concepts that constitute its subject matter [Key]

Elements of metaphysics

Some important concepts discussed in metaphysics are existence, essence, space, time, self, God, cause, event, change, permanence, determinism and free will

The question of free will and determinism is a battleground shared by the philosophes of many disciplines. Because the issues are so easily clouded, this is an area where the philosopher is needed and can make a significant contribution. The genuine issues are, as always, issues of meaning, presupposition, implication, compatibility and incompatibility. How far are the apparently deterministic presuppositions and implications of work in this or that specialist field compatible or incompatible with everyday common-sense assumptions about action and choice?

Ordinarily we do not think the world changes randomly. We think that some kinds

of events are regularly followed by other kinds of events. One we call the cause, the other the effect. A scientific law states a causal relation between events, for example, that mercury expands when heated

Determinists, such as Baruch Spinoza, say that every event has a cause, including choices, decisions and human actions. It follows therefore, that man does not have free will. However Libertarians, such as Henri Bergson, argue that moral responsibility is not possible in a wholly determined universe. We cannot blame or praise a person for an act if they could not have done otherwise. Libertarians must, therefore, try to show that the will is not invariably predetermined and that there is an element of self-determination in our actions, choices and decisions

The views of David Hume are particularly relevant to the problem of causation and of free will. His criticism of the idea of necessary causal connections is one of the landmarks of the history of philosophy. Hume's thinking can be illustrated by the example of one billiard ball striking another. Hume denies that there is a power in the first ball that causes the

second ball to move, and says that our idea of such a causal relation is only a feeling produced in us by experience of the repeated conjunction of events. Objectively, a causal law is derived from merely a regular succession of two or more events

The theory of knowledge

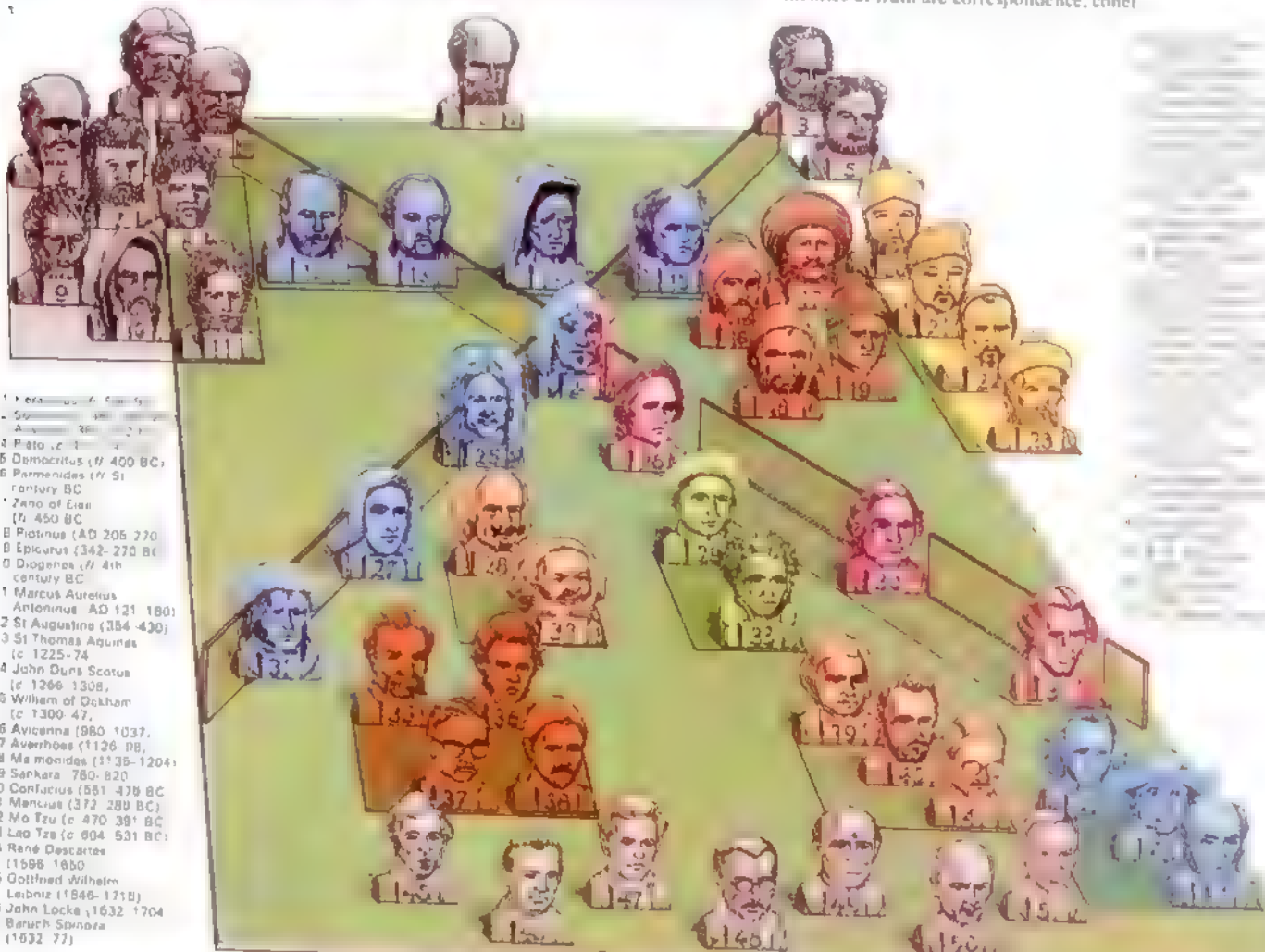
Concepts central to discussions in epistemology are knowledge, truth, theory, method and evidence. For example, is the concept of "know" the same in the expression "I know the sum of two numbers" as in "I know my own name"?

Knowledge and truth (and falsity) are two concepts intimately interconnected. We can be said to know something only if what we believe is true. I cannot say that I know $5+7=11$ because that equation is false and because the idea of false knowledge is self-contradictory. It would seem, then, that I cannot say I know anything unless I can also say that I know that what I say is true

What do I have to know in order to know that some proposition is true? Three major theories of truth are correspondence, coher-

CONNECTIONS

See also



1. Classifying philosophers is not an easy task, but this chart does bring out a few major similarities and dissimilarities, as well as a few major lines of development. The Chinese [20-23] are shown as peripheral if only because their work is not in

the strict sense, philosophical. The Greeks are placed first and at the top because they created the Western philosophical tradition. Aristotle [3] and Plato [4] stand out from the rest in both influence and achievement. After the collapse of the old pagan world

thinkers laboured for centuries to reconcile its philosophical achievements with, and to put them at the service of religion. Christians such as Augustine [12], Aquinas [13], Duns Scotus [14] and Ockham [15], and also Maimonides [18] in Judaism and Avicenna [16] and Averroes [17] in Islam.

Descartes [24] is at the centre of the picture as he laid the foundations of modern philosophy. By persuading succeeding generations that private consciousness is the only sure starting point for knowledge

he made the epistemological problem fundamental. Do we know, and if so how, anything of the universe? One line of development then passes through Locke [28], Hume [30] and Kant [34] with the emphasis on discovering the nature and limitations of our

learning apparatus. Another line, by way of Leibniz [25], Spinoza [27] and Hegel [31], takes up Descartes's rationalism. The existentialists [35-38] can be seen as reacting against a rationalist picture of the world, as can the pragmatists [39-41]

who were concerned with practical bearings. Of the 20th century group Wittgenstein's [47] works are most discussed by philosophers. And although Russell [45] was most in the public eye, it is Popper [46] whose ideas are having most influence.

ence and pragmatic certainty

One view is that what I am thinking, say that the apple before me is red, is true because it corresponds with the fact of the apple's being red. Two difficulties with this view are urged. The first is that we only experience the sensory effect that the supposed red apple has on me, never the red apple out there itself. To say, then, that "the apple is red" is true because it corresponds to the fact, is like claiming that I know a portrait corresponds to a face even though I have never seen and can never see the face.

Since there are no observable facts to correspond with $7+5=12$, this equation's truth has to be explained in another way. The coherence theory would do so by calling attention to the logical relation it has to other equations. Thus, since $5=3+2$, and $7=3+2+2$, and $(3+2)+(3+2+2)=12$ all cohere, and because $5+7=12$ coheres with them, we may take $5+7=12$ to be true.

The American Pragmatists Charles Sanders Peirce and John Dewey held that our knowledge of truth is acquired through a process of verification. Our thought about the

redness of the apple enables us to anticipate its ripeness, and so, further, to anticipate its sweetness. The truth of this is verified when future experience of the apple is in accord with what we predicted.

Other areas of philosophy

Other sets of concepts that philosophers study can be classed under the heading of "philosophy of" such as the philosophies of art, language, politics, history, science (natural and social), law and mathematics.

Philosophy has links with both arts and sciences, influencing them and being influenced by them. Pure mathematics, for example, inspired the philosophical thinking of the Rationalists. Of these René Descartes and Gottfried Leibniz were themselves also major creative mathematicians, while Plato's thought has stimulated generations of philosophers to think of mathematical entities, such as numbers and geometrical relationships, as timelessly existing. Both the theories of Newtonian physics and Darwinian evolution have had a major impact on the development of philosophical thinking.

KEY

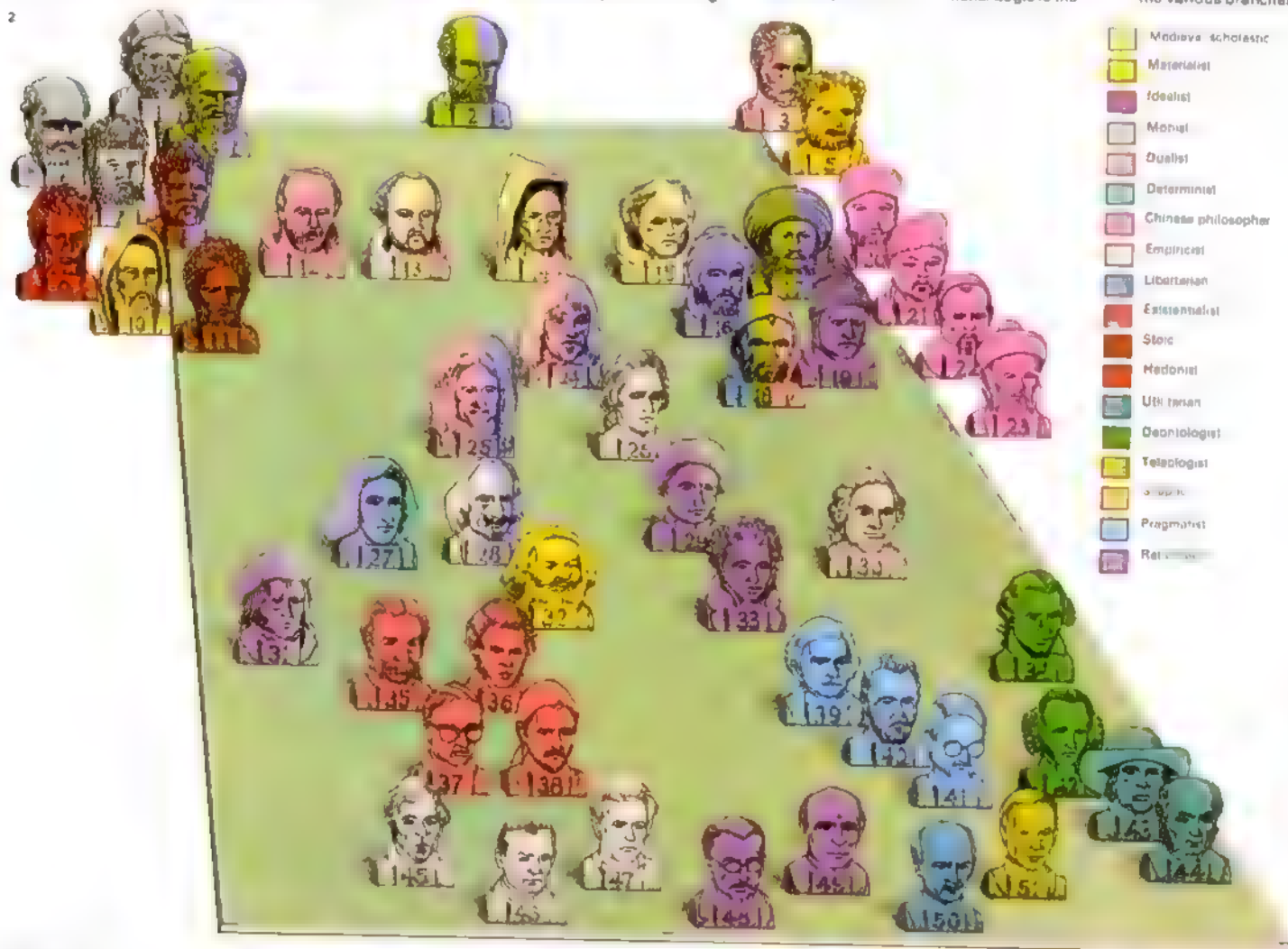


The traditional labels

for branches of philosophy are all more or less unsatisfactory because what earns its place under one heading will often serve under another. Metaphysics is defined as the search for fundamental categories. Ultimately what sorts

of things are there? Epistemology asks whether we know what we know and how we know. Answers to general epistemological questions are thus in one aspect metaphysical or have metaphysical presuppositions and implications. Logic is the

study to valid and in valid forms of argument. Philosophical ethics investigates logical characteristics of moral discourse. Aesthetics deals with appreciation of beauty. Shown here are some of the concepts that are examined in the various branches



2 Philosophers can also be divided according to where their strongest interest lies. Within the field of metaphysics, materialists believe that matter is the only kind of entity that exists in contrast to idealists who hold that matter is an illu-

sion. Monists believe that only one kind of ultimate stuff exists, while dualists maintain there are two kinds - mind and matter. Determinists hold that events are caused by other events and are predictable according to laws, libertarians that there are uncaus-

ed events - human free will. In epistemology, the study of knowledge, the empiricists trace the truth of propositions to observations and experience, positivists are extreme empiricists claiming that anything that is neither a part of logic and mathematics nor of em-

pirical science is meaningless. Rationalists claim humans have innate ideas that are prior to experience and necessarily true. Pragmatists claim that knowledge comes from practical action. Sceptics deny that any knowledge is possible because our

senses and reason are so misleading. In ethics a teleologist maintains that the concept of good is more basic than right (right action is determined by its consequences). The deontologist holds the opposite - an action is right or wrong regardless of

the value of the consequences. Utilitarians measure the goodness of an act by its utility. Hedonists maintain the only thing good in its own right is the experience of pleasure or the absence of pain. Stoics emphasize the practical

aspect of philosophy as a guide to living. Reason, not our desires, should be our guide to act on. Existentialists maintain that man's existence precedes his essential nature which is not given to him but is made by him in the choices he makes.

Philosophy and ethics

Philosophical ethics is concerned with how men should behave and involves moral discourse about such concepts as good, right, duty, responsibility and punishment

The concepts of good and right

There are many definitions of what constitutes "good". Naturalists identify the concept of good with the concept of some natural, psychological feature. Hedonists say this feature is pleasure, others that it is the object of desire and still others that it is the satisfaction of a need. Non-naturalists dispute these definitions. Plato (c 427-347 BC) pointed out that there are morally bad pleasures and that if pleasures and good were identical we would then have the self contradictory notion of a bad good

In discussing "right" some philosophers assert that the concept of good is more fundamental than the concept of right. In other words, to say of an act that it is right is to say that it is productive of a greater balance of good over evil than any other act open to the agent. Typical of those philosophers who hold this view are the Utilitarians, such as

Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill [4]

Opposed to this view are those who say that right cannot be defined in terms of good. Otherwise it would be possible to judge the intimidation of an innocent person, with the aim of deterring crime, as right because it produced a balance of good over evil.

The characteristics of moral discourse

To be genuinely moral, discourse must have several characteristics. First, it is prescriptive as opposed to descriptive [1]. That is, it contains statements about what ought to be rather than what is. From the confusion of these two comes the naturalistic fallacy of invalidly deducing an "ought" statement from an "is" statement. One popular form of this fallacy is the move from saying that something is natural (in the sense that it happens or tends to happen) to the conclusion that anything else would be unnatural and wrong - not in the sense that it will not happen, but that it *ought* not to happen

This seems obvious once clearly stated. But it is quite another thing to see all the implications of this ought/is dichotomy

Obviousness is essentially relative to time, place and person. It was not obvious to Aquinas (c 1225-74) when, if only temporarily, he overlooked the crucial difference between those Laws of God that are the scientists' laws of nature and cannot be "disobeyed", and those Laws of God that are prescriptive laws that rule human conduct but are notoriously ignored or breached

Not all prescriptive utterance is moral. Immanuel Kant [Key] distinguishes the hypothetical from the categorical imperative. The former may suggest a course of action in certain cases but is never absolutely categorical, in contrast to a moral imperative such as "Thou shalt not kill"

Kant further suggested that there are two other conditions that distinguish the authentically moral. The first of these two conditions is universality. If anything is to count, not necessarily as a correct moral principle but as genuinely moral, then it has to be a principle applied universally and impartially. If you claim that the use of chemical weapons or torture is immoral, then this claim must be universally applied; to protest

CONNECTIONS

See also

Why and the link



1 A prescriptive law states that some action ought or ought not to be done. Transgression of such a law for which the woman taken in adultery was condemned to be stoned [A], does not prove that the law its

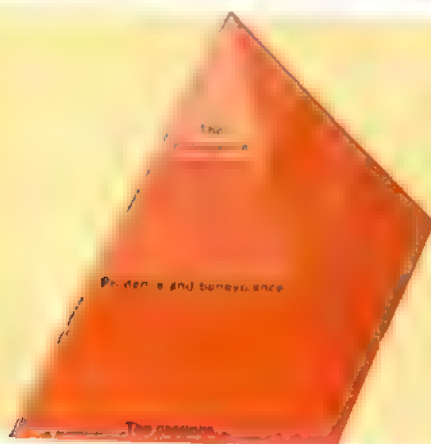
self is invalid. A law of nature, by contrast, claims to be a description of a state of nature and stands or falls by whether it is transgressed or not. The stargazer [B] who observes something that con

found a law of nature must realize that the law does not, after all, hold true. He is the spectator speaking a language of non-participatory description, whom Kant, in his examination of practical reason

contrasts with man as active agent. He says that when we abandon the role of spectator then our language ceases to be neutral and we begin to ascribe values to what we see and to make moral judgments



2 Joseph Butler (1692-1752) appealed to the notion of a self-evidently authoritative hierarchy in the principles of our nature [A]. Just as the passions are subordinate to prudence and benevolence, so these in their turn must be subordinate to the rational and reflective control of conscience. By comparison Plato's *Republic* represents the Man Reason [B], controlling with assistance from the Lion of Self-assertion the Many-headed Monster of Passion



against offences by those regimes to which you are politically opposed, while remaining silent about those regimes which you favour politically, is not to voice an authentic and sincere moral protest.

Kant characterizes the second of his two formal conditions for rating discourse as moral rather awkwardly. He maintains that moral discourse has to be autonomous as opposed to heteronomous. The idea is that each of us must somehow impose his own moral principles on himself, in contrast to the laws of the land which are imposed on us from without. (However, it is often rightly remarked that all such legislation is also in principle subject to the moral assessment of the individual: "I know that this is the law but is it right, ought it to be the law?")

The problem of subjectivism

The problem is to retain this notion of autonomy without succumbing to some form of subjectivism. In the strictest sense, a moral subjectivist holds that moral words do no more than express the reactions of the person who is using them. But the social "subject"

may also, by extension, be one who defines moral words in terms of the class or tribe to which the speaker belongs.

Clearly, any moral argument between two strict subjectivists is impracticable, just as it is between two people, one of whom says

"I like chocolate" whereas the other says "I don't like chocolate". The social subjectivist can at least argue that a group dispute may be settled by a simple vote. Both the subjectivist and the objectivist see the ought/is problem as fallacious, since one believes that morality is based on personal opinion, and the other, in contrast, believes that morality can be determined by the facts alone.

These conflicting approaches, if rigidly held, would make effective moral argument impossible. Any universal moral principle, however, unless susceptible of modification by the proposer, will have consequences unforeseen by him and it is this fact that makes moral argument possible. One of the major purposes of a critical moral discussion is to expose such unacceptable consequences and thus persuade the proposer to amend or abandon the offending principle.

3 Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), seen with his mother, radically broke with the established conception of ancient Greek culture in his first book *The Birth of Tragedy*. Thus Spoke Zarathustra, his most

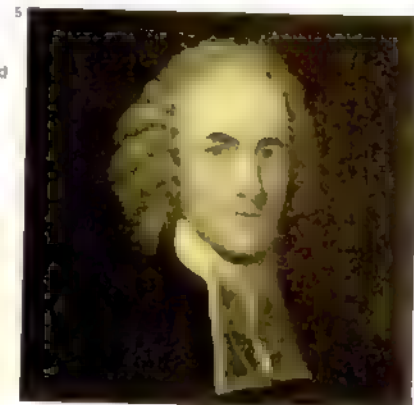
famous work, argues that the "will to power" is the primary human drive. Anti-Christian polemics become progressively more central in his later books in which critics discern signs of the madness that overtook him.

4 John Stuart Mill (1806–73) was an intellectual leader of the Philosophical Radicals. Active in all liberal causes, he produced standard works on economics and on logic and scientific method, as well as the

libertarian classic *On Liberty*. Also, following Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), he argued for ethical utilitarianism – a system of morality governed by the idea of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) lived in the East Prussian city of Königsberg, Kaliningrad. He was raised in a Pietist family and was a devoted follower of the Pietist movement. His response to the scepticism of Hume's radically sceptical empiricism was to develop his main work *Critique of Pure Reason*. *Critique of Practical Reason* and *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* led him to his mature and influential philosophy. Kant's philosophy saved the core of the Enlightenment's knowledge whereas Locke and Hume had been forced to speak of a "tabula rasa" or a "blank slate" on which the individual would be inscribing their values upon an originally blank and inert mind.

5 Jonathan Edwards (1703–58) was the first major philosopher born in North America. Just as Aquinas had seen the incorporation of the best of ancient Greek philosophy into a new Catholic synthesis, so Edwards laboured to incorporate Newton and Locke into a revived Calvinism. In philosophy, psychology, his *Religious Affections* anticipated much of William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*.



6 Mencius (372–289 BC) was both in his life and thought extraordinarily similar to Confucius. Born in the same province, both lived as professional moral teachers. Both shared concerns for filial piety and for established rites and both respected the Sage Kings. Both agreed that "Once the ruler is rectified, the whole kingdom will be at peace", a statement from the *Book of Mencius*. However, it was Mencius alone who made explicit and defended his conviction that human nature is essentially good. Apart from his philosophical teaching, Mencius urged many practical reforms.



7 Confucius (551–479 BC) was born within modern Shandong. His ideas became the greatest single force shaping traditional Chinese civilization. However, his thought was not in our sense philosophical. When, for example, Tzu Kung asked him whether the True Way could be epitomized in a word, Confucius replied "Is not reciprocity the word? Do not to others what you do not want them to do unto you. But he never made an attempt to show as centuries later Kant was to try to show that this is an essential element distinguishing some categorical imperatives as moral."



The occult

Man has always felt the presence of hidden forces around him, secret sources of knowledge and latent powers within himself. The occult describes his beliefs about this mysterious "other world" and the means by which he has tried to contact it. Occult beliefs have varied from culture to culture, changing with the advance of science. But although science explains that gravity makes an apple drop from a tree it does not attempt to say why the apple struck a particular man passing beneath. Occult lore has been concerned less with explaining events than with trying to predict, foretell or induce them.

The historical background

For the occult believer, the supernatural dimension includes a variety of gods and demons that were – and sometimes are thought to influence weather, crops and procreation. Men once believed their very survival depended these powers. Linked with this was the almost universal belief in life after death and in spirits and ghosts.

Recognizing the power of suggestion or auto-suggestion, holy men such as the Magi

(Persian priests from whom the word "magic" comes) devised rituals and symbols to concentrate the mind. Pagan cults based on some of these rituals survived the growth of major religions such as Christianity, but from about the fourteenth century occult practices began to be condemned by the Church as evil. Persecution of the Albigensian sect, which held that the material world was created by the Devil, led to witch hunts in continental Europe, Britain and later America. Witches were said to take any form they pleased, fly at lightning speed by broomstick, change humans into beasts and create an infinite variety of havoc with magical potions and incantations.

Torture and burning of those identified as witches created a climate of hysteria that actually encouraged sorcery and which lasted until the eighteenth century. Tales of people turning into wolves (lycanthropy) and dead bodies remaining fresh by preying on the living (vampirism) flourished, along with belief in less malign spirits such as fairies and elves. Prayers, rituals and talismans were used to invoke assistance or ward off bad

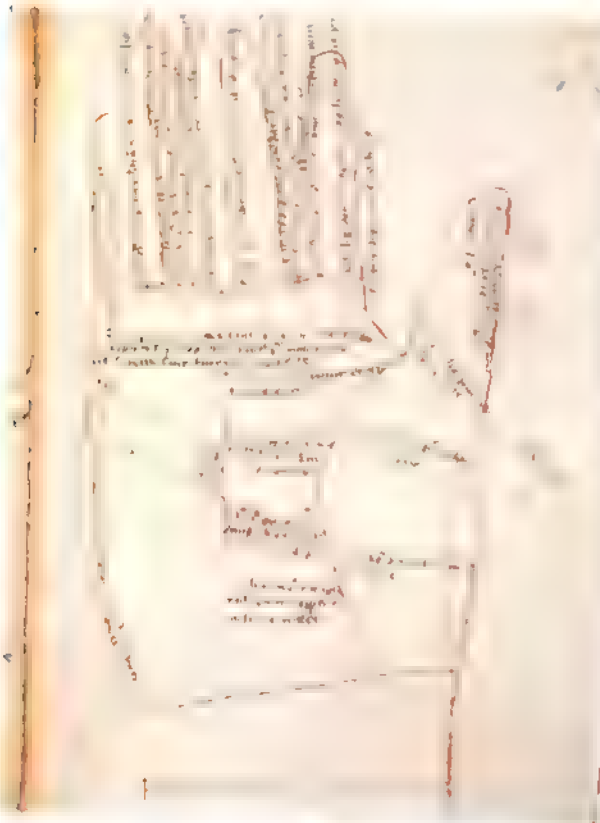
luck. A residue of folk superstitions such as "touching wood" remains today and exorcism is still occasionally practised to drive "devils" out of a person said to be possessed.

Prophecy and fortune-telling

Predicting the future has always been a common preoccupation ranging from inspection of the sky or of animal entrails to interpretation of apparently random patterns of coins, cards, dice or sticks as in the ancient Chinese book of wisdom, the *I Ching* [7]. The most notable of European seers was Nostradamus (1503-66), a French physician and astrologer who wrote more than 6000 obscure verses that can be interpreted as a remarkably accurate forecast of the French Revolution and of some other major events. By the eighteenth century more bizarre, older methods of reading the future such as kephromancy (the crackling made by a burning donkey's head), hydromancy (the noise of running water) and onychmancy (reflections in a virgin's oiled fingernails) had fallen into disuse. But the use of Tarot cards [9] and many other traditional methods [3]

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 Palmistry, the attempt to infer human characteristics and foretell the future from the lines of the palm is an art of great antiquity. In the 15th century the main features of the

palm were related to the planets and signs of the zodiac. The art is sometimes called cheiromancy after an expert modern seer, the Irishman Count Louis Hamon, who called himself "Cheiro".

2 Raising a spirit was among occult feats claimed by John Dee (1527-1608), the most celebrated English psychic experimenter of the 16th century. With his friend, Edward Kelley, Dee recorded

long conversations with various angels. An inventor and astrologer, Dee was a shrewd politician and was an adviser to Elizabeth I (1533-1603). He inspired scholars to study astrology and alchemy.

3 Seeing man as a microcosm of the universe is a Greek concept from which sprang a number of occult arts including metascopy – the interpretation of lines on the brow or moles on the body. In this 17th-century print the subject's characteristics were inferred from a series of circles, perhaps implying a reflection in man of the planets' circular paths round the sun. Adherents of metascopy believed lines and moles were 'stars of the body'.



continued. Some gypsies made a business of interpreting cards, dreams, crystal balls, tea leaves or the palms of hands [1].

The mid-nineteenth century brought a revival of interest in the age-old belief that spirits of the dead could sometimes be seen or heard. The idea that ghosts were lost souls trapped between this world and the next was given impetus after the invention of photography when exposed film sometimes showed what appeared to be ghostly forms [6]. Spiritualists believed a psychically sensitive person, called a medium, could go into a trance state and, while in this state, receive messages from the departed.

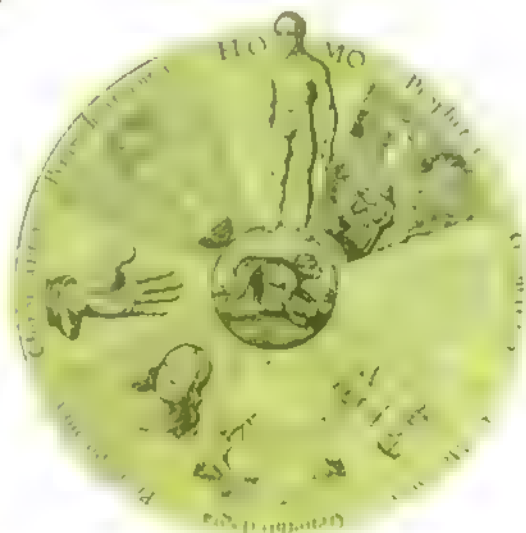
The Spiritualist movement

The Spiritualist movement spread after the teenage Fox sisters in America in 1848 claimed that their home was besieged by rapping noises and that objects fell or were hurled off shelves as if pushed by a poltergeist, a mischievous spirit. Evidence that they had "communicated" with this spirit was later discredited, but a number of mediums soon emerged who appeared to have

paranormal abilities. Among them were Helena Blavatsky (1831-91), who founded the Theosophical Society, and Daniel Home (1833-86) who impressed European royalty and baffled sceptics with phenomena ranging from sudden temperature drops to floating tables and the elongation or levitation of his own body [5]. It became fashionable to hold seances - meetings for the purpose of contacting the dead. Answers to participants' questions were either spelled out on an ouija board or given in a "yes" or "no" form according to the number of raps or tilts on the table. Exposure of a number of charlatans who exploited the gullibility of the bereaved led to declining interest in spiritualism.

During the twentieth century, however, both in the East and the West, scientists are slowly turning their attention to the explanation of "psychic" and "clairvoyant" forces. The result of their studies will, perhaps, be the exposure and full explanation of some of those mysterious elements which, according to James Jeans (1877-1946), make the universe begin to seem more like a great idea than a great machine.

KEY



Divinatory arts that tried to glimpse man's fate through occult means were

grouped in a 17th-century diagram by Robert Fludd (1574-1637). They included

prophecy, geomancy, astrology, physiognomy, palmistry and pyramid science.



4 A planchette was a popular device at the end of the 19th century for producing automatic writing supposedly prompted by a spirit. Hands were placed on a free-moving board that held a pencil.

5 Levitation was one of the most astonishing feats performed before critical audiences by Daniel Home, a medium whose apparently occult powers were neither fully tested nor proved fraudulent.



6 "Spirit" photographs were produced by some Victorian mediums but most of them could be easily faked by par-

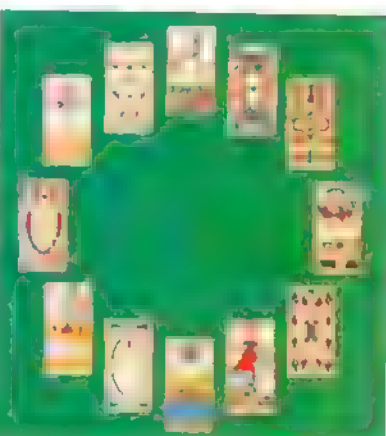
lour magicians. Several mediums were caught using assistants or various mechanical methods to produce the

illusion of a spirit substance called ectoplasm. Spirits have been more shy of infra-red photography in the dark.



7 Fortune-telling of the kind practised in China before 1949 was usually based on the use of coins or sticks like those on this Canton street stall. The classic I Ching method dates back to 1000 BC.

8 Jeane Dixon, an American clairvoyant, used a crystal ball to predict several electoral defeats and victories and the deaths of Dag Hammarskjöld, Marilyn Monroe and Robert and John F. Kennedy.



9 The Tarot pack contains 78 cards in four suits - Wands, Cups, Swords and Pentacles. The picture cards carry symbols that in some cases date back to ancient Egypt and are among the oldest known to man: the Sun, the Moon, the Lovers, the Devil, the Tree of Life. Each suit has an underlying theme. Chosen and laid out by one of several systems, each card is said to moderate and influence its neighbour. Successful Tarot readers use much intuition.

Parapsychology

Parapsychology is a term used for scientific research in extra-sensory perception (ESP) that is the apparent ability of a person to communicate with some other entity or to become aware of something, without using the normal sense organs.

Classification of phenomena

Psychic phenomena such as these are usually divided into four kinds [Key]. Telepathy is communication between one mind and another in some unknown way. It involves the sending or receiving of messages, thoughts or feelings and is often called "thought transference". Clairvoyance is the awareness of some event, object or person not known to anyone else, such as the presence of a letter in a secret drawer or a fire in an empty house. Precognition is the ability to foretell future events. Psychokinesis (mind movement or PK) occurs when a person causes physical objects to move or fall without apparent contact with them [6].

Other odd or unexpected events such as the alleged seeing of ghosts, voice communication with "the dead", the produc-

tion of "ectoplasm" (foam-like substance supposedly taking the shape of a disembodied person) and other inexplicable manifestations of the "beyond", are not generally part of parapsychological research.

The first attempts to examine claims about paranormal events scientifically were initiated in 1882 when the Society for Psychical Research was set up in London by a group of interested intellectuals headed by Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), later Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge University. The society was concerned with investigating and classifying anecdotal evidence. It was not until some 50 years later that J. B. Rhine (1895-) at Duke University, North Carolina, began the first controlled experiments into extra-sensory perception.

Parapsychology and J. B. Rhine

J. B. Rhine's initial work was the study of clairvoyance by means of written records of so-called spirit communication and by tests with mediums. He hoped to find confirmation for the existence of disembodied spirits.

By 1934, despite exhaustive work with mediums, including Eileen J. Garrett (who was later to found the Parapsychology Foundation in New York), Rhine felt there was no irrefutable evidence possible and turned his efforts to a duller but more tangible form of research with a system of card guessing experiments using Zener cards [3]. These are a pack of 25 cards, bearing five different symbols such as a circle or a cross, each symbol having its own colour. To test clairvoyance, for example, the subject of the experiment tries to name the colours or symbols on the cards, one at a time. No one knows what symbol or colour will come up.

The laws of chance would produce five correct answers out of 25. If the subject consistently scores higher than that it could be said that he has some clairvoyant ability.

Rhine's experiments indicated that there were people who clearly had extra-sensory perception. He published his findings in *Extrasensory Perception* (1934), a book that aroused both considerable interest and a great deal of criticism over the mathematical validity of his tests. Rhine responded by

CONNECTIONS

Background

1882

1895

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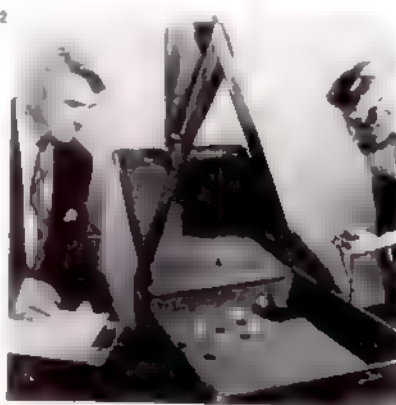
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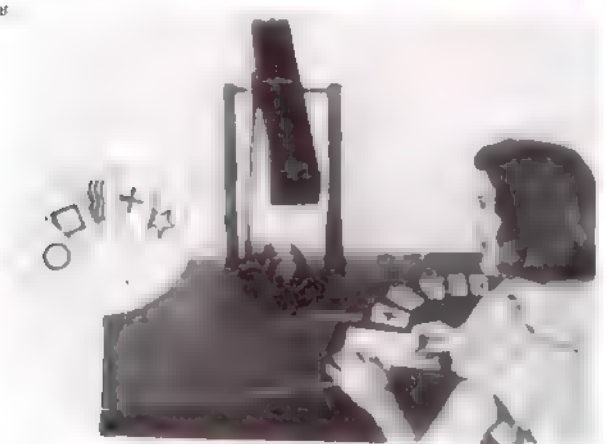
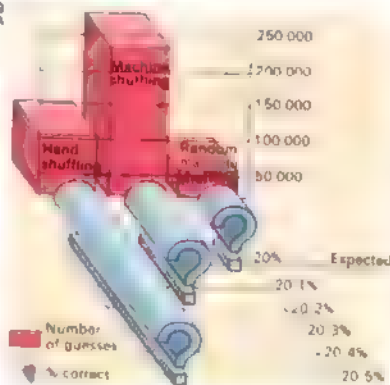
1 Levitation of chairs is achieved by a medium in this contemporary artist's impression of a seance in Germany in the late 19th century. The well-dressed people around the table indicate the fashionable interest in psychic phenomena at that time. Although early experiments research was concentrated on the alleged powers of a medium, charlatanism soon turned parapsychology to the laboratory.



2 Joseph Banks Rhine, pioneer of scientific enquiry into psychic phenomena, is seen here in his laboratory engaged in research into psychokinesis (PK). The machine spits dice randomly onto the board, and the subject tries to influence which side of the line they will land on. Any discrepancies between the statistically expected results and those of this and similar experiments are ascribed to extra-sensory powers.

3 The Zener cards are the basic equipment for card-guessing experiments. They have five geometric designs (a square, circle, star, cross or waves) and are used as a pack of 25. A score of more than one in five is considered "above chance". Seen here (A) are the results of experiments conducted over several years by Rhine. The cards can be mixed in three ways: they may be shuffled by hand by the exper-

imentor, they may be put in a box and rotated for a predetermined length of time, and they may be run in a machine (B), that rotates them for an arbitrarily chosen length of time. In all cases the subject must guess what order the cards will appear in after they have been shuffled. In modern laboratories at parapsychology institutes the cards may be shuffled and randomly sorted for selection by electronic means.



4 At the dream laboratory of the Maimonides Medical Center, New York, experiments are carried out on an isolated sleeping subject with electrodes attached to her scalp to show the rapid-eye movements (REM) of dreaming. An experimenter concentrates on a randomly selected art print in an effort to communicate it by telepathy from his mind to that of the sleeper. The subject is awakened periodically to describe her dreams and the results are independently analysed.



tightening the controls of his experiments *New Frontiers of the Mind* (1937), Rhine's next book, became a best-seller and his statistics were pronounced valid by the American Institute for Mathematical Statistics. A separate parapsychological laboratory was then established at Duke University.

More and more varieties of tests followed and during the 1940s Rhine was no longer trying simply to prove the existence of ESP but looking for the various reasons and conditions that favoured its production. He discovered that mood and attitude were important factors, as was the relationship between experimenter and subject, and that extremely low scoring was just as indicative of ESP as extremely high. Circumstances, environment and many other effects on the subjects' psychic responses were closely studied and the results then computed.

Debate about ESP

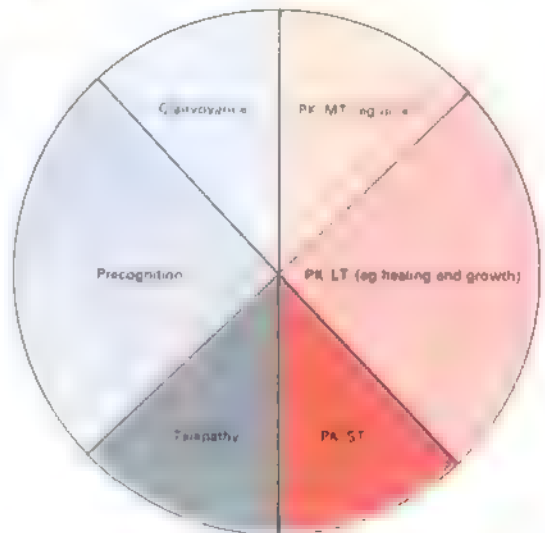
From the 1950s onward there followed more specialized and sophisticated experiments involving an increased use of electronic instruments for both randomizing and com-

puterizing the test material [7]. Psychokinesis, in particular, was being studied at this time.

In 1969, after long, hard resistance parapsychology won a place in the American Association for the Advancement of Science and since that time the exploration of ESP has become associated with many other fields of research under the inclusive title of "psi". Parapsychology conferences are now regularly held in many countries.

While the various researchers into parapsychology seem to have advanced some way towards establishing the fact of the paranormal, they have not yet explained what it is or what range of energy or force engenders it. Only about ten per cent of psychologists believe in the fact of ESP, ten per cent dismiss it totally and the remaining 80 per cent believe that more evidence is necessary before they can wholeheartedly accept its existence. The main problems are the difficulties of verifying findings that have often been established by those most eager for positive results and of effectively ruling out the possibility of cheating.

KEY



Psychic phenomena or 'psi' are of four kinds: telepathy, clairvoyance, precognition

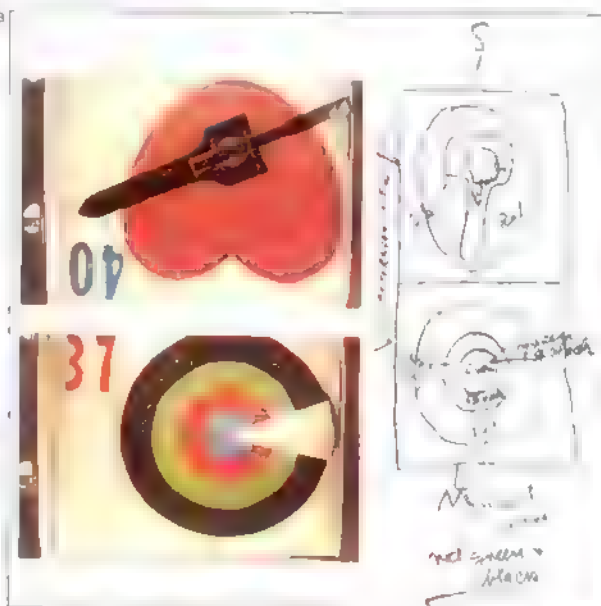
and psychokinesis (PK). PK is subdivided into PK MT (PK on moving

things), PK LT (PK on living things) and PK ST (PK on static things).



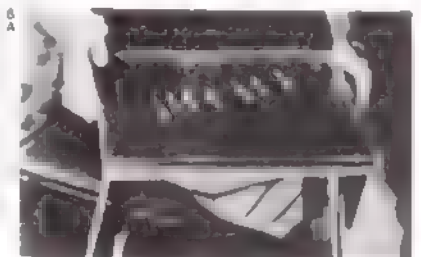
5 Ingo Swann, a gifted psychic, took part in experiments to test out-of-body perception. Specially drawn art 'targets' were laid on a platform placed high above his chair and well out of sight (A).

When he was in a 'relaxed state of mind' he began to draw what he could 'see'. The results were compared (B) and analysed. Ingo Swann completed many of these drawings with remarkable accuracy.



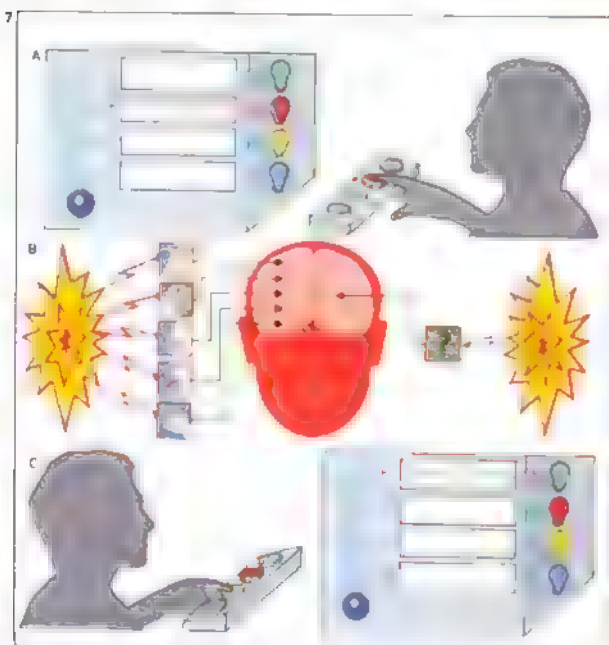
6 Madame Kulagina of Russia, famed for her extraordinary power to move objects by mental force alone (psychokinesis or PK), concentrates in a scientifically monitored experiment and gradually causes

matchsticks to move (A), alter their direction (B) and finally bunch together (C). In other experiments she has moved objects of many different materials and caused both compass needles and corks to rotate.



8 Metal bending by some mental power has attracted a great deal of attention from the public demonstration given since 1971 by the Israeli Uri Geller. He appears to be able to bend a variety of objects including nails, spoons, keys

and clock hands apparently just by mental force. Many others have claimed this power and they can be classified according to their individual strengths. In the highest category there is an unusual preponderance of children.



7 We normally assume all information received by the brain comes through the five senses, but many experiments point to the existence of extra-sensory perception (ESP). In recent trials four coloured lights were lit random

ly and subjects had to indicate, by pressing a button, either which would light up (A) or which would not (C). The results of both tests after more than 83,000 trials were higher than statistically expected.



Astrology

Astrology states that the Sun, Moon and planets play a vital role in human affairs. For centuries, astrology was virtually inseparable from the study of the universe which we now call astronomy. In technically advanced countries the influence of astrology has waned and it has been dismissed as worthless or fraudulent. But it is still highly valued in some Eastern countries. There has also been a more general revival of interest in astrological lore and the possibility of a link between it and biological rhythms detected by scientific investigation, which is now being more seriously and systematically pursued.

The aims of astrology

Columns in some newspapers and magazines foster an impression that astrologers attempt to predict the future. But true astrology has little to do with "what the stars foretell". Serious astrologers claim to do no more than indicate trends which may be averted - or promoted - by taking appropriate action.

Astrologers base their deductions on the apparent positions of the bodies of the Solar System and use the stars only as reference

points. In drawing up astrological charts or horoscopes the Earth is taken as the central point. This geocentric view is reasonable enough since astrologers can make their observations only from the Earth. No modern astrologer really believes the Earth to be the true centre of the universe.

Because the planets (and the Moon) move in roughly the same plane, they seem to keep to a certain region of the sky, making up a belt known as the Zodiac [Key]. The Zodiac is divided into 12 equal sections or signs, each named after a constellation. These constellations are Aries (the Ram), Taurus (the Bull), Gemini (the Twins), Cancer (the Crab), Leo (the Lion), Virgo (the Virgin), Libra (the Scales), Scorpio (the Scorpion), Sagittarius (the Archer), Capricorn (the Sea-goat), Aquarius (the Water-bearer) and Pisces (the Fish). The names have no significance, and neither have the star-patterns themselves, except as reference points. Moreover, the "vernal equinox" or First Point of Aries - the point where the apparent path of the Sun, or ecliptic, cuts the celestial equator - is no longer in the constellation of Aries as it was in

900 BC. It has shifted into the adjacent constellation of Pisces. But this so-called "precession" makes no difference to the astrological signs.

When casting a horoscope, astrologers work out the positions of the Sun, Moon and planets at the exact time of an individual's birth, for this it is also important to know the place of birth. The celestial pattern that emerges is supposed, in ways unspecified, to determine the personal characteristics of an individual born under its influence rather like the Moon's effect on the tides. Although nobody would claim that all Librans, for instance, are similar in personality, some statistical studies indicate general trends in line with astrological lore.

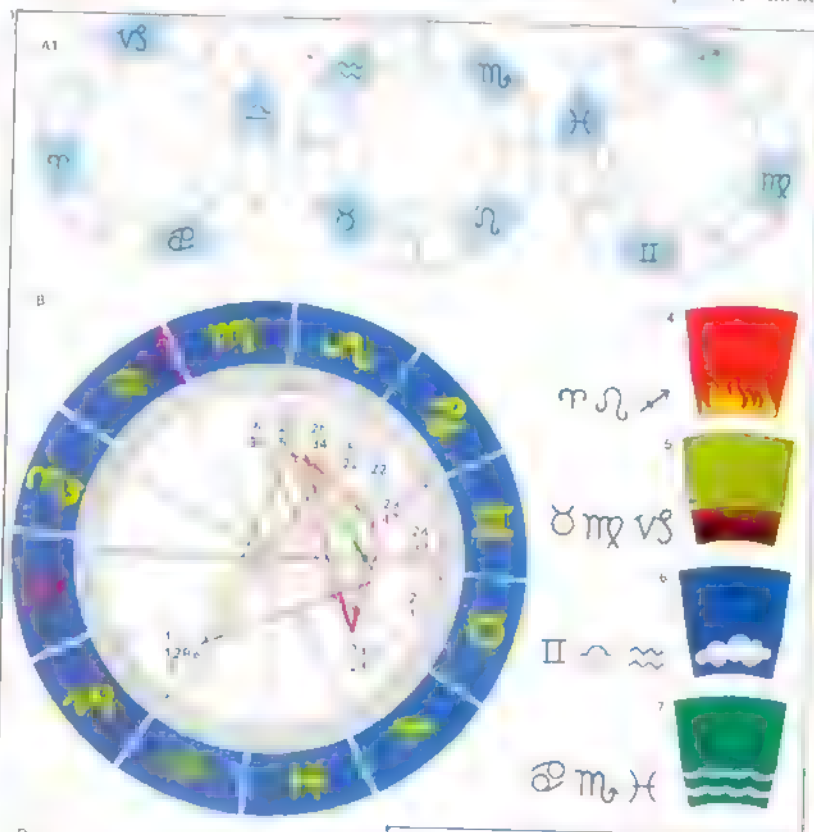
Historical background

Western astrology may have arisen in Mesopotamia. The earliest-known planetary tables date from the mid-seventh century BC. Early Babylonian astrology was not directly personal. It was concerned with large-scale events such as the advent of wars, floods and eclipses and with their possible effect on the

CONNECTIONS

Book: *Waco*

1 A birth chart or horoscope [8] is a map of the heavens at the moment and from the place of an individual's birth. The Earth is taken as the focal point. Around it, the 12 signs of the Zodiac form an encircling band. The inner part of the chart is similarly divided into 12 segments called houses that represent various spheres of the earth's environment. On this chart Sagittarius is the sign in ascendant (Asc), coming over the horizon [blue line] at the moment of birth. It is represented by a traditional sign called a glyph, as are all the signs, the Sun, Moon and planets [D]. The letters MC or Libra stand for Medium Coeli - the centre point of the heavens. The planets, primary forces in the astrological scheme, pass at differing speeds out of one sign of the Zodiac and into the next in a never-ending circuit. At the birth point, the angles formed with the Earth are measured in degrees [figures]. When there are specific angular relationships between them they are in Aspect [green, red and orange lines]. From the Aspects, astrologers interpret the subject's potential personality and motivation. A predominance of planets in certain signs is significant as each sign is assigned one of three qualities [A]. The quality of enterprise belongs to Aries, Cancer, Libra



Aries	Libra	Sun	Saturn
Taurus	Scorpio	Moon	Uranus
Gemini	Sagittarius	Mercury	Neptune
Cancer	Capricorn	Venus	Pluto
Leo	Aquarius	Mars	Earth
Virgo	Pisces	Jupiter	

and Capricorn [1]. Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius are fixed or steadfast [2]. Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces are mutable or adaptable [3]. The signs are also allotted one of four elements [C]. Aries, Leo and Sagittarius correspond to

Fire [4]. Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn to Earth [5]. Gemini, Libra and Aquarius to Air [6] and Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces to Water [7]. Signs with the elements of Fire and Air are masculine or positive; those of Earth and Water feminine or negative

2 A baby's first cry is usually taken by astrologers to signify the moment of birth. Accurate timing is shown by this medieval wood cut of astrologers charting the celestial bodies at that particular moment. If the time of birth is not known an astrologer will use the planetary positions as at noon on the birthday as an approximation. This, however, will restrict his conclusions



3 The rulership of the signs springs from the fact that traditionally the planets of the Solar System have had special relationships with certain signs of the Zodiac. The Sun and Moon ruled no sign each with Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn ruling two. This remained the case until the discovery of the so-called "modern planets" (Uranus in 1781, Neptune in 1846 and Pluto in 1930). Astrologers studied many thousands of birth charts to discover

what effect they would have. Eventually the new planets were allotted joint rulerships with the "old" Uranus now shares the rulership of Aquarius with Saturn, Neptune the rulership of Pisces with Jupiter, and Pluto that of Scorpio with Mars. Modern astrologers consider the effect of Uranus on Aquarius to be stronger than that of Saturn, and that of Neptune on Pisces stronger than that of Jupiter. Pluto's influence is still a matter of debate.



king, who embodied the affairs of the state and its well-being. The Mesopotamian tradition may have been transmitted to Egypt and through the Middle East to India and thence to China and the rest of Asia. In about the fourth century BC, the Greeks began recasting astrological lore in terms of their own traditions. It was they who popularized a method of working out individual destinies based on the moment of birth. Ptolemy (c. AD 90-168) is credited with the first astrological textbook composed in the West, the *Tetrabiblos*. The planets, houses and signs of the Zodiac were rationalized and set down in a way that has changed little since.

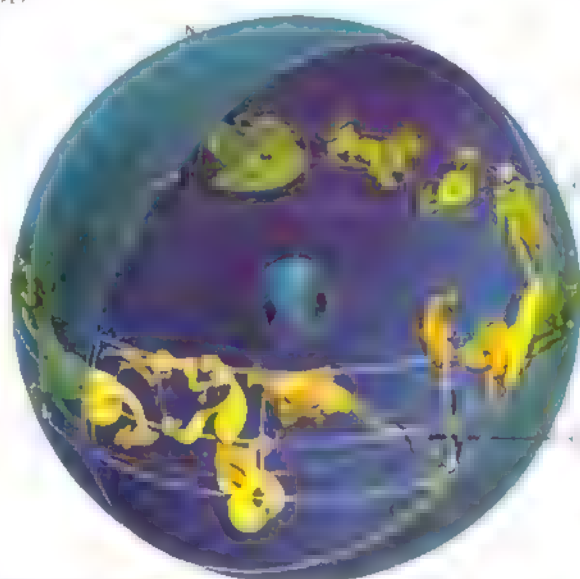
With the splitting up of the Roman Empire, the Arabs became the chief exponents of astrology and astronomy. To calculate their horoscopes and other charts they needed to know the positions of the stars and movements of the planets with great accuracy. This led them to draw up tables of planetary motion, together with star catalogues, which surpassed anything that the Greeks produced. But after the rediscovery of the Hellenic tradition in Europe

during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries astrology was ranked as one of the foremost sciences in all European universities.

From Copernicus to the space age

A gradual ebbing of interest began with the great astronomical discoveries made from the time of Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543) who showed that the Sun, not the Earth, was the centre of the planetary system. The invention of the telescope was followed by the work of Isaac Newton (1642-1727) whose book *Principia* laid the foundations of modern astronomy. But although the Earth was no longer regarded as all-important in the universe as a whole, the basic principles of astrology remained unchanged. Newton and Copernicus were profoundly interested in astrology.

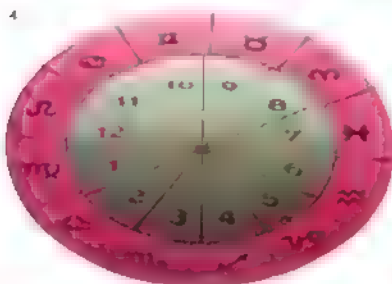
Recent technical developments are bringing greater understanding of the universe and of its influence on living things. In an age when men have been to the Moon and sent messages out towards the planets it may be significant that interest in astrology is reviving rather than passing into total eclipse.



The Zodiac [1] with its symbolic signs and the apparent path

of the Sun [2] circles

the Earth, which is shown at the centre of a cutaway sphere



4 The 12 houses occupy the central section of a birth chart. They are associated with every day activities, some of which are listed below. The influence of the planets and signs that fall within a particular house is focused on those activities. If a house has no planet within its segment of the chart this does not mean that the sphere of life that the house is normally concerned with is of no importance to the subject. In this case the astrologer will consider the Zodiacal sign that is on the cusp or starting point of the house. Each of the houses has its partner across the chart, the first relating to the seventh and the second to the eighth and so on. The houses are believed to show a relationship between the Zodiacal signs and the turning of the Earth on its axis. The symbolic nature of the houses was originally worked out by the Greeks.

5 Astrological medicine was, until the eighteenth century, an important part of conventional medical practice. The various parts of the body were regarded as being

under the rulership of specific signs and planets, which were also associated with specific diseases. More recently, astrologers have stressed relationships between

the signs and the glandular and nervous systems. They hold that this relationship is often one of polarity, an Arian, for example, may be affected by ailments

of parts of the body ruled by the opposite sign, Libra. Astrological anatomy thus divides the body according to the ruling signs and their opposites.

1st house Aries
personality
health
temperament
7th house Libra
emotional life
business partners
marriage

4th house Cancer
home
family commitments
start and end of life
10th house Capricorn
career
social standing
personal image

2nd house Taurus
possessions
worldly resources
income
8th house Scorpio
inherited money
life forces
insurance

5th house Leo
creativity
love affairs
children
11th house Aquarius
social life
friends
intellectual pleasures

3rd house Gemini
family ties
education
communication
speech
9th house Sagittarius
further education
long distance travel
languages

6th house Virgo
physical well-being
subordinates
work
hobbies
12th house Pisces
service to others
escapism
the unconscious



6 Ptolemy (A) (AD 120-80), the last great astronomer of classical times, who charted 300 new stars, was chiefly an astrologer.

Paracelsus (B) (1493-1541), a pioneer of medical chemistry, was interested in the interrelationships between man and the

planets. Louis de Wode (C) (1903-61) was employed by the British to predict what astrologers' advice was being given to Hitler.

Gemini Sagittarius
Gemini rules the upper limbs and shoulders. Gemini therefore, prone to knee aches.

Leo Aquarius
Leo rules the heart, spine and back. This makes Leo prone to heart attacks.

Libra Aries
Libra rules the kidneys. Aries, therefore, with the usual symptoms of kidney trouble, such as backache, urinary ailments, and kidney upset.

Virgo Taurus
Virgo rules the stomach and intestines. Taurus, therefore, with the usual symptoms of indigestion and ulcers, such as heartburn, flatulence, and constipation.

Capricorn Cancer
Capricorn rules the knees, bones and teeth. Orthopaedic and dental troubles are accordingly frequent in Capricorn.

Pisces Virgo
Pisces rules the feet. Virgo, therefore, with the usual symptoms of foot ailments, such as corns and blisters.



Aries Libra
Aries rules the head and neck. Libra, therefore, is often afflicted with headaches. Aries also controls the supply of blood.

Taurus Scorpio
Taurus rules the throat and neck, which makes Taurus vulnerable to throat ailments.

Cancer Capricorn
Cancer rules the stomach and the alimentary canal. Indigestion and ulcers are fairly common among Cancerians, as is a reputation for uncommunicative health.

Libra Aries
Libra rules the kidneys and the urinary system. Aries, therefore, tends to worry so often from indigestion.

Sagittarius Gemini
Sagittarius rules the hips and thighs. Being active by nature, Sagittarians stagnate if they do not get a considerable amount of exercise.

Aquarius Leo
Aquarius rules the chest and the heart. Leo, therefore, is prone to hardening of the arteries.

The meaning of ritual

Ritual involves behaviour that cannot easily be explained by what the participants hope to achieve. This indirect connection between actions and results is a striking aspect of ritual, whether seen in the elaborate courting dances of birds [1], in great state occasions such as the 14 July parade in France [Key] or in formal greetings [3, 4]. It is not immediately clear how the dancing of grebes, for instance, facilitates copulation or how the movements and words of a witch doctor ultimately can achieve a cure.

Human and animal ritual

Ritual behaviour is displayed by both man and animals. The common factor is that the elaborate way in which an action is performed is as important as, or more important than, the action itself. Equally, in both human and animal ritual repetition is essential. Rituals follow an intensely detailed programme that rigidly specifies the movements and sounds that should be made and their order of performance, so that the ritual is always the same.

Although the rituals of animals and men

share these characteristics, they nevertheless differ fundamentally. Most animal rituals are instinctive [2], while human rituals have to be learned. Birds whose courting involves complex rituals, for example, display the same kind of male or female behaviour throughout the species. But in man, ritual surrounding a similar occasion varies extensively from one social group to another and also within groups; some tribes, for example, prescribe certain ritualistic roles for initiated youths that are entirely different from the roles taken by the uninitiated.

Human ritual is of two rather different kinds. On the one hand it may be simply an aspect of an activity that is not itself ritual – a cultural “fill”. For example, in all cultures the essential activity of eating is accompanied by ritual embellishments that are given great importance and which are called table manners. On the other hand some entire activities are “rituals”. In the masonic ritual, for example, the freemasons express their system of morality by allegorical acts, in which the tools of a working mason are used as symbols.

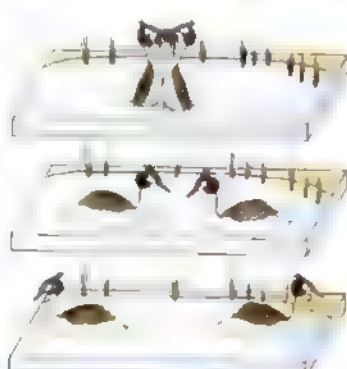
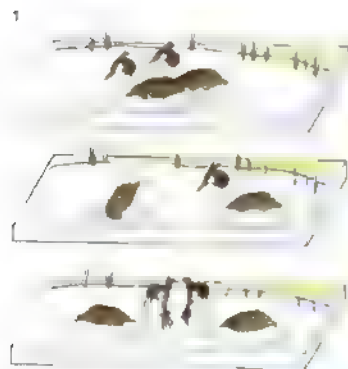
The nature of ritual can be seen most clearly by comparing the everyday use of language, gestures and signs with their use in ritual. Ritual language is of a different type from everyday language: it tends to be more formal and is often archaic. Indeed rituals are often carried on in a totally different language from the normal, such as Latin, Hebrew or Arabic. Ritual speech is more ponderous or may take on a singsong character. Most commonly, ritual uses singing and chanting rather than plain speaking. Ritual gestures are also characteristic. They tend to be both stylized and expressive, often verging on dance as in military or some religious rituals, indeed dance is a common element of the most sacred and important rituals [5].

Religious and secular forms

A third characteristic of human ritual is the use of objects as symbols [6] displayed on special occasions or used to give meaning to certain actions. The flags of military parades are an obvious example, more complicated but no less typical is the symbolic use of water in baptism or the use of animals and plants in

CONNECTIONS

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.



1 Animal ritual is more fixed than human ritual. These great crested grebes have not had to learn their complicated courtship movements from watching other birds but know what to do

instinctively. The similarity with human ritual lies in the fact that the sequence of actions is pre-determined, repetitive and only indirectly related to the end in view. In this instance, mating

2 Many animals, such as the red hartebeest found in southwest Africa, establish dominance in the herd by regular stylized combats, the boundary between ritual and purposeful behaviour is often indistinct

3 Raising hats and shaking hands are examples of the sort of ritual that pervades all human life. Sometimes unconsciously. Elaborate procedures of greeting and leave-taking are characteristic of human societies throughout the world. In one sense, they appear meaningless because they seem to convey no information. But the significance of such rituals – once they are established in a society – appears when they are omitted and cause grave offence.



4 Maoris in New Zealand rub noses in a greeting ritual that performs much the same function as the French custom of kissing on both cheeks. One of the interesting aspects of human ritual is that although the use of ritual on certain occasions such as greeting is extremely widespread the particular form it takes can vary considerably from culture to culture. Animal ritual, by contrast, shows little variation within a species.



5 Zulu war dances, and many other tribal dances, have strong elements of ritual. The arts of both theatre and dance originated in religious rituals and many secular rituals also involve dancing or its equivalent: highly stylized gestures or words following in fixed order according to recognized rules and often performed in unison. The use of the body in a more stylized way is characteristic of many forms of ritual behaviour.



fertility ceremonies to represent the various forces of nature

Activities that are associated with ritual behaviour have some remarkably similar aspects in all cultures, whether in remote parts of New Guinea or in New York, and they fall into two categories. Rituals such as initiation ceremonies, church services or invocation of ancestors are clearly of a religious character. Others, such as formal government receptions for visiting dignitaries, are clearly secular. Often, however it is not clear which element dominates. The Chinese New Year ceremony [9], for instance, combines secular elements marking the passage of the seasons and the settling of debts with more religious aspects such as ancestor worship and purification.

Greetings are perhaps the most common secular rituals. When people meet, in all cultures, they usually have to perform a series of set phrases in a given sequence, accompanied by equally formal gestures and postures. Greeting rituals are significant because they are a convenient way of establishing or acknowledging personal relationships and

giving order to social life. They express the degree of familiarity between people, or their differences in rank. It is not surprising that the greater these differences, the more elaborate the ritual aspects of greetings, so that a monarch, for example, is greeted with more ritual than a friend. What is begun by a greeting is continued by other ritual aspects of social behaviour, such as rules of etiquette and politeness, and is completed by another ritual sequence – of leave-taking.

Defining relationships

Even relationships between equals may have ritual aspects, although these take various forms. In Madagascar, for instance, brothers-in-law go through standardized, obligatory routines of joking with each other and fixed reciprocal insults. It is hard to see the practical value of many social rituals, but they help to define relationships and give a sense of predictability. Instead of every new social encounter having to be treated differently, ritual offers routine forms of behaviour so that people and circumstances do not have to be evaluated instantly.

KEY



A ritual such as the laying of a wreath to commemorate the nation's dead unites the whole community. It is characteristic

of all ritual that it stresses the importance of the group rather than of the individual. The carrying out of some

rituals, even after they have lost their significance for many who take part, has led many to reject ritual as meaningless.



6 A 15th-century stained glass window represents the four evangelists symbolically rather than pictorially. Such symbolism depends on social conventions. Rituals of all kinds characteristically

refer to objects, people, events and emotions or abstract concepts by symbols that often seem to be chosen in a quite arbitrary way. Here John is represented by an eagle, Matthew by an angel, Mark by

a lion and Luke by an ox. Another example is the use of a lamb to represent Christ, although the symbolism of this is clear. The reason why symbols and ritual usually go hand in hand is compli-

cated. Ritual uses stylized language, song and dance in a generalized way to evoke wide agreement. Symbols contribute to the remoteness and vagueness of ritual while adding depth.

7 Right- or left-handedness is given special ritual meaning in many cultures.

The left hand is associated with evil and darkness, the right with good and

the light. Use of one or the other is specifically prescribed for some actions.

7



- 1 Turn right to pray.
- 2 A holy place should be entered right foot first.
- 3 Offerings are made to the gods with right hand.
- 4 Gifts from gods are received with right hand.
- 5 In marriage ceremonies the right hands are joined.
- 6 Sovereigns wear crowns of royalty on the right.
- 7 Oaths are sworn with the right hand and people shake hands with the right.
- 8 Women in Niger cook only with their right hands and Arabs eat with their right.
- 9 In Indonesia, a widow brought up child cannot use the left hand because it was bound up.

- 10 If greedy spirits of the dead need satisfying by a gift, it is always given with the left hand.
- 2 Widows leave the church by the left door.
- 3 Widows must not marry because they have the power to kill by putting the left thumb in an enemy's drink.
- 4 Left hand used for unclean tasks.
- 5 Some Christian saints are supposed to have refused an enemy's challenge to their mother's left breast.
- 6 In the Arabic world toilet cleaning is done with the left hand.
- 7 Left is the hand of poverty, treachery and fraud.



8 The coronation of Queen Elizabeth II of England in 1953 was an example of the use of elaborate ritual to transform a person from one role to another. Wedding and consecration ceremonies serve a similar purpose. Ritual is a means of formalizing and acknowledging social position.

9 The dragon procession mounted at New Year by the Chinese community of San Francisco, USA, is one of countless ritual festivities that mark the passing of years or of seasons. Rituals have always been used to organize time and to attempt to give meaning to its passing by dividing it into units given special significance.



Types of ritual

Ritual colours all aspects of life from the most commonplace to the most sacred and is present in differing degrees in all known cultures. One function of ritual is always to give the appearance of order, security and meaning to the unpredictable sequence of events that characterizes human life.

Another major function of ritual is to define situations and people's roles in them according to set routines. This is clearly shown in such rituals as initiation in tribal societies, marriage and installation ceremonies. Anthropologists call these rites of passage because they are rituals that involve the public declaration of a change of status of an individual [2, 3, 4].

Rites of passage

The number of rites of passage and their significance vary widely from culture to culture. An East African Samburu man [1] would traditionally go through complicated rituals at birth, at initiation, on becoming a warrior, at marriage, on becoming a junior elder, on becoming a senior elder and finally at death, whereas a European Christian

would probably go through elaborate rituals only at baptism, confirmation, marriage and death. The latter might, however, also go through less universal rituals associated with entering a club, a school or an association or on the occasion of becoming a public official such as a judge or a mayor.

However varied such occasions might appear, rites of passage usually follow a similar pattern: first they consist of a phase marking separation from the old status, then an intermediate phase, thought to be particularly significant, then a phase marking acceptance of the new status. In the traditional European marriage, for example, the stag party marks separation from the old status, the central phase consists of the marriage ceremony and acceptance of the new status is represented by customs such as the groom carrying the bride across the threshold of her new home.

The same general features are found again and again in the three stages of rites of passage. Separation is marked by ritual acting out of the status that is being lost: being a single man with "the boys", for

instance. This is often accompanied by ritual violence, especially the revenge of the group towards the individual who is in some sense betraying them by leaving. A parallel violence from the group that is being joined may take the form of an endurance test. The intermediate stage is always a period set apart from ordinary life and is sacred, solemn and is sometimes dangerous. The final period of reintegration is usually happier expressing relief that the transition is complete.

Seasonal rituals

Rituals that mark certain times of the year and the passage of the seasons have been called rites of intensification because they intensify general group solidarity. Nearly everywhere the beginning of growing seasons, especially for plants and animals on which people depend for food, is marked by rituals associated with fertility and rebirth. Similarly, rituals accompany the harvest. Sometimes the beginning of the harvest and gathering of the first fruits is chosen as the occasion for ritual, as in much of Asia. Alternatively, rituals mark the end of

CONNECTIONS

See also



| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Birth | Circumcision | Height of
the A-rows | Height of
the B-rows |
| | | Juni 7 - normal | Sommer 89 |
| Age in years | | 85 | 20 |

1 Rites of passage, which mark the movement of an individual within society, vary widely between communities and cultures. In most Western societies [A] people do not pass through any set pattern of stages. A male may be baptised [1], confirmed

or married [3], or become a boy scout [2], an elector, a member of [redacted] church, warden, a freemason [4] or a mayor [5]. Many of these stages involve little ceremony and none is obligatory for all members of the society. In contrast to this

pattern, in a society such as that of the Samburu [B] of East Africa every member of the tribe goes through each stage which is accompanied by elaborate ritual. The birth of a son will be marked by the gift of cattle. Until he reaches puberty the

boy will grow and braid his hair [6]. At the age of 15 he is circumcised and joins a group of other youths as an initiate. A month later he becomes a junior moran (warrior) by going through the *lilmugi* (ceremony) of the Arrows during

which he slaughters an ox and vows to his mother to keep certain laws. To mark his status he first wears red ochre [7] and then cuts his hair [8]. When the group of youths reach the age of 20 they attain senior moran status through the limugit

of the Name This is the most important ceremony and is repeated a month later. A senior moran may father children but may not marry. The Hmug t of the Bull, at about 26 is the first of a number of ceremonies that lead to marriage and

elderhood, culminating in the Hmugn of the Milk and leaves at the age of 31. Once a man is an elder (8) he moves steadily upwards within this social order as new groups of boys are introduced at the ritual stage

the harvest, as in the harvest festivals of Europe. All these rituals embody the same idea – the public recognition of nature's change in the face of people in seasons and the values associated with them.

Other common occasions for rituals arise when a community feels that order has been disturbed and needs restoring. The most universal examples are rituals of purification. Throughout the world there are rituals to restore purity after contact with the polluting elements of washing or stepping over fire. Many of the rituals that follow battles involve purification. Known in common in many cultures, it purifies warriors after sexual intercourse. Perhaps nowhere are purification rituals so elaborate as in India [5] where, for example, high-caste Hindus strive to purify themselves after involuntary contact with any person or material polluting substances.

Other important restorative rituals are those involved with curing. Disease, whether physical or psychological, is a threat to the order emphasized by ritual, so particularly

complex rituals are needed to bring back a patient to the proper state. For example, among certain tribal peoples of South-East Asia disease is thought to be the cause of the patient's sorrow and pain. It has to be cast out the process of recapturing it and making the sick man whole once more. In some religions restorative rituals of this type are believed to be regularly necessary. Because disease or sin are thought of as inevitable, curing is always needed. Christian, Hindu and Muslim worship may be seen as examples of restorative ritual in religion.

Rituals of sacrifice

A recurring theme of the most holy rituals is sacrifice [6], a form that imparts rituals take throughout the world irrespective of culture or religion. Sacrifice is basically the giving up of something which the killing of an animal or a human being or material offerings. By this means a short period of communication is established with the super-natural or life-giving power. In restorative rituals pollution, disease or sin can then be taken away so that order may be restored.



Because of the sense of the word, sacrifice is an element of almost all human actions in the form of symbolic elaboration. But there are occasions when this symbolic elaboration pre-arranges and the relation ship between means and ends is different from that found in ordinary behaviour. Here, in High Mass, consecration (the last Supper) is accompanied by actions including the consecration of the sacrifice, but no attempt is made at redemption. The ordinary meaning of gestures and words by church tradition and symbols whose power is allusive. These elements of symbolic enactment and the establishment of authority characterize

2 Christian baptism is an ancient and common ceremony that marks the beginning of a new life in the world. It is a sacrament that is usually performed by a priest or minister.

and the most common of the sacraments. It is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister. It is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister.

3 The circumcision ceremony is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister. It is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister.

4 A funeral procession in Bali is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister. It is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister.



5 The supreme religious ritual, whether Hindu or Muslim, is the sacrifice of an animal or a human being. This is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister.

the life of an animal or a human being. This is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister.



5 Ritual bathing by Hindus is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister. It is a ritual that is performed by a priest or minister.



The meaning and function of myth

Myths are tales or traditions that seek to explain the place of man in the universe, the nature of society, the relationship between the individual and the world that he perceives, and the meaning of occurrences in nature. Today we tend to draw a sharp line between facts that can be proved scientifically and beliefs and ideas that cannot be so proved. These latter are often lumped together and dismissed as "imagination" or "inventions" or "myths". This spurious contrast between myth or fantasy on the one hand and "hard facts" on the other conceals and distorts the value and significance of myths as guides to life.

Myth, science and religion

Myths are found in every part of the world and, despite their bewildering variety, share certain common characteristics [1, 3, 4, 8]. These similarities arise because men everywhere face the same basic problems and ask the same questions. They want to know why they are what they are, why nature behaves as it does and how cause and effect are linked. It is human nature to seek for

meanings as well as causes for everything that arises in consciousness.

Although science has now answered many of the "how" questions, the reasons "why" – man's relation to the cosmos and the nature of the life-force within him – remain basically unanswered and unanswerable.

Myths have in common with religions the fact that they both offer reasons as well as causes; both the "how" and the "why" of the universe. By comparison with many world religions, however, most myths are less concerned with direct guidance. They contain an implicit moral, but their main aim is not to impose it. They are "just so" stories concerned with explaining the unquantifiable aspects of existence and deal with both common human experiences and with the supernatural.

From the mythological standpoint the world we experience directly is not the only world. The phenomenon of birth can be understood as a physical process but that does not exclude it also being regarded as a supernatural event (for example, as a reincarnation). Indeed most people will

admit, if they are truthful, that they actually experience life on two levels – the scientific and the mythological. But in our increasingly literal-minded, science-dominated society it is only in extreme situations – where the rational fabric of society breaks down – that our mythological consciousness surfaces.

The mental processes behind mythology

The step-by-step logical thinking required for the acquisition of scientific knowledge is slow and laborious. It is much easier to arrive at conclusions by comparisons and analogies where "just as... so in" are the key words.

Myths explain the phenomena of nature, for instance, by drawing parallels between simple, known things and those that are harder to grasp. Fire has something in common with the sun, the source of heat and energy. Gold is shiny and resembles the sun in colour. It also does not rust with weather and therefore signifies immortality. So out of common physical characteristics, symbolic equations are made and one thing takes on the qualities of another.

As the egg originates life, so the world

CONNECTIONS

See also

1. Mythology

2. Religion

3. Science

4. Society

5. The human mind

6. The universe

7. The individual

8. The world

9. The relationship between the individual and the world

10. The meaning of occurrences in nature

11. The nature of society

12. The place of man in the universe

13. The relationship between the individual and the world

14. The meaning of occurrences in nature

15. The nature of society

16. The world

17. The individual

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was created out of an egg [5]. Mountains are often inaccessible and inspire awe, as do the beings that man credits with having more power than himself. So the proper habitation for the gods may be a mountain, such as Mount Olympus, abode of the Greek gods. Thunder and lightning inspire fear as do outbursts of anger, hence a man killed by lightning must have offended Zeus, the chief Olympian [2]. Sometimes one characteristic is made use of in the equation, sometimes another. As thunder ushers in rain, so, where rain is scarce, thunder may symbolize fertility. Rivers, trees and animals, all have their characteristics, expressed in terms of such human values as cunning and fertility, destructiveness and courage.

The necessity of myths

But myths do not just explain why man and the world in which he lives are as he finds them. This view of mythology would be inadequate. Image-making is one of the most distinctive human characteristics. The telling of myths becomes a vital necessity not simply to placate or propitiate the suprahuman

powers, but to stimulate the very same creative and spiritual gifts that made man invent his myths. Without meaning and purpose beyond the satisfying of the daily physical necessities no man and no culture can flower. By the same token man needs an understanding of his defeats and victories, of birth and death, in order to stave off the despair that the vagaries of fortune and the complexities of life might induce. There is, accordingly, a myth to answer almost every mood and question. There are myths of origin or creation, of fertility and heroism, of resurrection and immortality.

Myths are timeless and perpetual in the sense that man's need to live in harmony with his nature by means of guidelines (which we now call psychological rather than spiritual or religious) is as great as ever. Myths provide a bridge between outer "realities" and the hopes, wishes and fears of our dreams. They provide man with comfort and support. In them he may find a play area in a world which would otherwise be fearsome, unbearable, dull or frustrating. Such play is as necessary as our daily work.



3 This 1790 Italian map shows the stars visible from the Earth's Northern Hemisphere grouped together by

constellations whose symbols date back to a time when man's observations were influenced by the concepts

of Greek mythology. The periphery is formed by the Zodiac. The Zodiacal signs indicate months.



4 This 13th-century Hindu wheel at Konarak, India, symbolizes the circular nature of the universe. The unending cycle of birth and death is a stock element in mythology. The couple, male and female, will always be there creating new generations. The idea of no birth without death signifies the eternal cycle to which Hinduism and Buddhism subscribe in different ways, the former aiming at the perfection of life, the latter at its renunciation.



5 One version of Egyptian creation myths has Ptah of Memphis shaping the world, in the form of an egg, on a potter's wheel. But it was also he, the creator of all things, who dwelt in the egg while it was in the primeval waters. The image of the world egg appears in other mythologies: thus Phan-ku, in Chinese mythology, holds the egg of chaos composed of the yin and yang (female and male) symbols, out of which he was born.

6 This Roman relief of Leda and the swan depicts one of the love stories in which Zeus couples with mortal

women. The transformation of gods as well as mortals into animal form is a common mythological theme.

Swans are held to be sacred birds in many places, and killing them is believed to bring misfortune.



7 Anubis, the jackal-headed Egyptian god, like the Greek god Hermes, conducted souls into the underworld. Here they would be judged by Osiris while Anubis assisted by weighing the heart. He was guardian of cemeteries and may have

been deified so as to prevent jackals from devouring the dead. After Osiris had been dismembered by his treacherous brother Seth, he enlisted the help of Anubis, who was also the embalmers, to reassemble her husband's body so creating the first mummy.



8 Hermaphroditic statues, such as this ancestral Nomo figure from Mali, are found the world over as part of the common preoccupation with fertility. Fertility rites may take the form of a sacrifice to ensure new life, or, as here, be fundamentally mag-

ical, bisexual figures can fertilize themselves so guaranteeing offspring. The worship of such statues was expected to result in the fertility of land, animals and humans. Some carvings from Africa and Oceania are divided, showing a male and a female half.

Myths of spring

Myths can be divided either regionally, corresponding to the centres of civilization from which they originate, or according to their major themes. As some themes are common to all regions, albeit with varying emphasis, it is convenient to take one - the motif of the four seasons - and look at its mythological counterparts. Creation and hero myths (also called epics) correspond to the spring phase, representing the beginnings of mankind on earth.

The myths of creation

Creation myths deal with the origins of the world and presuppose that in the beginning there was something uncreated. This is usually presented as the Abyss or Chaos, vast and dark like Egyptian Nun, the primordial ocean in which lay the germs of all things and all beings before the creation.

The creator is invariably regarded as divine. But in some traditions, notably the Judaeo-Christian, he is a non-human abstract "Father" and is eternal. In others, such as the Greek or Egyptian, the emphasis is intensely biological. This has two conse-

quences. First, there are several versions, just as there is more than one method of procreation in the animal kingdom. Second, the ruling deity lives under the challenge of rivalry and death. (One explanation for the succession of gods that characterizes almost all mythologies is that it reflects invasions of an area by people with other gods, who have to be set above those of the conquered.)

The Egyptian god Atum (later known as Re) is usually described as a human male, but he is also referred to as bisexual, "that great He-She". Nevertheless, this ruler felt lonely and desired a companion. Atum created by masturbation the first creatures - Shu who was male and represented air, and Tefnut, who was female and represented moisture. In another version he spat out Shu and Tefnut. To both he gave a vital essence, Ka, which may be regarded as the soul. This compares with the Jewish version of God breathing His divine life into Adam. In an earlier Egyptian myth, Atum is a serpent living in the dark waters of the Abyss, his outer coils forming the limits of the world. In subsequent versions, the creator was a mongoose which

killed the snake (that is, himself), then a primeval goose and then an egg. All this took place in darkness, before heaven and earth were separated and before light was created (the reverse order from the account of the Creation in the Bible).

This Egyptian creation myth demonstrates two general principles. First, a mythology consists of several layers, comprising older and later versions which may co-exist and form an amalgam. Second, myths of various regions share common elements [2], for instance the breath-and-soul-giving and the fashioning of man out of earth.

The origins and functions of the hero

With the beginnings of the world and cosmos accounted for, man has to explain himself and his culture. How did he learn to make fire, how to fish, hunt, rear domestic animals, cultivate the earth, discover medicines and, later, develop a complex culture?

Inventions of such extraordinary importance for man's survival were ascribed to cult heroes who had obviously been endowed with unusual talents. These heroes were

CONNECTIONS

See also
The egg



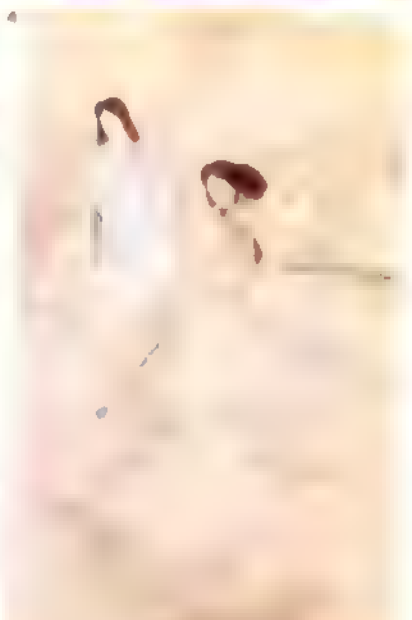
1 The giant Ymir was the first living being in Scandinavian myth. He was born from the melting ice and suckled by the cow Audumbla. After dying, his body became land, his blood the seas, his skull the heavens, his bones mountains and his hair trees.

2 Trees play a large part in mythology from the Indian Asvattha or tree of life and knowledge to the Scandinavian world tree Yggdrasil. This represents the entire world as a tree. The branches reach to the sky, the roots go down to Niflhel, the underworld. Near the root gushes the fountain Hvergelmir, the source of the rivers, while the disc-shaped middle world is encircled by a snake.



3 The phallus or lingam is a holy motif in India. The female counterpart is called yoni. They symbolize creative energy, antagonistic yet co-operative forces of sex, father heaven and mother earth.

4 Izanagi and Izanami were brother and sister and the last of seven generations of Japanese gods. Standing on the floating bridge of heaven, they created the island of Onokoro by stirring the ocean with a celestial lance. When they descended to the land, Izanagi walked round it from the left, Izanami from the right. When they met, Izanami spoke to her future husband first, expressing her pleasure at their sexual differences. So did Izanagi, but he was angry that the woman had spoken first. However, they produced two children, but as they turned out to be a leech and a foam island, they were both disowned. When the gods were consulted, they said that the disaster was due to Izanami's mistake of having spoken first. So they went back and performed the ritual correctly and so produced the many islands of Japan. This myth illustrates the importance of ceremonial in Japan and suggests how the sexes should relate.



5 Tangaroa, a creator and sea god, appears in many Polynesian myths. In Tonga and Samoa he existed alone above a vast expanse of water and then threw down a stone that became land. His bird messenger planted a vine, but it rotted and in the



decomposing matter a swarm of maggots became men and women. In the Society Islands he is pictured as existing in an egg-like shell that revolved in space with no sky, land or sun, a parallel with the womb and a common mythological idea.

6 The separation of the Egyptian goddess Nut (sky) from her brother Geb (earth) is an example of the theme of separation from a previous state of unity. In creation myths, the separation of the earth from the sky was so close that their father Shu (air) had to help. Inter-

estingly, the Egyptian cosmos differs from most others in making the earth male and the sky female. The daily birth of the sun out of Nut (also identified with Hathor or Isis, and versions of the great mother goddess of Egypt) is the next step in the creation myth.

generally the illegitimate sons of gods who were persecuted by their fathers' offended spouses. The heroes' deeds and inventions benefited man both materially and spiritually. They served as models for people who had to live and struggle, suffer defeats, enjoy some triumphs and die. Thus each epic forms a cycle analogous to the rise, zenith and sinking of the sun each day.

The dawn (or birth) phase of the hero's life, well illustrated in the myth of Hercules [11], foreshadows the aims and objects of his existence. In Hercules' case these were the preservation of life by saving a land from an oppressive ruler, the founding of a civilization and the renewal and assertion of man's spiritual potential over a lowly and purely instinct-driven life [9, 10].

Trickery and stealth

Another version of the opening phase may be seen when the heroic deed is accomplished by stealth (notably trickery or theft) [8]. As usual, the ruling powers are offended, but despite the punishment they inflict the deed is done and mankind has progressed one step

nearer equality with the gods.

Among the best-known hero-thieves in Western civilization is Prometheus, who stole the fire that had been the privilege of the Olympians. The significance of fire was not only that man could now cook formerly inedible foods and keep warm. Fire also gave him light - an analogy for an increase of human consciousness. Zeus punished Prometheus by chaining him to a rock, where his liver was eaten in day-time by an eagle but at night it grew again in readiness for the next feast. Zeus also offset the benefit that Prometheus had brought to mankind by a devious and malevolent device: he had the beautiful Pandora (All-giving) created and sent to Prometheus' stupid brother, who married her. She it was who took the lid off a box out of which flew all the diseases and sufferings that afflict mankind. Comparison with the paradoxical story of the Fall - embracing the view of woman as the dangerous temptress - is obvious. To overcome her threatening power was one of the hero's tasks. This done, woman could become his indispensable helper.



Spring, the time when the fields are prepared for the seed, parallels the myths of the creation of the earth. In myths the plough

is portrayed as phallic, while the furrows represent woman.



7 According to an Australian myth, day light is created when the morning star is blown into the sky

by the east wind. Observation of the night sky gave the Aborigines the idea of time as an eternal cycle.



8 Maui, a hero from Oceania, achieved his deeds through trickery. He lassoed the sun to give man a full day and stole fire from Prometheus from the gods. A clown, he expresses man's need to poke fun at the gods.

9 Gilgamesh, a hero of Babylonian myths, fought and overcame monsters. In this seal c. 2200 BC, he and Enkidu, who is still close to the animal stage from which heroes evolve (reflecting the evolution of man

from brute creation), fight a bull that was sent against Gilgamesh by Ishtar after he had repulsed her. Among the hero's functions is the conquest of instinct-driven nature and the establishment of civilization.



10 St George, seen here in a 17th-century Ethiopian painting, may have originated in an historical figure who lived in Palestine in the 3rd century. His task, shared with other heroes, is to overcome evil in the form of the dragon and free the maiden. The Greek hero Perseus likewise rescued Andromeda from a dragon after killing the dreaded Gorgon.

11 Hercules, here by Antonio Pollaiuolo (c. 1429-98), rescued the Greeks from many dangers. The Lernaean Hydra was ravaging the country. Every time one of her heads was cut off, two sprang up in its place. He solved this by burning them with red-hot brands. By dipping his arrows in her blood, he made them poisonous.



Myths of summer

Summer, with the sun at the height of its power, is understandably associated with images of the hero's achievement and female receptiveness. The myths of this season embody the idea of the union and the fruit of sky and earth on the sexual and reproductive planes as well as the spiritual

Women as goddess

There can be little doubt about mythology having been told and recorded from a man's point of view. Woman is regarded as the second sex, a newcomer to creation and a definitely inferior and possibly evil one at that. Myths describing the transformation and psychological development of the individual rarely have a heroine as the centre piece. The story of Eros and Psyche is one of the few. Woman is usually shown to play diametrically opposed roles in mythology - as a source of life, on the one hand, and as a dangerous temptress and ruthless destroyer on the other.

Given that on one level myths reflect human emotions and attributes, there are several possible explanations for this

equivocal attitude. One is that women are seen as different sexually, and intolerance for what is different is a consistent characteristic of mankind. When this "other" is also desired, then it may be loathed and feared as well as loved and idealized. Another explanation stems from a baby's experience of its mother. This earliest and most formative relationship see-saws (erratically as far as the baby is concerned) between a warm, protective love and anger and punishment. Consequently an ambivalent attitude towards women develops. Women and the goddesses who represent them come to symbolize the dread aroused by the unpredictable hazards of man's life.

The mother goddesses round the world are seen equivocally as givers and takers of life, as personifications of the earth, as creators of animals and vegetation and as goddesses of love, marriage and maternity. They appear, with some or all these characteristics, under many names: as Kali (India), Inanna (Sumeria), Ishtar (Babylon), Astarte or Anat (Canaan), Aphrodite, Demeter and Artemis (Greece), Cybele and

Venus (Rome), Isis (Egypt), Ma (Anatolia) and Freya (Scandinavia). Their rites range from the decorous to the orgiastic and sometimes include temple prostitution.

The hero and women

The hero's encounters with women reveal man's attitude towards women and also embody lessons about how man comes to terms with the conflicting urges in his nature. There is an initial theme of separation from the dangerous (or incestuous) union with the mother. Subsequently, woman, in the form of the fair maiden or the king's daughter, becomes a hard-won prize, either as the goal of the hero's quest or as a helper, inspiring him to accomplish his mission, as Ariadne did when she fell in love with Theseus.

He had come from Athens to King Minos of Crete to pay the yearly tribute of seven youths and seven maidens whose fate was to be devoured by a monster bull, the Minotaur, which lived in the labyrinth. Without the thread that Ariadne gave him, he would not have found his way out of the labyrinth where others had perished. But in terms of his

CONNECTIONS

See also

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1 Surviving myths almost invariably portray the supreme deity as male. But extremely old objects such as this "Venus" (c. 20,000 BC) suggest that earlier the earth, the most revered of

the gods, giver and taker of life - was represented as a woman and mother. This crude figure is hardly beautiful, unlike the Venus of the Romans yet it suggests an awe-inspiring strength

2 Diana of Ephesus (not to be confused with the Roman huntress Diana) was probably of ancient Asiatic origin, although the Greeks found her temple and worship established in Ionia. Her prodigious power to suckle

infants is portrayed by her many breasts. Multiplication of an attribute to suggest prowess is seen also in the Hindu pantheon whose gods often have several arms, legs or even heads.

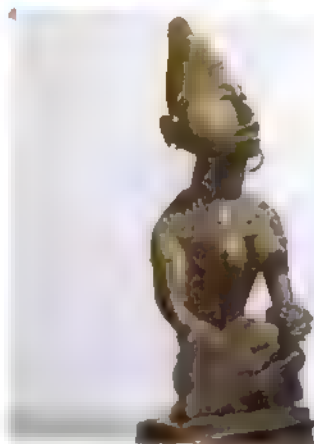


3 Demeter, identified by the Romans with Ceres, was the Greek goddess of the fruitful earth and protectress of marriage and social order. This terracotta head shows her with her attributes of corn, poppies and snakes.

Demeter was especially the goddess of corn; wheat and barley were sacred to her, and she presided over the harvest and all things associated with it. In her capacity as goddess of marriage, she was regarded as a

beneficent lawgiver to mortals. But in some parts of Greece her primitive nature was emphasized; there she was represented by a horse's head ringed with wild beasts, in her hands were a dove and a dolphin.

4 Female figures, often holding children, are commonly kept in Bakongo ancestor cult shrines in Angola, to honour the founders of the family. From the viewpoint of union and fertilization, birth is the harvest; from the viewpoint of the new-born infant, the cutting of the cord separates one state of existence from the last. The cycle leads from original unity through separations and initiations to final reunification. Familiarity with the phenomenon of birth does not destroy a sense of awe.



5 Medusa was the only one of the three Gorgons, the daughters of the ancient sea gods Phorcys and Ceto, who was mortal. Her head (from a 3rd-century AD Roman mosaic) was covered with snakes in place of hair, and struck such terror in the beholder that it turned him to stone. Perseus, armed with the cap of Hades to make him invisible and guided by Athena, succeeded in cutting off her head by striking it in a polished shield and striking it with a sickle.



psychological development, his triumph seems premature. Although he carried Anadine off, she got little thanks for her love and he abandoned her on a small island. Easy victories had spoilt him, so it is not surprising that he had further trouble with women. His capture, marriage and subsequent repudiation of the Amazon Antiope led to the invasion of Athens, as did his treatment of the young Helen, whom he carried off from Sparta. This story may be interpreted as a cautionary tale. Manhood is not easily acquired and without it woman remains a threat, a devouring, dangerous creature, whether in human form or, as often classically portrayed, as an evil monstrosity, such as Medusa, that needs to be slain [5].

Other elements of this theme are contained in one of the oldest epics recorded, that of Gilgamesh. The story of his partnership with Enkidu, a wild, barely human creature who had been captured while he was being seduced by a temple prostitute, their killing of a ferocious giant and the "bull of heaven", and Enkidu's death at the hands of the angry gods, contains among other themes

allusions to an incomplete development of heterosexuality. In psychological terms, the message is that fear of the opposite sex is overcome not by contempt (killing the monster), not by tributes and worship, but by the granting of equal status to the essential otherness of the opposite sex, recognizing its common humanity.

The pendulum of mythology

Mythological thinking, like man's nature itself, may be compared to a pendulum that swings between the earthy or biological [8] and the more abstract or spiritual [3]. Myths surrounding fertilization and childbirth show this wide spectrum particularly well. Zeus coupled with Leda in the form of a swan. When he fertilized Danaë (who gave birth to Perseus, slayer of Medusa) he did so as a shower of gold leaking through the roof of her prison. As the pendulum swings back, man's mythological thinking has matured and he accepts images of ordinary sexual intercourse, although perhaps under somewhat unusual circumstances, as the symbolic union of opposite qualities in general [6].



Summer is a time of ripeness and the full power of the sun's

energy. Wine harvesting is associated with Dionysus, god of

wine, who represents the intoxicating power of nature.

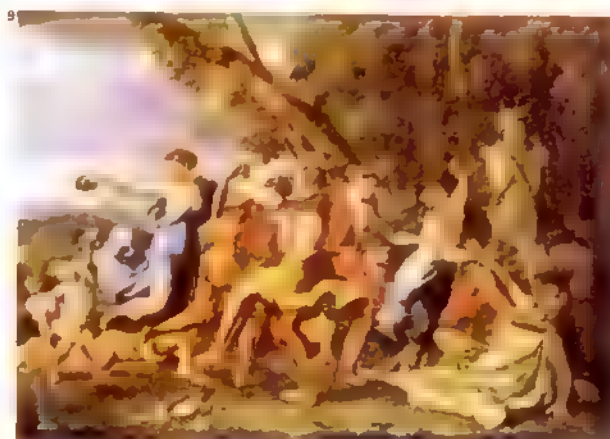


8 The yogic posture known as Yab Yum (Father-Mother), seen in this 18th century Tibetan bronze, unites the Hindu male god or absolute reality with the female incarnation, Shakti. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between this and the denial of sexuality in Christian tradition although Mary is often called the consort of God. The female emanation of the Hindu god, seated on his lap (in the case of Vishnu) or Parvati (in the case of Shiva). As the latter she is portrayed as a beautiful young woman sitting close to her husband. The imagery of sexual union is also delicately expressed in a linear design of interlaced triangles which is called Shri Yantra.



6 Marriage is a social institution not much honoured in mythology (especially not by Zeus) apart from occasional praise of marital fidelity, as in the story of Penelope waiting for Ulysses to return. Sex is union however is exalted in widely differing cults and rituals. In this 16th century alchemical version of 'the sacred marriage', king and queen, sun and moon join together, their dissimilar elements dissolving and merging in the water.

7 The branches of the Tree of Jesse, in this 12th-century French version, support his descendants, David, the Virgin Mary and Jesus. Like Sarah before her, Anne, mother of Mary, was barren for 20 years until 'the Lord took mercy'. The symbol of a tree as axis of the world is not unusual. Adonis, the Greek god of vegetation, was said to have been born from the trunk of a myrtle.



9 Pan, son of Hermes, with the legs, horns and beard of a goat, was a phallic shepherd-god of the pastures and woods who made the flocks prolific. He was worshipped originally in Arcadia and his cult spread throughout Greece in the 5th century BC. His revels, depicted here by Nicolas Poussin (1694-1665), were similar to those of Bacchus, the god of wine, called bacchanalia. Pan frolicked with nymphs at night but liked to frighten travellers hence 'panic'.

Myths of autumn

Autumn, when the fertility and vigour of summer give way to the death of crops and the failing strength of the sun, is associated in mythology with the dying god or hero [2, 5, 7], the destructive power of the mother goddess [3, 6] and the death or peril of the earth and the creatures it supports

The cycle of the seasons

The Greek story of Demeter and her daughter Persephone shows how myth tries to answer the central questions of life – in this case why the earth annually loses its fertility and nature apparently dies

The god Zeus was both the father and uncle of Persephone. Without Demeter's knowledge he promised Persephone to his brother Hades (king of the underworld). While the girl was gathering flowers in the fields of Nysa, the earth suddenly opened and Hades carried her off. When she learned what had happened, Demeter, angry with Zeus, left Olympus and as a result, since she was the goddess of fertility, the earth was barren and nothing grew. Famine would have destroyed all creatures had not Zeus sent

Hermes to fetch Persephone back. Hades consented, but he had already given her a pomegranate to eat. Because she had eaten in the underworld she would have to spend a third of the year below the earth. The rest of the year she could spend happily reunited with her mother, who consequently allowed the earth to bear fruit again.

In this myth of fertility and death, Persephone in Hades is the seed corn in the ground; Persephone rejoined with her mother is the sprouting seed that nourishes man and animals. To mark the annual cycle, to make sure that it continued and to propitiate the goddess, a festival, the Eleusinia, was celebrated in Athens, as harvest festivals are in other parts of the world.

In addition to explaining the succession of the seasons, myths are concerned to explain shorter cycles such as the rising and setting of the sun [1] and the phases and eclipses of the moon. In Indo-European myths the orbits of the sun are often interpreted in terms of a horse and chariot. Surya, the Hindu sun-god, for instance, drove across the heavens in a flaming chariot, as did the Greek Helios and

the Slavonic Dazhbog. A Nordic version explains that the sun and moon move because they are being pursued by devouring wolves.

In India the moon represented the cup from which the gods drank Amrita, the elixir of immortality, and its eclipses were due to the monster Rahu. When the gods first extracted Amrita, by churning the Milk Oceans, Rahu stole the first sip. Vishnu immediately cut off his head, which began to pursue the moon ravenously. Eclipses happened when Rahu succeeded in swallowing the moon, but because he had no stomach the moon reappeared and the chase across the heavens was resumed.

Myths of the flood

Floods as periodic, world-destructive events occur so universally in myths that they may reflect actual events, although it is probable that many local inundations were interpreted as world events. The bare bones of these myths are the same. A great flood drowns all the inhabitants of the world with the exception of one man or family whose escape in a boat is made possible by advance warning.

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 The rising sun in Egyptian mythology is symbolized by the scarab beetle Khepri, here being lifted out of the primeval waters (from an 1150 BC papyrus). The Book of the Dead tells how the soul, in its journey through the underworld, reaches the divine solar barque where it can ask the god freely about the reasons for all the apparent disharmonies it has met during its lifetime. The scarab's habit of providing larval food by laying its eggs in a ball of dung regarded by the Egyptians as a symbol of the world made it seem eternally self-creating. In its cyclic decline, the sun-god was known as Re Atum, or "the completed".

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2 Mithraism was practised as a religion in Asia Minor centuries before Christ and was taken up as a cult by the Romans about AD 75 as a competitor to Christianity for some 200 years. An impor-

tant element is the bull sacrifice demanded by the sun god, Mithras, who is also the bull-slayer and slain. The sacrifice marks a state of transition similar to seasonal changes. It ensures fertility

and purifies the human soul. The bull suffers even the god has to avert his eyes. But from the various parts of the newly sacrificed animal a whole renewed cosmos is miraculously created.



3 As life feeds on life, so the beautiful young maiden Parvati changes into the death-dealing Hindu goddess Kali, seen here dancing on her husband, Shiva. What the goddess has bestowed, she will take away. She is the Black One, suitably adorned with a necklace of skulls. Often, she is shown brandishing scissors as well as a sword with which to cut the thread of life. Dishevelled and wild-eyed with large fangs protruding tongue and blood-dripping hands, she nevertheless embodies Shiva's dynamic energy, even when dancing on his corpse. The word Kali is the feminine for "time" and is a reminder of the brief life-span of every thing in existence.



4 This Aztec mask, covered in turquoise, is believed to represent Tlaloc (or the Mayan Cheac). Although not a major deity in the Aztec pantheon, as the god of rain he was of considerable importance in the dry, hot climate of Mexico. His cult was the most horrible of all. For the festival in his honour, the priests sacrificed babies and young children which they afterward cooked and ate. If the children cried it was a sign of rain to come.



Eventually the gods are appeased, the floods recede and life reappears.

But there are interesting variants. In the Hindu version Manu, unlike the Hebrew Noah [8], was the only survivor because he had been warned of the flood by a fish [9]. When it was all over he felt lonely and wanted a wife. She was duly created by the gods who made her out of Manu's sacrifices of sour milk, butter and curds.

In the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh* the survivors of the flood, Utnapishtim and his wife, had similar experiences but their relationship with the gods was not as personal as that between Noah and Yahweh. For one thing Utnapishtim was warned only by a subterfuge of Ea, lord of the waters and wisdom, who by doing so gave away a secret plan of the council of the gods. Nor was there afterwards, any promise by the gods that such a disaster would not happen again.

The coming of death

It is not surprising that death, the ultimate mystery of life, should be a universal theme in mythologies. Death is consistently seen as an

intruder, not existing at the beginning when humans renewed their lives repeatedly as did snakes their skin or the moon in its phases. Usually, death appears as a result of an error, as a punishment, or by agreement.

The idea of death as an error often centres on a message that goes astray. In Africa, for instance, God sends the chameleon to tell the first men that they are to be immortal. But because it dawdles it is overtaken by the lizard, who is the messenger of death.

Death as a punishment (often because of a woman's fault, as in the biblical story of Adam and Eve) is a common motif. The Algonquin Indians of North America, for instance, held that the Great Hare gave man immortality in a parcel that he was forbidden to open. His wife, being curious however, looked in and let immortality fly away.

Death by agreement appears in some parts of the world. A myth of the Greenland Eskimos states that in the beginning there was no death but also no sun. One old woman insisted that if it was impossible to have one without the other, it would be better to have both, as without light, life was worthless.



Mythological themes of death, mourning and dismemberment

are summed up in a medieval scene of the end of a day's

hunting with the death of the stag and trees in autumnal colours

5 The cycle of life and death does not spare the gods of Scandinavian mythology, who are destroyed by monsters at the end of their rule. Here Odin is being devoured by the wolf Fenrir. The twilight of the gods reflects the onset of the Nordic winter. But the gods are avenged by their sons. The wolf is slain by Odin's son and a new generation of men and women arise from the world tree, Yggdrasil.



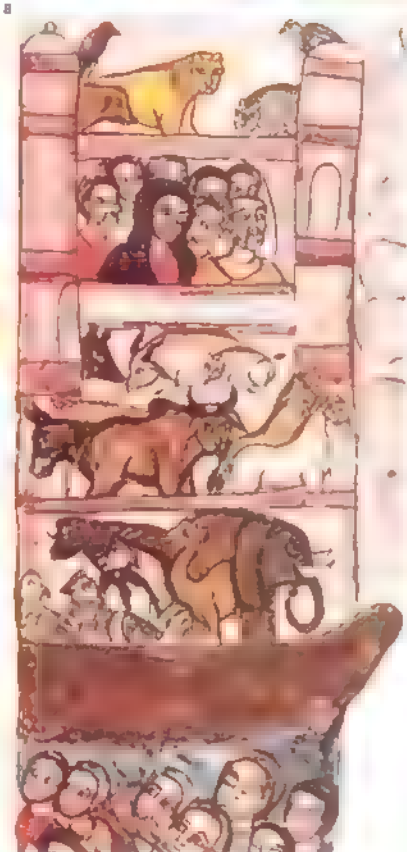
6 Odysseus's encounter with the Sirens (from a Roman mosaic) during his return home after the fall of Troy is typical of threatening myths about women. The Sirens were beautiful maidens whose singing so enchanted sailors that they swam ashore and died miserably. Odysseus filled his rowers' ears with wax and had himself bound to the mast so that he could hear the sweet singing without diving overboard to his death.



7 The Greek myth of Actaeon being killed by hounds reveals a goddess in savage mood. Actaeon was hunting a stag when he caught sight of Diana (or Artemis) bathing with her maidens. In anger she transformed him into his own quarry

to be torn to pieces. It is superficially the story of a virago punishing a man's lust. But the stag was a sacred animal and Actaeon a ritualistic dismemberment perhaps involved an autumnal sacrifice to ensure the next harvest.

8 This multi-storied ark, from an 18th century Ethiopian text on Noah, carries all the creatures needed to repopulate the world when the Flood finally subsides. Central to the flood myth is a warning to mankind not to be too proud.



9 Vishnu, the great Hindu god, can take on whatever incarnation—*avataras*—required. Three of the best known are in animal form: fish, tortoise and boar. During the Flood, man's ancestor, Manu, was saved by a fish whose life he

had spared. (Vishnu in disguise.) The motif of a grateful animal saving the hero's life is well known in Western fairy tales and is perhaps as universal as the story of the Flood among the various myths of destruction.

Myths of winter

Death as ultimate finality is unacceptable to most human beings. Myth's function is, therefore, to explain that life in its known form must come to an end as inevitably as the arrival of winter [Key] but also to point to a future that is not accessible to our senses. It is in this void of unknowability that myths are most often employed

Continuation or transformation?

Seeking to avoid the inevitable, man has created many myths about life-preserving remedies such as magic potions, elixirs of immortality or rejuvenation. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, for instance, the hero plunges into the cosmic sea with stones tied to his feet. At the bottom he finds the prickly herb of immortality, plucks it, cuts loose the stones and surfaces. But his triumph is short-lived, for while he is bathing in a fountain a serpent eats the herb. Shedding its skin periodically the snake becomes a symbol of rejuvenation and immortality while man has to come to terms with his mortality.

Other semi-divine beings have tried to cheat death and its messengers. The Polyne-

sian trickster Maui even tried to kill the goddess of death herself. With his friends the birds he crept up while she was asleep, intending to crawl into her body between her thighs, kill her and escape through her mouth. At first he seemed to succeed but when a wagtail saw only his legs sticking out, it could not contain a chuckle which woke the goddess. She closed her thighs and her womb became his tomb.

A touching motif that reappears in myths of several regions is the attempt to rescue a loved one from the clutches of the underworld. Thus Izanami, who according to Japanese myth, had with her husband Izanagi, created the world out of the ocean, dies giving birth to fire. Izanagi, disconsolate at the loss, follows her into the Land of Darkness. He finds her in a castle and persuades her to return, but she delays because she has already eaten food there (as did Persephone in a similar Greek myth). Impatiently Izanagi uses a light and sees that she is already in an advanced state of decay. So angry is Izanagi at being seen in a humiliating state that she tries to kill Izanagi. There is a chase and

Izanagi barely manages to save himself.

A variation on this story is found in the Greek myth of Orpheus who, finding that Eurydice has died of a snake bite, decides to follow her to Hades. Such is the quality of his music that the torment of the damned stops and Eurydice is permitted to return with him on condition that he does not look back at her until they reach the upper world. His anxiety gets the better of him, however: he looks back and she is lost. (The fatal mistake of looking back is echoed in the biblical story of Lot's wife, who looked behind her on the way from Sodom and was turned into a pillar of salt.) The moral of these myths seems to be that man must learn to accept the inevitability of separations in life, of which death is the ultimate and most irrevocable.

Beyond death: heaven and hell

Man's difficulty in accepting death as final is reflected in the universal theme of a world after death [1, 3, 6]. In many traditions this is somewhere on the earth, often in the west (Eden [8] is an exception) and separated by water from the known world, such as the

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 After death, the Egyptians believed life continued in the underworld. Each person had a double, or Ka, representing the divine essence. Here it is shown as a strange creature with human head and falcon's body. Although Ka is as spiritual as any Christian soul, a concrete expansion was needed for its ability to fly across the underworld with the corpse to which it belonged.



3 The other world, according to the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, was a realm in which the blessed dead lived much as they had in life, only in a state of more perfect happiness, farming the Elysian fields. Osiris, the supreme ruler and judge of the dead, is here attended by his wife, sisters Isis and Nephthys. His insignia are agricultural. There were no spiritual occupations or heavenly choirs as in Semitic religions.

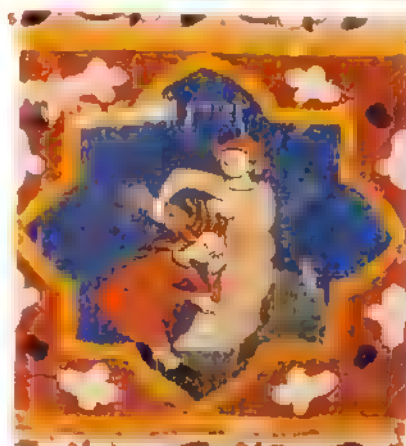
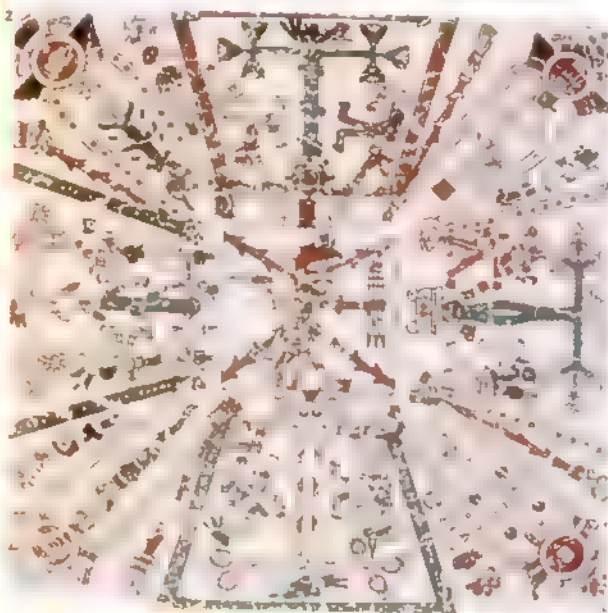


4 The myth of Jonah and the whale represents a Hebrew variation of the theme of death and resurrection. On the surface it is the miraculous story of how the Lord sent a whale to Jonah when he had been cast out into the sea and of how he lived three nights and days in its belly before being delivered to dry land. At a deeper level it is an allegory of how Jonah atoned for disobeying God's command and was delivered from guilt.

2 One Aztec myth depicted four destroyed worlds with the present one in the center and suggested that the human race had been wiped out in earlier times because it had been too self-opinionated.

If men became too proud, the present world would itself be destroyed by means of an earthquake. The ending of a universe and the beginning of a new era was predicted in many other traditions.

Greco-Roman mythology spoke of a descending order of world eras from a "golden" to an "iron" age, the baser metal indicating a progressive worsening of the human condition.



5 Implications of sacrifice underlie the Hebrew story of how Samson's hair was treacherously shorn by Delilah. A connection between cutting the hair and losing physical strength is widespread and some Fijian chiefs ate a man as a precaution before cutting theirs. But the theme may also imply a transition from outer to inner strength, in keeping with the sacrifice of hair by nuns and orthodox Jews as a preparation for sacred marriage.

Celtic Avalon, the Greek Islands of the Blessed and the American Indian Happy Hunting Grounds. In some it is below the earth, such as the realms of Tumbuka (Malawi) and in yet others it is in the sky as are the Judaeo-Christian heaven and the Buddhist and Hindu paradises.

Some realms admit all the dead regardless of their merits while others restrict entry to those who have earned it. The Greek Hades, for instance, accepts the souls of all who are ferried across the River Styx by Charon provided they have the necessary fare. But in the Judaeo-Christian religions the soul is assigned to heaven or hell according to divine judgment of the person's life on earth, in the same way as the hearts of the dead are weighed by Anubis in Egyptian myths.

But merit is not always measured in moral terms and "heaven" often reflects inequalities on earth. In the Leeward Islands only aristocrats are sent to "sweet-scented Rohutu" while commoners go to "foul-scented Rohutu." The mansions of the sun were open only to the Incas and nobles of Peru, while the Norse Valhalla was the prize

of the mighty in war. Even the Christian heaven is not always gained by a pure life. Jean Calvin (1509-64), the Swiss theologian, held that salvation was through arbitrary divine choice. Generally "heavens" are portrayed as beautiful parks or gardens filled with earthly delights, places of eternal youth and freedom from want.

The end of the world

A final mythological theme is that of the end of the world and a return to chaos. The gods imposed order on the world and they may well revoke their patronage. It is for this reason that festivals are celebrated, rituals performed and sacrifices made. But almost every mythology envisages a time of eventual destruction heralded by wars, famines, floods, hurricanes and earthquakes.

Traditions as separate as those of the Mexican Aztecs [2] and the Indian Hindus and Buddhists envisaged several world ages characterized by decreasing moral standards and piety. The Aztecs believed that when the last age had finished the world would be consumed with fire and everything destroyed.

KEY



In dead midwinter, nature rests under a blanket of snow, no

sap rises and trees are being felled. But life lies underground

in the seed corn and burns in the Promethean fires of man

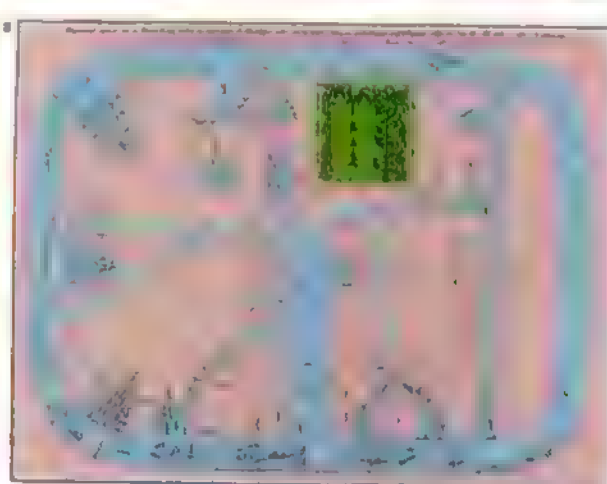
6 In Chinese mythology hell was run like a well ordered bureaucracy, reflecting the importance of administrative efficiency in China. Here, Yama, king of the Seventh Hell and supreme master of the

law courts, dispenses a form of justice which exact punishment prescribed for each offence. Misers, for example and dishonest merchants have to swallow melted gold, while cannibals and dese-

crators of graves are chased by demons into a river. Incarnation of souls takes place in the first of ten courts which assigns each soul to one of 18 hells designed to fit various crimes



7 Shou-Lao symbol rather than god of longevity, holds a golden peach. These ripened only once in 3,000 years in a celestial garden, a Chinese parallel to the paradisaical Tree of Life elsewhere



8 Myths are maps to guide and stimulate the imagination and orientate the individual in life. This

8th-century map by a Spanish priest, Beatus, divided the world into three continents inherited by the sons

of Abraham. The surrounding ocean was not to be explored. Paradise was located in the east (top)



9 In "Resurrection" by the English painter Stanley Spencer (1891-1959), the Last Judgment has come for the good people of Cookham. Just like people

coming up from a cellar, folk are climbing out of their graves, quite uncorrupted and freshly dressed for the occasion. The picture is a literal and

earthly allegory of the sophisticated idea that souls can be reunited with their bodies in the building of a New Jerusalem. In many religions, emphasis

on heaven or hell is waning, as is the importance of past or future lives. It is conceded that corresponding states of mind can exist here and now

The nature of religion

For an individual searching for the secret of how to live, the fundamental message of the religious traditions is that man does not know himself. He knows neither the extent of his weaknesses nor the possibilities of his greatness. Thus, at the heart of all the sacred traditions of the world there are ideas and disciplines that seem to acquaint man with both the "animal" and the "divinity" within him [Key]. The early Christian, for example, meditating in the desert of North Africa and practising the specifically Christian method of continuous inner prayer ("prayer of the heart"), directly experienced the extent to which his mind was distracted and filled with illusions about himself. Facing and accepting his weaknesses, he also discovered that he was the vehicle for the highest or most divine energies of the universe.

The common spiritual factor

When used wrongly, as a manipulative device to gratify egoistic aims, all the methods and practices of sacred traditions lose their real religious purpose. Thus, the prophets of Israel condemned even the most sacred

rituals when they were performed externally without an inner recognition of personal helplessness and obligation to the source of life. Thus, too, the powerful meditative practices of Mahayana Buddhism, to take an example from Eastern traditions, are said to have a liberating effect only when used with the aim of benefiting all sentient beings.

In its most intensive form, religion offers man even more than the perception of his two opposing natures. When carried far enough the practices of a great tradition are intended to bring about an actual transformation of human nature at the deepest level. The name given to this state of transformed being varies from tradition to tradition and also from one gradation or aspect of transformation to another. In the Western world it is spoken of as salvation, immortality, the attainment of the kingdom of God, among other terms. In the East it is nirvana, liberation, enlightenment or God-consciousness. Often the terms "wisdom" or "freedom" are used. But whatever words are used to describe the state, it is in the idea of transformation, that the common factor in all religions may be found.

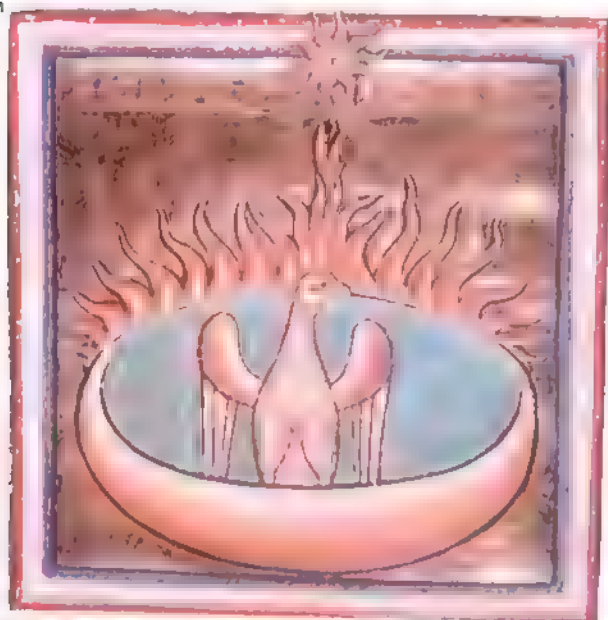
The possibilities of human development envisaged by religious tradition are very great indeed. Man is understood as a potential microcosm [4], a being who contains in himself all the forces of creation and destruction that operate in the great universe. This concept of the microcosm forms the backbone of all ancient teachings, Eastern and Western, including so-called "primitive" religions.

CONNECTIONS

See also

Restoration of unity

The traditional teachings see the misery [5] and confusion of human life as rooted in man's failure to see, accept and live by the universal order of reality that is contained within himself. In man's "fallen" state, the divinity within himself is completely cut off from the animal. Thus divided within himself man lives his life governed by impulses that were meant to be servants rather than masters. These "false masters" within man are desires, which are condemned not as such but only because man wrongly identifies himself with them and obeys them blindly and uncomprehendingly. To become a microcosm, that is, a mirror of the whole reach of



1 The phoenix is a perennial symbol of immortality. In legend, this beautiful bird lives in the wilderness of Arabia and is the only one of its kind. About every 500 years it burns itself on a funeral pyre, but rises from the flames reborn (as in this 13th-century English manuscript). The central message of many religious traditions is that it is only when man dies himself that a spiritual transformation, the birth of the Christian "new man", can take place. On a universal scale, the phoenix symbolizes the cosmic dance of birth, destruction and renewal in which man and all of nature are involved.

2 Kilimanjaro, the Tanzanian mountain sacred to several African peoples, is one of many peaks throughout the world that are regarded as places of communion with the spiritual world or as the king-

doms of deities. Some of the most extensive sacred traditions surround Mount Meru in the Himalayas, the symbolic golden mountain of Hindu mythology. It stands at the centre of the uni-

verse as the axis of the world and abode of the gods. Extending both upwards to the heavens and downwards to the nether regions, it is a bond both between earth and sky and between man and god.



3 Shinto - meaning "way to the gods" - is Japan's oldest religion. Like other animistic Shintoists worship many gods, or kami, which are the forces in mountains, rivers, trees and other parts of nature. Shinto emphasizes rituals and moral

standards but does not stress life after death. One of the most compelling and unanalysable human experiences is that of identity - that "I am I". Many religions (so-called exotheic religions) such as Shintoism turn upon a relation between Self and

That environment fellow men and an external deity governing the universe with whom dialogue may be had and by whom duties are imposed. Together with such an approach, or in its place, may occur the feeling that the Self is not a citadel private to

the person. In these so-called endotheic religions the Self is a microcosm and the That with which we experience dialogue is not outside but inside ourselves. It is in fact the Self of Selfhood, the believer senses that "I am That".



4 Man as a microcosm of the universe is depicted in this diagram by the English alchemist Robert Fludd (1574-1637), harmoniously integrating cosmic principles. All the great traditions teach of the exalted cosmic status of man, if only implicitly. Hinduism has the idea of Primal Man, whose dispersal created the universe. The Judeo-Christian tradition speaks of man being made in the "image of God". But these are conceptions of man in a state of perfection. Fallen man is neither microcosm, nor mirror of God, nor Primal Man. The work of spiritual discipline is to recover or reconstitute the latent microcosmic nature of the human self.

the divine cosmic order, there must be forged within human nature a right relationship between the desires and the slumbering spiritual power with which all human beings are born.

The transformation of man (called the "second birth" in the Christian tradition) consists of the tangible establishment within the self of this right relationship, this extraordinary inner unity. Thus transformed, man may take his central place within the whole scheme of creation. He is then the Great King of the Chinese tradition, the Cosmic Man of Hinduism, the All-Containing Void of Buddhism and the image of God of Judaism and Christianity. He both reflects the whole of cosmic nature and becomes the conscious instrument of the creator within that universal order.

The cosmic pattern

In a general sense, the ideas, symbols and rituals of the traditions are meant to serve as instruments to help man experience what is taken to be his exalted cosmic destiny, both on an individual and on a social level. Thus, the structures of ancient society (called

theocracies") were designed to make human life conform to a cosmic pattern that is outside the range of modern scientific methods. Teachings about life after death [1], the "animistic" view of nature (a belief that all things are filled with life and consciousness), the role of shaman [7] and priest, the symbols of so-called "polytheism" and the function of "magic" may all be approached and studied from this point of view rather than from a conventional perspective which sees them as expressions of intellectually inferior cultures. It is especially revealing to study the rich and complex social orders that existed in ancient India and pharaonic Egypt from this standpoint.

Sacred tradition, whether Eastern or Western in origin, whether "primitive" [3] or monotheistic, may therefore be defined as a means of transmitting ideas and ways of living that can guide individual men to pierce through the illusions that have become second nature to them and to realize in fact, and not just in fantasy, both the terrors of their present situation and the greatness of their possible inner evolution.

KEY



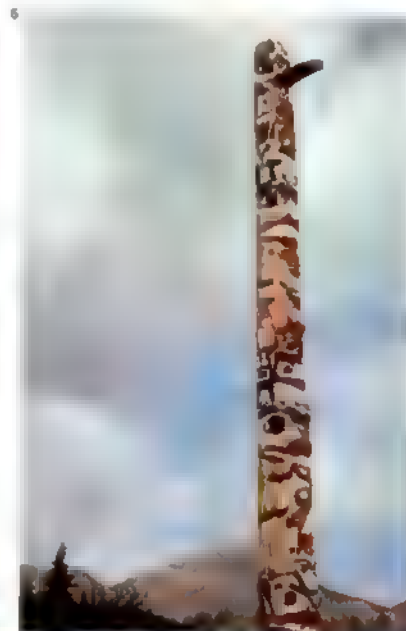
Janus, the Roman god of beginnings and custodian of the universe, was always depicted with two faces looking in

opposite directions - an apt symbol of the duality of human

nature. Many sacred traditions see man as being composed of two divergent elements: divinity and animal, spirit and body.



5 The vision of hell depicted in a panel of "The Garden of Earthly Delights" by the Flemish painter Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1460-1516) is full of medieval symbolism with a specific but now unknown meaning. But for many religious thinkers, and perhaps for Bosch himself, hell is a condition of the self rather than a literal external place in which lost souls suffer endless torments after death. In the subjective sense, hell is an infernal automatism and consists in continuing to tread the old paths, remaining a prisoner in the net work of senseless illusions. Hell can thus be identified as a life that has not been transformed.



6 A North American Indian totem pole, like much of the symbolism of what used to be called "primitive" religions, expresses a vision of man in the universe that is as subtle and sophisticated as that of the "higher" religions. To grasp the meaning of these symbols it is necessary not only to have accurate information about the particular tradition in question, it is even more important to have an empathic approach to their form and content.

7 Shamans, as shown in this 18th century Turkish painting, are ecstatic healers found in many cultures. They are believed to have links with the forces of the cosmos with whom they commune during trances.



Judaism and Christianity

The fundamental message of Judaism is expressed by the prayer: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." This prayer is named by its first word - *Shema* ("listen", "hear", "understand", "obey"). It calls men to hear the truth that has been revealed, to take it to heart and to live by it in order to realize the unity of God in a relationship that demands of a man that he unify his own being.

The Jewish covenant and what it means

Judaism is the religion of a covenant between Yahweh (God) and the descendants of Abraham who was prepared, when tested, to sacrifice his own son to Him. From the Covenant radiates the mystery of an agreement between man and God. It is in the actions that make up the history of the chosen people that the teachings of the Jewish faith are set forth. The Lord appears in all the transcendence of His absolute power and at the same time in the immediacy of personal concern for His people. He brings Israel out of slavery in Egypt [4] and into the promised land. For the Jew, the "choosing" of his

people parallels the mystery of man's being created in God's image. As Israel is called to realize its covenant, so man is called to fulfil the promise of his being. The Jewish philosopher Martin Buber (1878-1965) writes: "Man must liberate himself because man is a microcosm and there is in him Pharaoh and Egypt, he is enslaving himself."

In Jewish mysticism, the symbolism of exile and return finds yet another level of interpretation, this time on a cosmic scale. Medieval Kabbalists, interpreters of the Torah - the law God gave to Moses [Key] and its rabbinical commentaries, saw in the failure and exile of cosmic man - "Adam Kadmon" - the scattering of the sparks of the divine *Shekhinah*, the presence of God in the whole of creation. The redemption of man is thus intimately bound up with the redemption of creation.

This conception of man being responsible for the whole of creation had its greatest modern influence on Judaism in the communities of Hasidim, "the pious", which arose in Poland in the eighteenth century. In the Hasidic way of life, there is no separation

between sacred and profane. Everything that exists contains within it a divine spark waiting to be liberated. According to this teaching, there is in man a divine energy through which divine sparks that are present everywhere can be attracted and set free. All depends on intention, the condition of a man turned to God with his whole being. For the Hasid everything he meets in the course of his day is holy and according to the Torah everything can be brought back to union with God.

Christianity and divine love

The whole of Christian religion is centred on the mystery of divine love. Man's task is to respond to that love. From the very source of Christianity come the words of Jesus addressed to the Jews in their own terms. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 37-40).

Later the Christian faith came to include

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 The Western Wall (also called the Wailing Wall) in the Old City of Jerusalem is a place of prayer and pilgrimage that is sacred to the Jewish people. According to rabbinical belief, the divine presence never departs from it. It is all that remains of the 2nd century BC Second Temple destroyed by the Romans in AD 70.

2 The original golden menorah, or ritual candelabrum, was shaped by Moses according to the pattern of the almond. Israel's most sacred tree. It is used during the eight-day festival of Chanukkah and its branches symbolize the seven days of creation. The middle cup signifies the sabbath.



3 Obedience to the Lord - the keeping of the Covenant - is fundamental to Judaism. The Ark of the Covenant, a gold-plated chest that housed the

two tablets given by God to Moses, was constructed after Moses saw a fiery replica coming down from heaven. Originally kept at Shiloh and

brought out during battles (as depicted here in a 13th-century French manuscript), it was put by Solomon in the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle

at Jerusalem. After that it was seen only by the high priest on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Its eventual fate is completely unknown.



4 During the festival of Passover, Pesach, Jews commemorate their deliverance from Egypt: the prelude to the forging of their eternal covenant with God. The family gather for the Seder night service to retell the events from the Haggadah and answer children's ritual questions. Dishes symbolizing the hardships of slavery are prepared and only unleavened bread, *matza*, is eaten. Each person tries to feel as if he personally were saved by God and looks forward to a future redemption.

people who lacked the common basis of Judaism. In response to their need and in the face of the claims of then current systems of thought, Christianity began to take shape as an independent religion.

In its unique perspective, everything that exists was brought into being as an expression of divine love and is moved by that love to "be what it is", to fulfil its own nature as the plant reveals the secret contained in the seed. But in the order of creation, it is man, made in the image of God, who stands out as the element of uncertainty, the great risk freely undertaken by God so that His love might be freely returned.

In Adam's fall [5], the limited and separate existence of the natural world apart from its Creator asserted itself. Yet this failure is sometimes called "the happy fault" because it led on to the greatest act of divine love. The Father's sacrifice of his son was fulfilled in a new covenant. The Son of God became man [6]. In the person of Christ, the way was reopened. The Incarnation mysteriously united in Christ the two natures - human and divine - and the passion and death of Jesus

demonstrated this unification in the perfect submission of human will to divine will. Finally the resurrection of Christ [7] promises the fruit of sacrifice, the "new man" in whom limited nature is transformed by divine life. "Unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground dies, itself alone remains, but if it dies it brings forth much fruit" (John xii 24). And similarly: "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. x 39).

The search for God through contemplation

A deep and serious response to this call can be found in the Christian contemplative tradition. To the modern person the idea of contemplation may call forth associations of day-dreaming or sentimental ramblings. This is far from the contemplative's understanding of his work and its demand for a quality of awareness and impassioned searching that can bring him to the core of his being, there to discover his true need for God. Confused and alienated as a result of Adam's fall, man must struggle to discover within himself the central impulse of love. "Be what he is



Moses, the great law-giver of the Jews, is depicted here by the French artist Gustave Doré (1833-73) with a gravity that is reflected in Mosaic law itself and which represents the absoluteness of God's word to man. According to Hebrew tradition, Moses led his people out of bondage in Egypt (probably between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries BC) and it was to him that Yahweh revealed the Ten Commandments in the Sinai wilderness. These laws, which the Jewish people carried with them to the promised land, are the epitome of the demand for righteous action that characterizes the entire tradition of Judaism.



5 The story of Adam and Eve, splendidly portrayed by the German painter Lucas Cranach (1472-1553) is an allegory of man's fall and his

anguished sense of separation from cosmic unity. What was the sin of Adam and Eve in eating fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of

Good and Evil? The Trappist monk, Thomas Merton (1915-68) saw it as an act whereby man tried to appropriate for himself that which

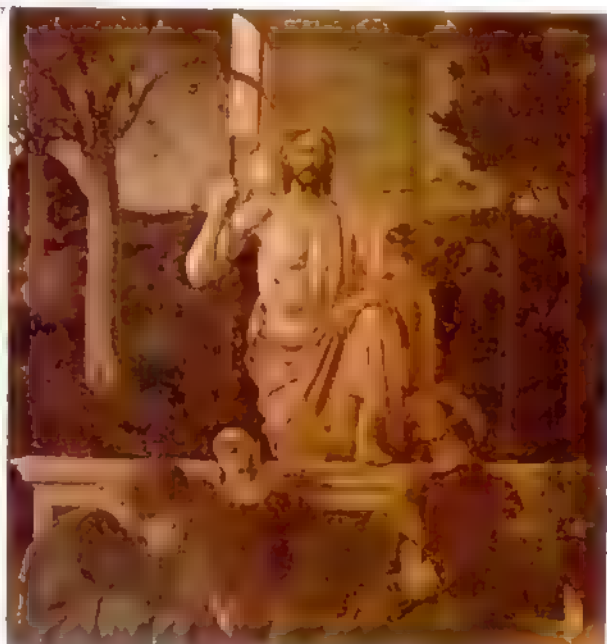
God would give out of His own love. The 'original sin' is thus an act of pride stemming from lack of trust in the Goodness of God.



6 God's divine love expressed in Botticelli's "Nativity" (1500) was translated by St Paul into ethics in the spiritual life. The result was *agapē* or *caritas* - the active concern for the well being of others.

7 This resurrected figure of Christ by Piero della Francesca (1420-92) conveys the promise of rebirth after death. The suffering of Jesus on the Cross is an indictment of man's inherent drive

to crucify or murder the Truth that can save. But the resurrection demonstrates God's loving forgiveness and the rebirth possible for men who can face their own corruption and accept the help of God.



Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism

Islam, the youngest of the world religions, sounds again the message of God's unity - "There is no God but God". Recognition of this truth constitutes the act of submission by which a man becomes a Muslim - "one who submits". Conscious of his dependence, man acknowledges "I am not the Absolute". Yet one who is called to the inner path of Islam also comes to recognize, "I am nothing separate from or other than the Absolute". Unity is reflected everywhere, drawing itself out like a beautiful arabesque [1] that baffles the eye as it continually turns back on itself.

The basis of Mohammed's teaching

According to the Islamic perspective, man is in need of divine revelation to remind him of the One Reality, which is never directly manifested in the world. Judaism and Christianity are recognized as founded on authentic revelations and Islam is said to offer the third and final revelation.

Mohammed, the founder of Islam, was born in Mecca in c. AD 570 and began to fulfil his prophetic function by denouncing the prevailing Arab worship of many gods.

Confronted by powerful opposition, Mohammed and his followers became a social and political as well as a spiritual force. Following the teaching of the Koran, Islam developed both external and internal aspects of religion, providing laws for the guidance of a community as well as a way for the individual to unite with Allah (God).

Traditionally in Islam there is no separation between sacred and secular areas of life. There is no priesthood, no day reserved for worship. Instead, the law itself offers direction and an ideal of life that meets man's need. In the Islamic perspective, man sins not by wilful rejection of God, but by heedlessness or distraction. The required observances of Islam act as reminders of the relationship between that life and the Absolute.

The teachings and practice of Hinduism

For a Westerner the Hindu religion of India may be puzzling. In place of God and creation, he finds that Brahman (ultimate reality) is probably utterly impersonal and the phenomenal world is ultimately unreal. Even the idea of historical progression is over-

shadowed by the sense of a cyclic world drama of creation, preservation and destruction. Looking for clearly defined doctrines, the Westerner is instead plunged into a variety of methods and beliefs. For while Western monotheism seeks to protect the truth from distortion, in Hinduism the truth is left to protect itself [3].

The simplest - and therefore the most difficult - expression of the spirit of Hinduism is "Thou are That", which may be understood as a response to the deepest question men ask. Looking at the world around them, men saw in the sudden flash of lightning, in the invisible power of the wind, signs of energies beyond their control and asked: What is behind all this? Another form of the question is concerned with the mystery within man: Who am I? In a single moment of discovery comes the answer to both lines of questioning. The true Self (Atman) is the same as the ultimate ground of reality, Brahman - "Thou are That" [4].

The Hindu revelation is not the focus of an historical event such as the revelation given to Moses, and does not mark a unique

CONNECTIONS

See also

1 The arabesques in the interior of a Muslim mosque represent divine unity in a symbol that is at the same time logical and rhythmic, mathematical and melodious. For a Sufi, one who has reached the goal of Islam's inner way, divine unity means much more than that there is only one God rather than several. It is also a key that opens the meaning of creation as a revelation of the Absolute, like white light diffused through a prism. As a microcosm, man gathers up all the attributes reflected separately by other creatures. His greatest potential is to reunite all the colours of the spectrum into a spark of divine light.



2 Prayer at specified times, five times a day, is one of the fundamental practices prescribed by Mohammed and known as the Five Pillars of Islam. The other four are declaration of faith in Allah,

almsgiving, fasting during the month of Ramadan from dawn until sunset and making a pilgrimage to Mecca in one's lifetime. Even fulfilling the law in an external way can help a Muslim understand

his condition in life. A Muslim does not seek to go beyond the basic requirements by "doing more". In an external sense but to realize more deeply what he is already doing.



3 The many-armed Hindu god Shiva, symbolizes the many modes of divine energy. The apparent polytheism that many Westerners see in Hinduism is in fact adaptability. Hinduism is monotheistic in a massive way, for in it all creation and experience are one. Judeo-Christian monotheists would be asked by a Hindu: "Who are we to limit the forms in which Brahman may manifest itself?" A devotee may take hold of any of the forms, which are in fact generated only by our partial perception, to arrive at the One. He may use any method from asceticism to orgiastic abandon or from ritual poverty to industrious prosperity if it leads him to God realization.



4 The AUM symbol (OM) is a ritual and sacred Hindu syllable, rendered in Sanskrit calligraphy, that is understood as the fundamental sound of the universe. It is chanted both for the effect of its vibration on the worshipper and as a tangible symbol of the one fundamental Reality: Brahman, the Absolute. One interpretation of its three sounds (A, U, M) is that they represent the trinity of Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma.

bridging of the gap between God and man such as that provided by the incarnation of Christ. It says that the Truth is in each person waiting to be realized. With this promise comes the warning "Neti, neti" ("Not this, not that"). One cannot identify either the Self or the Absolute with any particular thing. Belief in a separate self or ego is like an assumed identity that keeps us from realizing our true Self. In final wisdom the identity is laid aside and selfhood merged in an oceanic experience of That (Samadhi).

Fundamentals and precepts of Buddhism

Buddhism is more urgent and direct in its teaching than Hinduism, from which it grew. It sees ordinary existence as a nightmare that is not the less painful because it is unreal.

In the fifth century BC, Gautama Siddhartha, the son of an Indian king, woke from the nightmare. As the Buddha ("the awakened") [5] he was forever released from suffering and full of compassion for those who were still in darkness. The Buddhist believes that suffering is a universal fact of existence because of man's fundamental

ignorance about himself and the world. The world is a process of continuous interaction of unstable compounds in which nothing lasts. Whatever a man may take to be himself - body, mind, feeling, perception - is an obstacle in the form of the assertion "This is mine, this am I, this is my ego", which makes him the centre of an imaginary drama of pleasure and pain, good and bad [7].

Some have seen in the Buddhist denial of the ego and emphasis on transcendence a pessimistic rejection of all values. What is negative in Buddhism, however, is not its truth but its way of presenting that truth. The goal is defined negatively (and practically) as release from the transitory evils of suffering, ignorance and selfishness.

Whatever has been shaped through the law of cause and effect can be reshaped by the same law. Codes of moral behaviour serve principally as a preparatory discipline, a method of purification for the most important task of cultivating "mindfulness" [8]. Direct insight into the workings of the causal law in oneself is what strikes at the root of all the illusions of the ego and its suffering.

KEY



Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist symbols, reading from top to bottom, respectively, represent sacred aspects of their faith for a devoted following of nearly 1,300 million people. The vast majority of these are to be found in North African and Asian countries. The syllable AUM (top) is a mystic sound representing the Eternal Essence and uttered by Hindus during the most solemn moments of worship. The arabesque (centre) is a rhythmically designed pattern of oneness in which, according to strict Muslim rules, no animate objects are represented. The Wheel of Life (bottom) means for Buddhists the continuing cycle of death and rebirth that traps mortals.



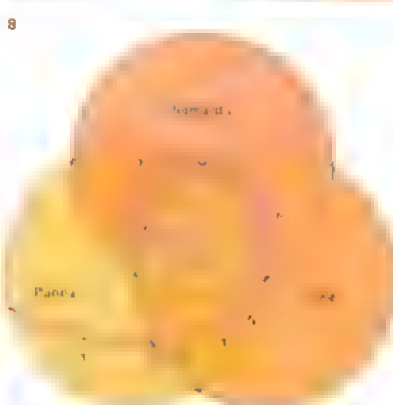
5 Gautama Buddha brought a teaching directed solely to one point: the extinction of suffering. He saw people everywhere making themselves miserable through deluded belief in the reality of the ego. Rejecting displays of miraculous powers and speculations about metaphysical questions, he urged his followers not to rely on the achievements or the understanding of others as this might simply be woven into their own fantasies. "Be ye a refuge unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Look not for refuge to anyone besides yourselves."



6 Buddhism is split into two main streams: Mahayana and Theravada. Devotees of the latter revere the personality of the Buddha, his teachings and the order he founded. They hold that the ideal Buddhist is a faithful follower of the Eightfold Path. Mahayana Buddhists regard the Buddha as one of many who have appeared in many universes. They hold that the ideal Buddhist is a Bodhisattva or one vowed to become a Buddha through the six virtues - generosity, morality, patience, vigour, concentration and wisdom. The Tibetan Buddhists here ready for the Tsam dance, hold to a mixture of Mahayana and Bonism - an indigenous worship of natural spirits through ritual.

7 The Wheel of Life, the great Buddhist symbol of *samsara*, is the endless round of birth and death in which all beings are trapped through the illusions of the ego and still ed its craving.

In other versions the hub of the wheel depicts three animals representing lust (dove or cock), hatred (snake) and delusion (pig). These impulses generate a universe of conditioned existence.



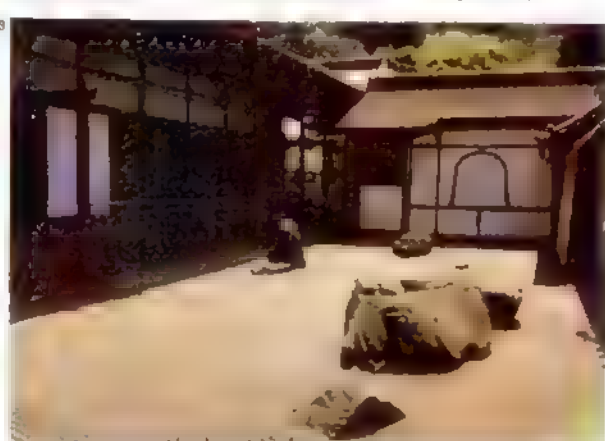
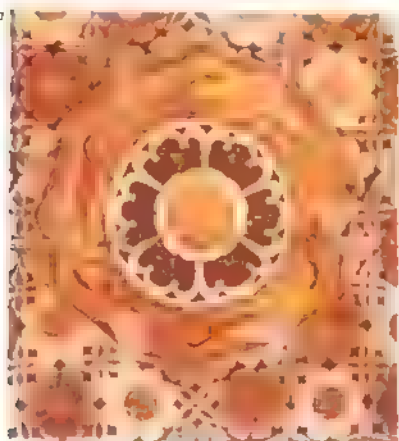
8 An Eightfold Path offers the Buddhist the only way to the blissful state of nirvana - release from the eternal cycle of rebirth. It is based on the fundamentals of Sila (morality), Samadhi (concentration) and Panna (wisdom) and

its steps are right views [1], right intentions [2], right speech [3], right action [4], right livelihood [5], right effort [6], right mindfulness [7] and right concentration [8]. Several lifetimes are needed to reach nirvana.

9 Zen Buddhism first flourished in China in the 7th century AD and then spread to Japan in the 12th. There are two main branches: Soto and Rinzai. In the latter meditation on such paradoxes as the

"sound of one hand clapping" is used to awaken insight into what transcends logical distinctness. In Soto adherents sit silently in gardens such as this and meditate on what illumination arises. Both believe

in instruction from master to disciple with the aim of awakening the Buddha mind that lies within every individual. Soto concentrates on teaching the common people the good ways



Methods of worship

Prayer might be defined as the method appropriate to belief in an external or transcendent God [1] and meditation as the method appropriate to a religion such as Hinduism or Buddhism directed towards realization of the divine principle within [3]. However, the Hindu prays before his chosen image of the Lord and the Christian contemplative engages in an activity that is no less properly called meditation than the 'sitting' of a Buddhist monk.

In its essence, prayer is as little concerned with obtaining favours as is the practice of meditation. The experience of a nineteenth century Hindu provides a vivid example. After several attempts to pray for the relief of his suffering family, he had to give up completely because each time he became aware of the deity he was so overwhelmed that he found it impossible to ask for anything at all.

The nature of prayer and meditation

In the Islamic tradition, prayer [Key] is the fundamental right and responsibility of man by virtue of his central place in the cosmic scheme. By his profession of faith - "There is

no God but Allah" - the Muslim directly affirms the truth of which all creation is an indirect expression.

In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, prayer is the meeting of man and God. According to Hasidism, the Jewish mystical movement:

"The people imagine that they pray before God. But this is not so, for prayer itself is the essence of divinity." Similarly, in the Christian contemplative tradition, prayer is an effort to find the place where a man is most himself - the ground of his being - which is, by the mystery of love, the place where he is most related to God.

Each of the religious traditions presents man with the startling claim that he is not really what he takes himself to be. For example, Christianity has the parable of a rich man's son who squanders his inheritance to live among swine but remains unchanged in the eyes of God. Hindu sages declare that the true Self is the infinite changeless Witness. Buddhism points to belief in a personal identity as the fundamental illusion that produces all suffering.

From the traditional point of view

meditation is the "laboratory work" in which a man can come to know himself as he is. A relaxed awareness is regarded as a condition of study, and the physical influences that contribute to this are taken into account.

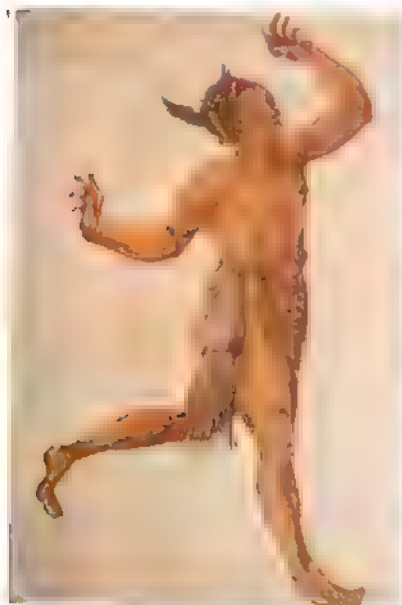
The Bhagavad Gita, one of the greatest and most widely known texts of Hinduism, recommends a balanced posture for meditation - with "upright body, head and neck which rest still and move not, with inner gaze which is not restless..." - and the support of a balanced way of life: "Yoga is a harmony. Not for him who eats too much, or for him who eats too little, nor for him who sleeps too little, or for him who sleeps too much."

The inner mystery of scripture

Jewish mystics studied the Torah [8], the five books of Moses, to discover the divine laws. Regarded in its mystical essence as the Name of God, the Torah was thought to serve as the instrument of creation. In Christianity it is Christ, the Word, who embodies the truth [9]. "Through Him everything came into being and without Him nothing that exists came into being" (John 1:3).

CONNECTIONS

See also



1 An American Indian at prayer exposed himself to the power of the Great Spirit in "crying for a vision". For this he needed courage and determination. Guided by a wise man through preparatory rituals, he faced his vigil almost naked and alone. All depended on his recognition of the depth of his need.

2 A monastery is like a laboratory where the conditions of life are arranged in such a way as to enable a man to face more directly the limitations of human nature and the need for supernatural help. Monasteries differ in their character and degree of asceticism, but in each communal discipline is vital.



3 principle, guiding the observer past idolatry to an understanding of himself.

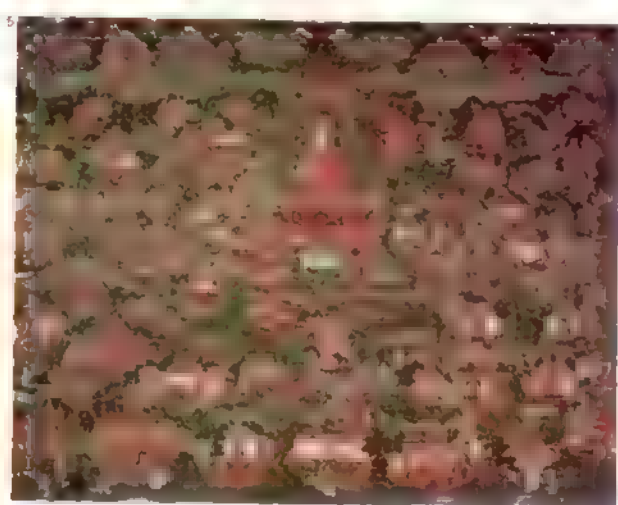


3 Hindu meditation (the lotus posture is shown here) depends on an approach as impartial as that of any scientist making an investigation - master of his mind, hoping for nothing, desiring nothing.

Working in this way a seeker may witness in himself the operation of cosmic laws that govern the play of nature and, by understanding its true forces, disentangle himself from their control.

4 The Egyptian Book of the Dead, depicting the weighing of a soul, is connected with the idea of an exact science of man. Much Egyptian sacred art attempted to express in a statue of a god or goddess an impersonal cosmic

principle, guiding the observer past idolatry to an understanding of himself.



5 A Tibetan thangka, or sacred temple banner, represents deities in precise postures, expressions and colouring that will show the

viewer a particular kind of awareness. In each painting there is an entire world, a subtle teaching and a benevolent influence.

for one who studies it. Yet in every case it is nothing other than the awareness of the viewer himself that is being discovered.

The link between existence and revelation is found also in the Hindu conception of the Vedas, which, as scripture, record what exceptional men have seen of the unchanging cosmic laws that govern all transformations of matter and energy. But the "eternal Vedas" are these universal laws themselves, to which the written record provides a key.

Yet if there is in scripture a mystery corresponding to the mystery that is in man, it is not on the surface. According to tradition, scripture responds to a person's preparation and the level at which he experiences his need for transformation. When the disciples asked Jesus why He spoke in parables, the answer was a paradox: "For whoever has will receive abundantly, but whoever has not will be deprived of whatever he has" (Matthew xiii: 12).

An indirect communication, scripture conceals and reveals its truth at the same time. Although its secrets demand preparation, its more accessible levels offer preparation. Commandments and special regulations guide a person in all conditions of life, directing his energies and reminding him of God. According to the great medieval Jewish

philosopher Maimonides (1135-1204), even the apparent contradictions found in the Bible are intended to lead the reader to search for a deeper meaning.

The value of sacred symbols

In the Koran [10] which forms the heart and backbone of Islamic faith, the phonetic and symbolic qualities of the Arabic language itself guide the seeker. Like all ancient languages of revelation that are regarded as sacred, Arabic is inherently symbolic. A single word can convey several levels of meaning, from the name of an object to the subtle and elusive meaning of an abstract concept. For this reason the Koran is considered strictly untranslatable, since any rendering is necessarily limited to the translator's level of understanding.

Sacred art is a still more symbolic way of embodying truths that can make a deep impression on the inner man. Sometimes the artistic object is designed to embody a cosmic quality [4], sometimes to attract a spiritual influence [6] and sometimes simply to produce a particular kind of awareness [5].

KEY



The muezzin's call from the tower of a mosque reminds Muslims of the obedience

they owe to Allah. Prayer involves a sequence of postures in which the indivi-

dual stands, bows and prostrates himself, so that his body shares the act.

6 The sacred art of black Africa has unusual qualities of mystery and power. A characteristic example is this altarpiece from an ancestral shrine of the Yoruba people of Nigeria. In most African sculpture the proportions of a figure are carefully determined by the artist but apparently without any attempt at a naturalistic representation of the human body. The aim of the traditional African artist is not to make an accurate likeness but to capture a quality so accurately that the figure or carving can attract the corresponding cosmic influence or house the spirit of an ancestor.



7 Miraculous power was attributed by many Christians to religious objects such as this fifteenth-century icon of the Russian Orthodox Church, depicting Jesus and his mother, Mary. According to an Orthodox writer, "An icon or a cross does not exist simply to direct our imagination during our prayers. It is a material centre in which there reposes an energy, a divine force, which unites itself to human art". Unlike Western religious painting, which eventually developed individualistic forms of expression, icon art remained largely unchanging, its painters merging their identity into the sacred tradition.



A Megillah, one of the scrolls which makes up the Torah, or book of Mosaic law, which has such a profound influence on every aspect of Jewish life.

The ancient scripture is regarded as sacred transmission from a higher source of a teaching that explains to man his covenant with God.



9 A portrait of St John from the illuminated manuscript the Book of Kells dates probably from tenth-century Ireland. The medieval artist approached the scriptures with reverence, regarding them in their essence as revelation – an expression of the same creative intelligence that brought forth man and the universe itself.

10 The Koran may appear to the casual reader a confusing collection of stories, religious and social regulations and enticing images of heaven. But the faithful Muslim can read in the historic struggles of his religion a symbolic account of an inner war against the forces of dispersal in his own being.



Religion and the plight of modern man

In recent years there has been evidence of renewed interest in the religious dimension of life – to such an extent that some observers speak of a twentieth-century “spiritual renaissance” in the West. Much of this rebirth is, however, taking place outside the structures of the historic religious institutions of the West. This new activity stems partly from efforts to bridge the gap between modern science and ancient spiritual world-views, and partly from an eruption – particularly in the United States – of “new religions”, most of them influenced by the religions of the Orient.

Knowledge and belief

The conflict between religion [1] and Western science [2] is usually thought to date from the theories of Copernicus (1473–1543) and Galileo (1564–1642) concerning the movement of the Earth around the Sun [Key]. The popular view is that the Church regarded the Copernican-Galilean picture of the cosmos as a threat to the biblical conception of the Earth as the unmoving centre of the universe and that

from then on the quest for knowledge of nature was at loggerheads with the demands of faith. Eventually the explanatory power and pragmatic successes of science overwhelmed the teachings of the Church, and the scientific view prevailed.

According to this interpretation of events, the ideal of reason and knowledge triumphed over mere belief. In recent years, however, due in large measure to an influx of Oriental teachings, both the knowledge component of religion and the belief component of science have been more clearly realized.

In psychology, for example, it is now generally recognized that the great mystics of all spiritual traditions understood aspects of human nature that have eluded the vision of modern science. As a result, the whole idea of states of consciousness is becoming an increasingly important subject of research among Western psychologists [3]. The emphasis of inquiry is shifting away from pathological or hallucinatory states towards the study of states of consciousness characterized by increased general intelligence, moral power and freedom from egoistic emo-

tions. In the light of these studies, “normal” consciousness appears limited. Such a perspective is truly revolutionary, for a person’s ability to perceive and explain is itself understood to be relative to his or her state. This challenges the orthodox scientific conception of reality much more decisively than any arguments from literal interpretations of the Bible. The point is that only by passionately embracing an inferior state of consciousness could mankind have arrived at its present dangerous predicament.

The key question

In addition to many psychologists and psychotherapists who are studying the mind in the light of traditional religious teachings, some physicists are turning to Oriental conceptions of cosmic order. There is also a significant movement among medical scientists to understand ancient systems of healing, such as Chinese acupuncture, that are rooted in a spiritual conception of human nature and a non-materialistic view of the universe. At the same time, many Westerners are actively practising methods of meditation

CONNECTIONS

See also:
The nature of religion
Judaism and
Christianity
Islam, Hinduism and
Buddhism
Methods of worship
Meditation and
consciousness
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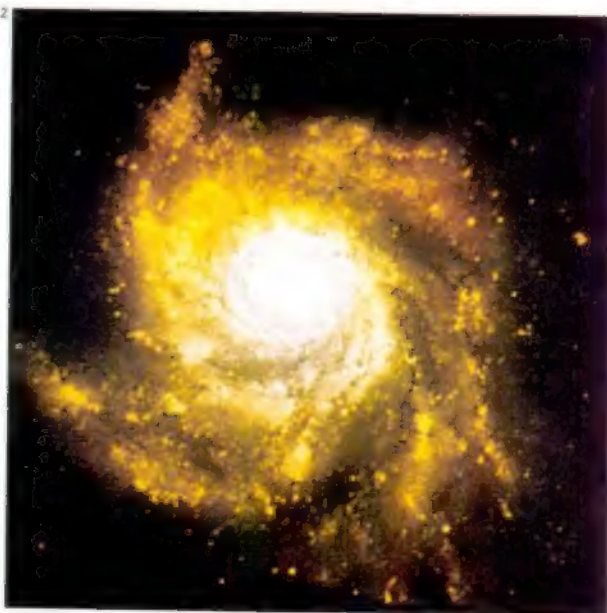


1 The ascent of the soul, as depicted in this 12th-century alchemical manuscript, shows a spiral progress towards God enthroned above the world. Reversing the original process of creation, man must

pass through stages of gradual enlightenment as he travels outwards from the material world. The view of a universe with the world at its centre was not necessarily a naive astronomical theory. It was also,

and mainly, a symbol of the idea that human life proceeds under the sway of many cosmic influences, both good and evil. Man must master all these influences to realize his divine destiny.

2 A universe of awesome dimensions is revealed through the telescopes of modern science, as in this view of the spiral galaxy in Ursa Major. The cosmic schemes of the ancient religious traditions were awesome too in their imaginative scope and grandeur. But one of the most fundamental differences between their visions and the rational universe presented by science is that the cosmos of the ancient religions exceeds man not only in size and physical power but also in consciousness and intelligence. Paradoxically, at the same time, religion suggests that man himself is an expression of infinity.



3 Experimental research is now being carried out to study the effects on the human organism of meditation techniques as practised by experienced yogis. Many Western scientists now practise meditation. Their interest is an acknowledgment that mysticism may contain a knowledge of the human psyche that has eluded Western science. Yoga is an aid to meditation with a view to acquiring enlightenment. It involves attainment of a resting state of mind by the help of manipulation carried out not on the anatomical body alone but also on the inner perception of it in the brain. Paranormal changes in self-perception occur as a result.

— some within the Buddhist framework, others within the framework of Hinduism. Transcendental meditation, for example, is a radical adaptation of certain aspects of the Hindu Vedanta system.

The question of critical importance is whether modern people can turn to meditation with the same intent as those who were helped by innumerable aspects of traditional culture, such as codes of morality that nourished their spiritual emotions. Will modern man make use of these fragments of ancient traditions in the same egoistic way that has characterized his use of the great modern scientific discoveries about the external world? Will he relate to his "inner environment" in the same way as he has related to his outer environment?

The "new religions"

The ambiguities of the current "religious renaissance" are strikingly apparent in the "new religions" that have taken root in the past decade, particularly in North America and Britain. Thousands of groups, small and large, throughout the Western world have

formed around a teacher who has migrated from the East [5, 6]. At the same time there has been a revival of Fundamental Christianity that emphasizes emotional commitment to the person of Christ [4].

It is noticeable that the followers of the "new religions" tend to accept only those parts of ancient traditions that seem "relevant" or attractive. Can part of a tradition lead to a result that once required the complete tradition?

In the spiritual history of mankind, the tendency of the mind to select from a teaching only those aspects that it likes, thereby creating a subjective religion out of a carefully interconnected totality, has always been a problem. It is one of the most fundamental meanings of the term "idolatry" in the Judaeo-Christian teachings: man must not create his own god. Many of the teachers who have moved to the West from Asia are wrestling with this question now. No one yet can say whether they will succeed in transmitting to modern people the workable essence of religion, while adapting the outer aspects to the modern temperament.

KEY



The battle between the Church and Galileo ended with the retraction of his belief that the Sun was at the

centre of the universe. The Church's innate conservatism, revealed by its reaction to an issue that was

largely irrelevant to the main issues of religion, has contributed to the decline of organized religion.



4 Billy Graham (1918–) is typical of modern Fundamentalist Christian preachers, with his mixture of modern media methods and a simple Gospel message of faith in Christ. He offers his followers a form of intense religious experience that until recently was limited geographically and socially to advanced Western societies.



5 The Hare Krishna sect is one of the better-known examples of "new religions" that have captured many young Western people. Most US cities also have centres for the practical pursuit of Zen Buddhism. Lamas from Tibet have their followers and so has Islamic mysticism, or Sufism.



6 The Divine Light Mission, led by the Guru Maharaj Ji, is one of the many "new religions" that are inspired by the ancient teachings of the Orient. The translation of an Eastern-style, endotheic religion, with all its strong cultural traditions, into the context and social environment of the Western industrialized world poses problems. For instance, are the forms by which truth was once transmitted applicable to the conditions of modern life?

7 Rejecting the established structure of organized religion and returning to the essentially personal and basic Christian message of love and brotherhood has become one of the growth points of religion in the West.



The Golden Temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar, in the Punjab state, NW India: the city is the great centre of the Sikh religion, which combines Hindu with Moslem teachings and has more than six million followers.

